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THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER  
1893

ALL THE VOLUMES OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE

ANNUAL REGISTER

- 1863 to 1892

MAY BE HAD

THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER

A  
REVIEW OF PUBLIC EVENTS AT HOME  
AND ABROAD

FOR THE YEAR

1893

THE NEW SERIES

NEW SERIES

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# ANNUAL REGISTER

FOR THE YEAR

1893.

## PART I.

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THE truce of tongues by which the close of the preceding year had been marked was not immediately disturbed. Mr. Gladstone was still absent from England; and the final form in which the great measure of the coming session was to be presented had not yet been settled. If other reasons had not bidden the Ministerialists to keep silence, their ignorance of the future was enough to keep them away from public platforms. They were, moreover, satisfied to leave everything to their leader, and to take everything on trust, as was shown by the debate which had determined the fall of Lord Salisbury's Administration. On the side of the Conservatives there was not less contentment and self-satisfaction. They contrasted their unity of purpose with the motley crowd of their opponents—whom they regarded as a fortuitous concourse of enthusiasts or faddists grouped under a banner for which they felt but a secondary interest—but ready to march beneath it in the hopes that its bearer might be induced to lend his countenance to the furtherance of their special aims. The Conservatives were no less confident that the Irish Home Rule Bill itself, instead of rallying the Liberal party, would hopelessly shatter it; or that even the two Irish parties would be

unable to accept any offers which could be reasonably discussed by English and Scotch Liberals. The delicacy of the situation—from the Irish patriotic point of view—was touched upon by Mr. Healy in a speech at Newcastle-on-Tyne (Jan. 2), of which the ostensible object was, to remove from the minds of Mr. John Morley's electors any doubt on the subject of priestly influence in Irish elections, which the Meath petitions might have aroused. Incidentally, however, he took occasion to assure his hearers and his readers, that the demands of his section of the Nationalist party would not be less than those of Mr. Redmond and his friends; and that whilst fully alive to the necessity of rewarding the Liberals for their promised aid in the settlement of the Irish question, this aid would not take the form of lessening the Irish demand.

To some extent the hopeful anticipations of the Conservatives were justified; for a no less stalwart Radical than Dr. Wallace, M.P.—one time minister of the Grey Friars' Church, Edinburgh—in an article in the *New Review*, expressed—in even stronger language than Sir Edward Reed had spoken on behalf of certain Welsh Liberals—that the Scotch were not so enamoured of their Irish brethren that they would accept without demur a proposal to allow Irish clericals to shape Scotch legislation, without any corresponding right of shaping Irish legislation according to Presbyterian ideas. At the same time Mr. Labouchere, on behalf of the English Radicals, protested no less strongly against Irish members being allowed to intermeddle in the local affairs of Great Britain, whilst Great Britain was refused equal rights with regard to Irish affairs. Neither of these spokesmen of English, Welsh and Scotch Radicalism was prepared to recognise the cardinal fact of the situation, that Mr. Gladstone, being left in a minority by Great Britain, was Prime Minister only by the votes of the Irish Nationalists, and that, consequently, he would have to satisfy the demands of the latter before thinking of the arguments of his other supporters.

It may have been by accident or design that at this juncture an article appeared in *The Speaker*—a weekly journal in the confidence of the Gladstonian leaders—which, although its author disclaimed official inspiration, suggested views “which had been pressed upon Ministers from very important quarters.” Its obvious object was to allay the irritation felt by many English and Scotch Radicals at the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. Three essential points in the Home Rule Bill were to be kept in reserve, and to leave the representation of Ireland at Westminster untouched until these points were decided. These were: First, the land question, which was not to be dealt with at Dublin, but reserved for the Imperial Parliament; second, the question of the ultimate representation of Ireland at Westminster; and third, the appointment of the Irish judiciary and police, and the control



of the constabulary—the latter quasi-military force being gradually disbanded in the five years' interval of transition or probation to which Irish Home Rule was to be subjected. The proposal, however specious, did not appear to commend itself to those to whom it was addressed, inasmuch as it would not leave the House of Commons free to discuss domestic reforms, but would ensure the repeated discussion of Irish land and police questions to the exclusion of everything else.

The annual meeting of the National Liberal Association (Jan. 20), which had been postponed from the previous autumn, gave the first signal for the renewal of political warfare. The place of meeting, Liverpool, had probably been selected as one of the strongholds of Unionism, against which the attacks made at the general election had proved futile. The Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, Q.C., as the rising man of the party, was deputed to act as spokesman of the Cabinet. His speech was wary and felicitous. He revealed nothing with regard to the Home Rule Bill; assured his hearers that Scotland's peculiar wants should have immediate attention; that it would be both disloyal and ungrateful to postpone or to refuse to satisfy them; and that London had urgent demands to which no Liberal Government could be deaf. If, however, the Home Secretary was vague as to the way in which these various claims were to be met, and the order in which they would be considered, he was able to speak in more decided tones of what the new Ministry had already achieved during their five months of office. The Vice-President of the Council, Mr. Acland, had made free schools under the Free Education Act a reality, by compelling the relief of the parents of 1,250,000 children, who had continued to pay fees of a penny a week and upwards in elementary schools. Mr. Asquith congratulated himself on having restored the public right of meeting in Trafalgar Square; and warmly praised Mr. John Morley, whom he declared to be more trusted in Ireland than any Englishman since the days of Thomas Drummond. With regard to Home Rule for Ireland, he contended that every argument made seven years previously in its favour applied now with sevenfold force; and he declared that it would be the first duty of the Government to lay their scheme before Parliament; but as to the specific provisions of that measure he was altogether silent, contenting his audience with the advice, that if Home Rule was to be given to Ireland, it should not be given in a "stinted and illusory form." The gift to her, Mr. Asquith asserted, should be a real and genuine autonomy, but the ultimate supremacy of the Imperial Parliament must be visibly and effectually maintained. Subject to that condition, Home Rule must be as large, as generous, and as ample as statesmanship could devise. An Irish Legislature "manacled with saving clauses and throttled with provisos" was not wanted. What was wanted was "a living body which could breathe and act, which could stand on



its own feet and walk on its own legs, and not some mechanical puppet stuffed with constitutional sawdust and pulled by wires from the British side of St. George's Channel." No doubt any constitution, however carefully drawn up, could be made unworkable if the parties to it were to act upon every occasion to the extreme limit of their legal powers, but the Irish people were prepared to accept in good faith, and to work with good sense, the arrangement which Parliament would effect between them. If the Irish were a people of maniacs or imbeciles, and were going to occupy their time in confiscating property, and undermining the fabric of society, that would be a strong argument against giving them Home Rule at all. But they ought surely to be credited with the desire to exercise the power that would be given to them in the spirit of sobriety and of common-sense. Nevertheless, he was of opinion that special provision was undoubtedly needed in some respects for the protection of the minority in Ireland. As to the other legislation which the Government would attempt in the coming session, the Home Secretary promised bills for Scotland, Wales, and London, a reform of registration giving "one man one vote," a Parish Councils Bill, a bill to control the liquor traffic, an Employers' Liability Bill, and a bill dealing afresh with the law of conspiracy.

This programme, although scarcely up to the demands of the Liberal Federation, was sufficiently promising to enable that body to express its complete confidence in the Government's good intentions, especially as one of the delegates, Mr. T. E. Ellis, who was also a subordinate member of the Administration, had declared that the "first duty of the federation was to keep the Government up to the mark," or high-water level, of the Newcastle programme.

Mr. Asquith's speech furnished the Duke of Devonshire with the text of his reply delivered on the following day (Jan. 21), to the Yorkshire Unionists assembled at Skipton; and he pressed home the inquiry whether the Government was going to ask its English or Scottish supporters to postpone, or even, if necessary, to sacrifice all these measures, until the Irish Home Rule Bill had been passed through the House of Commons. The other alternative was to obtain from the Irish Nationalists permission to postpone the Home Rule Bill in order that the Government might carry out its promises to its adherents, and in order that the English and Scotch Radicals might redeem their pledges to their constituents.

There was, however, more of a fighting tone in Mr. Chamberlain's speech, at a dinner given to his son (Jan. 24), by the Liberal Unionists of East Worcestershire. Referring to the eagerness with which the new Government "were stuffing the provincial benches of our country boroughs, and crowding the local boards in Ireland over which they have control with their own partisan nominees," he remarked that it did not

look very much as if they expected to stay where they are. No one, he declared, had been consulted about the Home Rule Bill except the Anti-Parnellites; the motto of the Government appearing to be: "Only Irish need apply." It was almost pathetic, he added, to see a Government which had come into office with promises of an all-round revolution, priding itself, after a six months' uncriticised tenure, on having allowed meetings in Trafalgar Square, and appointed a few women to inspect women's workshops. In matters of foreign policy, especially in Egypt, the Government had very wisely changed the policy which Mr. Morley and Mr. Gladstone had led Europe to expect, but in Uganda it appeared to be willing to pursue once more the fatal policy of drifting. With regard to his own change, he had been told, that because he was willing in 1886 and 1887 to devise if he could a *modus vivendi* with the Gladstonians, and had gone perhaps beyond the verge of what was safe in attempting a reconciliation, he was now, six or seven years later, debarred from the right of condemning in principle the Irish proposals of Mr. Gladstone, simply on the ground that Mr. Gladstone had agreed to retain the Irish representatives in the Supreme Parliament as he (Mr. Chamberlain) had then urged. But besides the fact that things had moved on since 1886 and 1887, and that compromises which seemed feasible then would be sheer madness now, there was no sign at all that the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster was to be seriously and practically maintained. Neither section of the Irish Home Rulers would hear of it, and without the Irish Home Rulers Mr. Gladstone had no majority. The Unionists met Parliament, concluded Mr. Chamberlain, determined to resist to the last the policy which, beginning with the betrayal of the interests of the Irish loyalists, would end by betraying the interests of Great Britain.

The gains made by the Liberal party in the county constituencies were sufficient evidence that the agricultural labourer was dissatisfied with his position and prospects. Too late for their own safety, the Conservative candidates and party leaders seem to have awakened to the extent of this discontent. But if the past was irretrievable, the outcome of the two agricultural conferences, held before the close of the previous Parliament, fairly indicated the direction in which the farmers and labourers were turning their faces. The price of corn had for years been steadily falling, and there was no evidence that at 25s. per quarter it had reached the lowest selling price. For a time the farmer had been buoyed up with the hope that cattle rearing and dairy farming might enable him to support his losses from corn growing; but the steadily increasing supply of meat, butter and cheese from abroad showed that in these products also he would have to count with the foreigner. The Radical agitators, and following in their wake the Socialist reformers and land nationalisers, saw their way to stirring up the discontent of



both farmers and labourers, by holding out the prospect of judicial rents for farm holdings, or their compulsory sale at fixed prices to the tenants or their helpers. The three-acre-and-a-cow agitation of 1885, useful for the special purpose of the hour, was played out, and it was necessary to rouse once again popular feelings, whether of hatred and covetousness it mattered not, against the landlord and his class.

This need of meeting organisation by organisation was recognised by the Conservatives, and amongst the first in the field was the Earl of Winchilsea, with a scheme to form a defensive league amongst landlords, farmers and labourers; but the practical object of such a union, even if it could have been started, would have been difficult of apprehension by the labourers, who should by rights have been most numerously represented in its constitution. Another writer, Mr. G. Byron Curtis, starting from Lord Winchilsea's main idea, proposed to establish in each county an agricultural association, which should be in reality a large benefit society—superseding the existing and often mismanaged labourers' clubs—where the guineas of the landlords and the crowns of the farmers would go towards an old age pension fund for the labourers. A step would thus be made towards re-establishing harmony between the three conflicting elements of country life, whilst at the same time the farmers would be relieved of some portion of the poor rate, and the labourers would have a voice in the management of funds to which they contributed their *quota*, and from which they were to derive substantial benefits. Lord Winchilsea's scheme was not very warmly taken up by his own party; and Mr. Chaplin, who had been the spokesman of the farming interest in the previous Parliament, expressed grave doubts as to the result being more than the creation of fresh Chambers of Agriculture. In expounding his scheme at York (Jan. 5), Lord Winchilsea was careful to remove from it everything salient or likely to give offence. Protectionism, Bimetallism, Fair Trade, and other deceivers apt to lurk under proposals for the good of the farmer and the farm labourer, were carefully put aside, and his speech was directed towards readjustment of the rates, foot and mouth disease, legislation, and "co-operative farm supply," by which was meant the abolition of the middleman by the intervention of the Chambers of Agriculture. It was comparatively easy to show that the prices paid by the consumers of farm produce differed widely from those received by the farmer, and that inordinate profits were made by either the middleman or the retailer, or both. But neither Lord Winchilsea nor those who followed him seemed to have any very clear idea of how the intervention of men whom experience had called into existence was to be dispensed with. On a subsequent occasion, at Plymouth (Jan. 19), Lord Winchilsea expressed the opinion that the first thing was for the agricultural industry to be organised after the

manner of the skilled and unskilled trades. The first result of such an organisation would be the power to make their own terms with the railway companies; but it was to a system of universal Free Trade, obtained through the medium of Imperial Federation, that he looked to the return of agricultural prosperity.

In somewhat violent contrast with Lord Winchilsea's low-water proposals, were the proceedings of the Cheshire, Lancashire, and North Wales farmers, assembled in conference (Jan. 12) at Chester. There was here no pretence of looking after any interests but those of their own class; and in view of the fact that one of the counties represented—Cheshire—was that in which, under the late Lord Tollemache's leadership, allotment farms had been given the utmost encouragement, the prosperity of any palliative scheme such as Lord Winchilsea's was not hopeful. The president (Mr. Knowles), in opening the proceedings, dwelt on the unsatisfactory and insecure position of the tenant farmers, and specially condemned the Agricultural Holdings Act, instancing a case in Cheshire where a tenant farmer honestly claimed 200*l.*, and was awarded 40*l.* Mr. W. Smith, M.P., said that a small body of tenant farmers thoroughly united would accomplish more than an organisation with a high-sounding but empty title, or the bringing in of those who would clog their movements. Before the London conference agricultural interests had the sympathy and good-will of the nation; but owing to the false start made, he was afraid that public sympathy had been alienated. Farmers were very sparsely represented at the London meeting, and those present seemed determined on pursuing some selfish programme. The result would be to make it considerably more difficult for farmers to obtain beneficial legislation. At a subsequent stage of the proceedings, Mr. W. Smith, a miller, and President of the Lancashire Agricultural Society, and Liberal member for the North Lonsdale division of the county, said that it behoved them as tenant farmers to take a bold course and demand the three F's—aye, and even a fourth F. If they included freedom of cultivation they would then be on the high road to success. He had been practically forced to the conclusion that they could only get a proper adjustment of rents by means of a land court. Mr. Readhead then formally moved that the land court and "the three F's" be placed on the agenda for future discussion. Mr. Middlehurst, an Ormskirk delegate, gave the conference some personal experiences of farming under present conditions. He had spent the greater part of his life and means in improving his farm, and yet to-day he was paying 25 per cent. more rent than when he took the farm. He could not say that he was in favour of a land court and the three F's. He would prefer, if possible, to secure an amendment of the Agricultural Holdings Act. He proposed as an amend-



ment that they should look for a remedy for the present state of things in a measure of compulsory compensation for unexhausted improvements, the abolition of the law of distress, and the division of local rates. Two voted for the amendment, and the resolution was then carried with enthusiasm.

Little further was heard of the suggested union of landlords and farmers, and by general consent it was agreed that nothing short of statutory enactments would meet the pressing needs of the agriculturists. To attain the objects of such divided counsels by means of legislation, there could be obviously no possible agreement between the two political parties. The point, however, was clearly brought out at the Chester and other meetings of a similar kind. Whilst eager to obtain more complete freedom in the management of their holdings, the English farmers gave no proof of any desire to become, like their Irish brethren, owners of the soil. The landlord was still to remain the titular owner, responsible for the payment of all charges for rates, tithes, and taxes, and at the same time to be expected to provide and keep in repair the necessary farm buildings. The farmer, freed from all such burdens, was to pay the rent he considered suitable, and to farm the land with regard only to his own interests and convenience.

Whilst the Conservatives were, in their own way, anxious to show their interest in farmers and farm labourers, the Ministerialists found it expedient to display a similar anxiety for artisans and unskilled workmen. The miners, as shown by their conferences at Birmingham (Jan. 12-14), that although the Durham men remained unconvinced as to the necessity of an Eight Hours Bill, the general feeling of other districts was in favour of the measure, if it could be passed in such a form as to render its application voluntary in each district. On the subject of wages there was greater unanimity, and greater ignorance of the economic laws governing prices. The general opinion was summed up in Mr. S. Woods, M.P.'s remark: "The general public could and would pay a price for coal commensurate with fair wages being paid to the men." In other words, they proposed that the consumers should be made to pay a possibly fancy price for a necessary of life, which, if forced up, would find itself face to face with foreign rivals. The consequence of such a policy would be the speedy development of a cry for Protection or Fair Trade from the coal-miners, to be followed, if not accompanied, by a similar demand from all trades into which the consumption of coal largely entered.

The miners, however, notwithstanding their endorsement of the programme of the National Federation, fell far short of the aspirations of the Independent Labour Party. At the first conference of this body, held at Bradford (Jan. 13), and attended by 115 delegates, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., and Mr. Ben Tillet (alderman of the London County Council), were

the most prominent speakers—the former being elected president. At the outset of the proceedings the name to be adopted was a subject of keen discussion, and it was only after a long debate that the title of the "Socialistic Labour Party" was abandoned; and the object of the party was declared to be "to secure the collective ownership of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange." The programme ultimately agreed to, as a preliminary to the attainment of the ultimate aim of the Independent Labour Party, included the following points: the abolition of overtime, piecework, and child-labour, an eight hours' working day, adult suffrage, second ballots, the payment of members and of election expenses, the abolition of the monarchy and the House of Lords, shorter Parliaments, the abolition of indirect taxation, and a graduated income tax. The proceedings of the conference terminated by a religious service of the Bradford Labour Church, held in St. George's Hall, when Mr. Keir Hardie claimed that the balance of power in the country was even then in the hands of the Independent Labour Party.

The scarcely veiled threat contained in this pronouncement may have forced the Government to hasten on their promised boons to the working classes, and to accept with alacrity an interview proposed by the Parliamentary Committees of the Co-operative Union and the Trades Union Congress. It had been rumoured that the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Mundella), and the Vice-President (Mr. Burt, M.P.), had in view the creation of a Labour Department of the Board of Trade; but nothing had transpired as to the work which would be undertaken. Mr. Mundella, in confirming this rumour to the deputation (Jan. 24), explained the objects in view. The Labour Department was to be in every respect independent and a reality, but it was to have no executive powers. It was to collect, digest, and publish statistical and other information bearing on questions relating to labour. It would take over the work of the present Commercial Department, and consist of three distinct sections—Commercial, Labour and Statistical. Correspondents were to be appointed in a number of large provincial towns, so far as possible, in the same centres as contemplated for factory inspection. These correspondents would be charged with the duty of informing the department of important events affecting labour in their districts, and of supplementing, where necessary, the inquiries of the central office by local investigation. In the future the local centres thus established would possibly have additional duties cast upon them. A *Labour Gazette* was to be issued, at first monthly, but perhaps more frequently hereafter. Its object would be to supply accurate information on subjects of special interest to workmen and workwomen. The *Labour Gazette* would be published at a penny, and a large number of copies would be *gratuitously distributed* to free libraries, workmen's



organisations, mechanics' institutes, chambers of commerce, and other institutions. The new department, under the superintendence of Mr. Giffen, would be one, Mr. Mundella said, to which every working man would have a right to apply for information. It was not established to disseminate any set of opinions, but to supply sound information on important questions. Much of our industrial war Mr. Mundella believed to be the result of ignorance on both sides, and he hoped the step taken would tend to improve the condition of labour, to increase our national prosperity, and give us a larger measure of industrial peace. Time and patience were required to see how far Mr. Mundella's optimistic hopes were to be realised. The experience of France and Belgium, where labour bureaus, supplemented by other institutions, existed, had not led to increased sympathy between workmen and employers; and so far as private effort could serve as a guide, the outcome of a *Labour Gazette* and a *Labour Registry* had been scarcely satisfactory. In the meanwhile, Mr. Mundella and his able colleague, Mr. Burt, found their proposal received with general good wishes from all sides, except that of the new trades unionism, which resented the use of any remedies but their own for the ills of the working class.

The only other event of importance calling for notice was the release of John Francis Egan from Portland Prison (Jan. 21). He had been condemned in 1884 to twenty years' penal servitude for his participation in a dynamite plot, in which another convict, named Daly, was the most active agent. Egan had throughout protested his innocence, and even his ignorance of what was going on in his house on the outskirts of Birmingham, where in the garden large quantities of explosives had been discovered. It was difficult to reconcile his plea of ignorance with the ardour with which his cause was championed by the Irish Nationalists, whose cause—according to his own account—he had no intention of aiding and abetting. Nevertheless, both Mr. Healy and Mr. Redmond, as representing the two Irish parties, were unremitting in their efforts to obtain the release of both Daly and Egan, and were probably encouraged in the hope of convincing Mr. Morley by their success on a previous occasion. By releasing Egan, whose case had always been held to differ at least in degree from that of the other dynamiters, Mr. Morley was able to meet the demands of the Irish Nationalists half-way, and in so doing he discreetly abstained from giving the reasons which enabled him to differentiate the two cases.

The only by-election during the recess was that caused by the regrettable death of Hon. W. H. Cross, who had entered Parliament for the first time as member for the West Derby division of Liverpool. The vacant seat was contested by Mr. D. S. Collin, a local manufacturer, and a strong supporter of *Mr. Gladstone's* policy, and Mr. Walter Long, who had been

Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board during Lord Salisbury's Administration. The contest, although keenly fought out, offered no features of interest, and seemed even locally to excite comparatively little interest. Mr. Long was returned by an increased majority over his opponent—3,632 to 2,275 votes—but the total poll showed a reduction of over 1,100 votes, which was accounted for by the supposed or real abstention of the Unionist temperance voters.

## CHAPTER II.

*Opening of Parliament—Queen's Speech—Debate on the Address—Egypt—East Africa—Evicted Tenants' Commission—Agricultural Distress—Release of the Dynamiters—The By-Elections—The Home Rule Bill—Debate on its Introduction—The Duke of Devonshire at the Liberal Union Club—The Claims of Ways and Means—Ministerial and Opposition Tactics—Improved Position of the Ministry—The Registration Bill—The Employers' Liability Act—The Welsh Church Suspensory Bill—The Local Option Bill—The Proposals of the Bishops of Chester and London—The Bimetallism Debate—The Parish Councils Bill—Imperial Federation—Mr. Gladstone and the Eight Hours Bill—By-Elections—Unrest of the Opposition—Lord Salisbury at the Carlton Club—The Rousing of Ulster—The Difficulties of Supply—The Postponement of the Home Rule Bill—The Evicted Tenants' Commission—Navy, Army, Civil Service Estimates—The East African Question—The Evicted Tenants' Bill—The Liberal Meeting—Deputation to the Prime Minister.*

IN view of the promises and pledges by which the Ministry and its supporters had obtained their majority, it was expected that Parliament would meet at an early date. Some surprise was therefore expressed when it was announced that the session would open only a few days in advance of the ordinary date. Rumour was naturally busy assigning motives for this unexpected curtailment of the first portion of the session, and it was asserted that either the Home Rule Bill was still incomplete, or that grave differences of opinion existed as to the order of public business, and as to the prominence to be given to the various items of the "Newcastle programme." However this may have been, there was nothing in the Queen's Speech, when Parliament at length met (Jan. 31), to indicate any intention on the part of the Government to postpone the Irish question in favour of any other business. The speech from the throne, which was delivered by Commission, ran as follows:—

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

"I continue to hold friendly and harmonious relations with all foreign Powers.

"Their declarations in every quarter are favourable to the maintenance of European peace.

"In connection with the approaching evacuation of Uganda by the British East Africa Company, I have deemed it exy



dient to authorise a commissioner of experience and ability to examine on the spot, with adequate provisions for his safety, into the best means of dealing with the country, and to report to my Government upon the subject.

"In view of recent occurrences in Egypt, I have determined on making a slight augmentation in the number of British troops there stationed. This measure does not indicate any change of policy, or any modification of the assurances which my Government have given from time to time respecting the occupation of that country.

"The Khedive has declared, in terms satisfactory to me, his intention to follow henceforward the established practice of previous consultation with my Government in political affairs, and his desire to act in cordial co-operation with it.

"In relation both to Egypt and to Uganda, papers in continuation of those heretofore presented will at once be laid before you.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,—

"The estimates of charge necessary for the public service in the coming financial year have been framed, and will be laid before you at an early date.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

"I have observed with concern a wide prevalence of agricultural distress in many parts of the country. It is to be hoped that among the causes of the present depression some may be temporary in their nature. But I do not doubt that you will take this grave matter into your consideration, and make it a subject of careful inquiry.

"The proclamations recently in force, which placed Ireland under exceptional provisions of law, have been revoked; and I have the satisfaction of informing you that the condition of that country with respect to agrarian crime continues to improve.

"A bill will be submitted to you, on the earliest available occasion, to amend the provision for the government of Ireland. It has been prepared with the desire to afford contentment to the Irish people, important relief to Parliament, and additional securities for the strength and union of the empire.

"Bills will be promptly laid before you for the amendment of the system of registration in Great Britain, for shortening the duration of Parliaments, and for establishing the equality of the franchise by the limitation of each elector to a single vote.

"There will also be proposed to you various bills bearing on the condition of labour, among which are measures in relation to the liability of employers, the hours of labour for railway servants, and a bill to amend the law of conspiracy.

"Your attention will likewise be invited to measures for

further improvement of local government, including the creation of parish councils, for the enlargement of the powers of the London County Council, for the prevention of the growth of new vested interests in the ecclesiastical establishments in Scotland and in Wales, and for direct local control over the liquor traffic, together with other measures of public utility.

"I humbly commend your labours upon these and all other subjects to the guidance of Almighty God."

By the order in which the Government measures were arranged, some critics professed to detect the influences which were most potent in the Cabinet; but the probability was that the chances of passing one or two of those named immediately after the Irish Home Rule Bill were more in the mind of the framers of the Queen's Speech than any real indication of Ministerial preference. Moreover, the order in which notice of the various Government bills was given did not altogether coincide with that indicated in the speech. The abolition of plural voting and even the Local Option Bill were made to precede the Employers' Liability Bill, after which the Registration Bills for England and Scotland, and a Railway Servants' Hours of Labour Bill followed in the order named. Private members, moreover—who in a first session usually display an eagerness to leave their mark on the Statute Book—put in their claims on the time of the House, and in the course of the first night gave notice of upwards of 400 measures, of which many probably obtained the honour of being printed at the public expense, but few received the courtesy of even the briefest discussion.

The business of the session commenced in the House of Lords under the dispiriting influence of a speech by Lord Brassey, who, in moving the Address, deprecated the anticipated hostility of the peers to Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy. He based his argument in support of his leader on the ground that, inasmuch as Ireland enjoyed representative institutions, it was inconsistent with our theories of government that the country should be administered in total disregard of the wishes of the majority. Instead, however, of boldly claiming the consequent concession of Home Rule, Lord Brassey "trusted that the measure of local self-government about to be introduced would be such as prudent and patriotic men could support." He congratulated Lord Rosebery on the result of his prompt action in Egypt, highly commended the new labour department, and expressed a hope that benefit would accrue from the proposed inquiry into the depressed condition of agriculture. Coming from a peer who whilst not occupying an official position was supposed to be in the confidence of the leading members of the Government, Lord Brassey's speech hardly suggested any great belief in the fate of the chief measure of the session. Lord Thring, another of Mr. Gladstone's peers,

who had drafted the original Home Rule Bill of 1886, seconded the motion, and spoke with far more assurance. He argued that not only Home Rule was the only remedy for the ills of Ireland, but that it might be granted safely and consistently with the maintenance of the unity of the empire, whilst the experience of our self-governing colonies showed that the minority had no ground for fearing the oppression of the majority.

Lord Salisbury, as leader of the Opposition, then set himself to deal with the various topics in the Queen's Speech from a very different point of view; but before entering upon a caustic criticism of the Ministerial policy, he sarcastically complimented Lord Brassey on the moderation of his advocacy and hinted some doubt as to the authority upon which he had spoken. Beginning with the question of foreign policy, Lord Salisbury had nothing but praise to give to Lord Rosebery for his management of affairs under circumstances of peculiar delicacy. He then went on to warn the Government that a maritime blockade alone was insufficient, and that it would be found necessary to keep hold of Uganda in order to take the slave trade by the throat. He admitted that although neither the despatch of fresh troops to Egypt, nor the recent events at Cairo, had modified our policy with regard to a temporary occupation of that country, yet he thought that the situation had been greatly altered, and that the prospect of an early evacuation had become more remote, because such a step had become more hazardous. Coming to matters nearer home, he expressed a sort of good-humoured contempt at the idea of a fresh inquiry into the causes of farmers' troubles. "I take it," he said, "that agricultural depression is due to two causes—bad weather and low prices—and the Government cannot get rid of the one if they would, and would not get rid of the other if they could." Turning next to Irish affairs, he sharply criticised the conduct of the Government, which was apparently based on a desire to buy the support of a class whom no politician had ever before approached with the idea that it was necessary or possible to conciliate them. Politicians had no doubt done much to obtain support even from extreme parties and sections, but never before had they thought of "politically capturing the classes in Ireland who sympathised with crime." Yet that had been the keynote of the policy of the Government during the last five months, and he instanced in proof the steps they had taken to "paralyse" the operation of the Crimes Act, the issue of the Evicted Tenants' Commission in the interests of those who "combined together to defraud their creditors," and the release of the murderers of Inspector Martin, in order to announce to the world that in the view of a Liberal Government "the murder of a policeman employed by a Tory Government was not such a wicked thing after all." All these acts pointed to "one settled aim and intention: that Mr. Morley's government



of Ireland, whatever its merits or demerits, showed more sympathy with the criminal than the Government which went before." Taking the Meath election as a test, he insisted on the necessity of protecting the Ulster minority from the Roman Catholic majority of Ireland, and thus summed up the essentials of the Irish difficulty. "The whole question is not only coloured by, but it is absolutely conditioned by, and entirely consists in the fact, that Irish society is divided to its base, and the differences between the two sections—differences of race tradition, long history and mutual ill-will—remove them from the category of those other populations where the majority and the minority alter in their constitution with each passing question of the day." With regard to the rest of the legislative programme of the Government, he remarked that it suggested a mass of work which would occupy at least a generation, and prophesied that not one-tenth of the proposed measures would reach the Upper House. Parish councils and local option he laughed at, declaring that if the former were established nobody would attend them, and if the latter was set up the brewers would have it all their own way. In conclusion, he warned the Government that the depression from which other industries besides agricultural were suffering would be aggravated by shaking men's belief in the sanctity of contracts and the security of property; but, on the other hand, he expressed his hope that the undue severity of the Poor Law in respect to the aged and infirm was to be relaxed, and trusted that the promised inquiry into the subject would lead to some satisfactory results.

Lord Kimberley, as leader of the House, replied on behalf of the Government, but failed to make any vigorous defence of his colleagues. The Government, he declared, would maintain their position in Egypt as long as was required by the obligations into which they had entered, alike for the welfare of that country and the interests of the empire. He had no belief in heroic measures for the relief of agriculture; but the Government would welcome any sound suggestions for that object which might result from a careful inquiry. He denied that the Chief Secretary for Ireland had endeavoured to obtain the support of the criminal classes, and asserted that he would be able to defend his policy whenever it was specifically attacked. The bill relating to the better government of Ireland would be introduced after the debate on the Address closed in the other House, and it would be found to be by no means so milk-and-water a measure as the leader of the Opposition appeared to imagine. Although priests might sometimes exercise too much influence at elections, he did not believe that the Roman Catholic majority in Ireland would oppress the Protestants even if it had the power. The Government would introduce their various measures in perfect good faith, with the honest intention and desire, if possible, to pass them; and he believed that they were calculated to promote the welfare and content-

ment of the people. In conclusion, while holding that the general principles of the Poor Law were sound, he thought it extremely desirable that the present system should undergo thorough examination, in respect especially to the particular points which Lord Salisbury had indicated.

The Duke of Devonshire, as the recognised leader of the Liberal Unionists, expressed his disappointment at the meagre information with regard to the coming Irish bill afforded by Lord Kimberley, and argued that before Parliament was invited to consider the question of Home Rule it ought to have an explanation from the Government of how the supremacy of the imperial legislation was to be maintained intact. In support of this argument, he quoted a number of inconsistent declarations by various members of the Government and their supporters, which it was impossible to reconcile with the previous declarations of the same speakers, that the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament should be unquestionable. "There is a danger," said the duke, "that the English people, trusting to the continued validity of these declarations, and finding in the proposed bill some recognition of the principles of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, may be lulled into a sense of security, and may accept a measure providing for a supremacy which Irish members with good reason believe will never be enforced and cannot be enforced."

The second night's debate turned more exclusively upon Irish affairs; and it was felt that the position of the Government was distinctly strengthened by the speeches of the Lord Chancellor and Earl Spencer—both of whom warmly defended Mr. Morley and the Irish Executive from the attacks made upon them. The Marquess of Londonderry, a former viceroy, opened the adjourned debate by bearing emphatic testimony to the strong and universal repugnance to Home Rule pervading Ulster, and also to the resolute determination of its people to resist by every means in their power the attempt to force any such measure upon them. He next sharply criticised the action of the Irish Executive during the last six months, charging them with truckling to lawlessness and crime, as exemplified by their release of the Gweedore prisoners, the issue of the Evicted Tenants' Commission, and their other administrative proceedings. The result of their degrading and pernicious policy had, he insisted, been an undoubted increase of serious crime in certain parts of the south and west of Ireland, as proved by the charges of the judges of assize, and by other authoritative testimony; and he appealed earnestly to the Government to revert to the firm and impartial administration of the law—the only policy which could ensure permanent peace and prosperity to Ireland.

Earl Spencer, replying to the Duke of Devonshire's demand for information regarding the Home Rule Bill, said it would be irregular to forestall the explanation of its provisions, which



would be given when the measure was introduced. Answering Lord Londonderry's strictures upon the Irish Executive in detail, he defended the appointment of the Evicted Tenants' Commission, and asserted that, in revoking the proclamation issued by their predecessors under the Crimes Act, the Government had satisfied themselves on the score of the safety and expediency of that step. He maintained that in Ireland generally agrarian crime had diminished, although he admitted that in the counties of Clare and Kerry the state of things was not so satisfactory. He warmly repudiated the charge of truckling to lawlessness, asserting that the late Home Secretary, Mr. Matthews, had agreed to release Callan, and that Mr. Balfour had used words which justified the commission of inquiry on evicted tenants. In conclusion, he expressed his deep regret that one who had filled the high office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland should seem, even indirectly, to encourage the people of Ulster to resist the will of the Imperial Parliament if it should venture to pass a Home Rule Bill for Ireland.

The ex-Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Lord Ashbourne, at once followed in a spirited speech, in which he arraigned the entire policy of the Irish Chief Secretary, maintaining that it had been one of steady and systematic disparagement to all Unionists and Loyalists. He condemned the dropping of the clauses relating to the change of venue and to special juries in the Crimes Act as weakening the power of detecting and punishing crime, and he held that those clauses might advantageously be incorporated with the normal and permanent criminal law of the country. He controverted in detail the defence set up for the appointment, the composition, and also the procedure of the Evicted Tenants' Commission, and he urged that there was nothing in either the common or the statute law to sanction a judge like Sir J. Mathew deserting his judicial duties at the bidding of the Lord Lieutenant in order to engage in political and partisan work upon a roving commission of that character. A grave constitutional risk, moreover, attended that transaction; and he strongly doubted whether it had received the approval of any judge of Sir J. Mathew's division. Lord Ashbourne next discussed minutely the circumstances connected with the release of the Gweedore prisoners, regarding it as wholly indefensible and highly dangerous to the interests of law and order, and he pointedly asked why the judge who tried the case was not consulted before the men were liberated.

To this last point the Lord Chancellor, Lord Herschell, at once replied, disclaiming the suggestion that his advice had in the least degree been influenced by party considerations. Reviewing all the circumstances of the case and the conditions of the country, he had thought that the time had come when the prisoners might with safety be set at liberty after they had suffered three years of penal servitude. Sentences were

reconsidered from time to time in England, and he thought the sooner the same practice was followed in Ireland the better. He admitted that it would be base indeed to use the prerogative of mercy for party ends, but it would be baser still, for fear of a political attack, to keep men in prison longer than they otherwise would be kept. The learned judge referred to had been consulted a year before on the same subject; his report was considered by the present Government, and they did not think it necessary to consult him again. With respect to the Evicted Tenants' Commission, he stated that the sole object in appointing it was not to arraign either the landlords or the tenants for wrong-doing, but to find a solution which, while it would be fair and just to both sides, would remove a social danger. In conclusion, he averred that the Government had not taken up their Irish policy in a mere spirit of wantonness, but in the firm belief that it was the one best calculated to secure the peace and prosperity of the country; and he hoped that when their measure saw the light it would receive a fair and dispassionate consideration.

Although there was never any intention on the part of the Opposition peers of moving any amendment on the Address, the debate was extended over three evenings; but the interest it excited even in the House itself was very feeble. The last evening (Feb. 3) was almost exclusively occupied by speeches from Irish landlords—amongst whom the Earl of Dunraven was the most conspicuous. The tone of all the speakers was bitterly hostile to the Government, and the policy it had adopted or foreshadowed in Ireland. The Address was, however, agreed to without a division.

In the House of Commons, notwithstanding an unofficial and fruitless suggestion to limit the debate on the Address to a single night's discussion, there was a distinct intention on the part of the Opposition to take advantage of all their privileges. At the very outset of the proceedings they were favoured by the course adopted by the Nationalist whip, Colonel Nolan (*Galway, N.*), who, as soon as the Speaker took the chair, moved the issue of a new writ for South Meath in the place of Mr. Fullam, unseated on the ground of undue influence and spiritual intimidation. After some discussion the motion was temporarily withdrawn; but four hours and a half had been spent before the Queen's Speech was read from the chair. The Address in answer was moved by Mr. Lambert (*Devonshire, South Molton*), the tenant farmer who had twice carried his seat against a strong combination of landlords and others; and it was seconded by Mr. Mark Beaufoy (*Lambeth*), who had won back a metropolitan constituency at a very critical moment.

Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*), in leading off on behalf of the Opposition, followed in arrangement and tone the line adopted by the Marquess of Salisbury in the Upper House when discussing the Government policy in Uganda and Egypt. The



rague way in which the necessity of inquiring into the causes of agriculture was referred to in the Queen's Speech gave Mr. Balfour an opportunity of making a good point out of the ill-luck attendant upon the attempts of the Government to deal with public questions by a royal commission. By an easy transition he thus came to the commission appointed to inquire into the condition of the evicted Irish tenants, and commented in severe terms upon its composition. He further maintained that as that commission lacked the power of cross-examination its chances of getting at the truth were but slender, and the result of its inquiry must be "absolutely worthless." Mr. Balfour then called upon Mr. Morley to show that even with the aid of influential agencies, which never gave any assistance to the Unionist Government in maintaining order, the law had been so effectually vindicated in Clare and elsewhere that the Government could afford to dispense with the powers conferred by the Crimes Act. With regard to the two dynamiters, Egan and Allan, he declared himself willing to accept a statement from the Home Secretary that their release was no part of a general amnesty. Indeed, he would never have asked for a statement from a Minister of the Crown on this subject if the Government had not by their previous declarations and recent acts given too much ground for the suspicion that they were prepared to buy political support by recommending the extension of the royal clemency to criminals. Referring to the release of the Gweedore prisoners, Mr. Balfour said that the Minister who showed his contempt for the safety of the police by arbitrarily diminishing the just punishment of these malefactors was using the prerogative of mercy not as an instrument of justice, but as a political weapon. The mention in the Royal Speech of so many projects of legislation was, in Mr. Balfour's opinion, a somewhat barren homage paid to the Newcastle programme. In the absence of any resolution of the House in favour of disestablishment, the Government were going to introduce bills which, if passed, would paralyse the efficiency of the Church in Wales and of the Church of Scotland, and would hold out to them no hopes of a final issue in the direction of either establishment or disestablishment. Referring, in conclusion, to the measure on the government of Ireland, Mr. Balfour observed that the task of carrying through a gigantic constitutional revolution was one heavy enough for the shoulders of any Parliament, and sufficient to occupy the time of any session. While reserving his comments on the measure until its details were explained, he might point out that it would reverse the process by which every empire in the world had been built up.

Mr. Gladstone, in a long speech, which was marked by an unwonted display of temper, defended the inclusion of the various measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech on the ground of the continual growth in the arrears of legislation.



Some measures not there enumerated would be introduced, and he announced the intention of the Government to recommend the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the land question in Wales. He believed that the bill relating to the ecclesiastical establishment in Wales would not suspend, but would rather quicken the activity of the Church in that country; and a similar result would be produced in Scotland. There was, he contended, no precedent to justify a leader of the Opposition, who, in discussing the inoffensive announcement of a measure of the highest constitutional importance, used inflammatory phrases which begged every question and prejudiced every argument. As a matter of fact, every empire which had resolutely adopted the principle of local autonomy had been strengthened. He indignantly denied that the Government had debased themselves by exercising the prerogative of clemency for the purpose of obtaining political support; and with regard to the commission on the evicted tenants, he insisted that it was impossible to form a correct judgment on its proceedings until its report had been presented. As to Uganda, their information was at present derived from the agents of the East Africa Company and from the missionaries, and there was no evidence before them which proceeded from persons well qualified to speak on behalf of the British people; but Sir Gerald Portal entertained comprehensive views on the whole question, and would advise the adoption of the course which might appear on the whole to be the best. Almost the whole of Europe perceived that we had virtually no option in the recent crisis in Egypt, as we were mainly responsible for the maintenance of peace and order in that country, and he rejoiced to think that what had just been done had received general acceptance from the great body of the community. In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone expressed an earnest hope that the minds of members would not be inflamed beforehand by violent denunciations of the Home Rule Bill which would shortly be introduced.

After the interval of a day (Feb. 1) devoted rather to Scotch than to Irish questions, and after a "scene" in which Colonel Saunderson (*Armagh, N.*) played the chief rôle, the interest of the adjourned debate on the Address (Feb. 2) centred in the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) and Mr. John Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*)—formerly the closest of allies—now the bitterest adversaries. The former began by commenting on the curious state of affairs which made it possible for a Government to have been five months in office without anybody knowing whether they really possessed the confidence and support of the House or not; but he did not insinuate that the Ministerial party were not united: "We have only to look in their faces," he said, "to know that they are indeed a happy family, and the way in which they have spread themselves out in all quarters of the House is in itself a happy

ty for their harmonious co-operation in future." Mr. Chamberlain then proceeded to discuss foreign affairs, and to vent on the differences of opinion known to prevail among members of the Cabinet as to our future policy in Egypt. He first asked for more information as to what was to happen in Egypt, and he declared himself to be against an immediate and a very early evacuation of the country. As to Uganda, he pressed a strong opinion that the mission of Sir Gerald Portal was unnecessary, and therefore inexpedient, and he asked for an answer as to what was to happen in the interval between the completion of Sir Gerald's mission (followed by his withdrawal from the country), and the arrival by Her Majesty's Government at a final decision as to the future. He was as strongly in favour of the retention of Uganda, and he declared himself emphatically against "a policy of drift," which would commend itself to no party. But the greater part of his speech was directed to the Irish question, and here he sharply criticised Mr. Morley's policy of amnesty which was compared with dynamiters. When Mr. Morley denied this, Mr. Chamberlain asked why it was, then, that the Irish Secretary, in making an amnesty speech, had referred to the French anarchists. If Mr. Morley did not refer to the dynamiters, what did he refer to? Here a member somewhat recklessly shouted, "To the Irish nation!" but when Mr. Chamberlain retorted, "What! do they *all* want an amnesty?" the noise was drowned with laughter. He went on to discuss the case of the Gweedore prisoners in a very damaging manner, and subsequently turned to Home Rule, as to which he asked several questions on points of detail, and especially on the subject of the Government's policy, in accordance with the declarations of Mr. Asquith, that the Government would be maintained with a separate Parliament sitting in Ireland, an "unimpaired, unquestioned, and unquestionable authority of the Imperial Parliament over all persons and all matters both local and imperial."

In accordance with the Parliamentary custom for Cabinet members not to speak between certain hours, Mr. Morley's speech, his former ally was postponed until nearly the end of the day. He began by declaring that he had never heard of a more treacherous utterance in the House on the most delicate subject of foreign policy than those which fell from the mouths of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour, who had used language which was calculated to produce an injurious effect in Egypt, and to incite the Egyptian people to desert that course of co-operation with our Government on which our success depended. With regard to the Irish question, he pointed out that as long as gentlemen opposite were doing nothing was done or said to show that they did not contemplate the abandonment of that country. The whole question, however, bristled with difficulties, and it could be most profitably discussed when Mr. Labouchere's amendment was brought forward. Referring to the release of certain prisoners,



he remarked that even if the members of the Government were such sinister and bad men as some people supposed, they were not so foolish as to commit those acts in order to fulfil a bargain which was not going to be kept by the other side. The member for Birmingham was anxious to know what were the provisions of the bill for the better government of Ireland. Let the present debate be brought to a close, and the bill would be explained in all its details the very next day. He had been charged with neglecting to take certain precautions for the prevention and punishment of crime in Ireland, but after all the best of a policy lay in broad facts, and he adduced statistics to show that the number of agrarian outrages had greatly diminished, that rents were never better paid than at present, and that there had been a decrease in the number of criminal cases tried at the winter assizes. In abandoning the section of the Crimes Act that allowed a secret inquiry, he had merely dropped a weapon which was of little use to those who forged it. As to the recent judgment of the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin against the Chief Secretary's action on the subject of night seizures, he might state that an appeal against the decision had been lodged, and would be heard in another court; and it should be borne in mind that the policy of recent legislation had been to restrict the levying of legal processes by night. The Evicted Tenants' Commission was not created to be a court to try either landlords or tenants. It was true that the majority of gentlemen on the commission were of Nationalist sympathies, but they were conversant with the special difficulties of the case, and, moreover, they were not appointed to try a political question. He could not have given a better guarantee to Parliament and the country than by inviting an English judge, full of respect for law and for the foundations of property, to become president of the commission. It was not denied that the proceedings of the commission had been conducted with undisputed impartiality—an assertion which was greeted with laughter by the Opposition—and he believed the report, shortly to be presented, would aid in the solution of a most difficult problem. After an explanation of the circumstances connected with the liberation of the Gweedore prisoners, Mr. Morley concluded by saying that there was no transaction in his public life on which he should look back with more satisfaction than the part he had taken in the release of those four men.

With these speeches from the chief party leaders the general discussion of the Ministerial policy ended, and the debate on the Address might reasonably have been brought to a close. Another week, however, was occupied in the discussion of a variety of topics, of which the text was found in the Queen's Speech.

On Egyptian affairs, where the action of the Khedive had or a moment seemed to threaten the peace of Europe, Lord

Rosebery's promptness and firmness met with general approval. He told the French ambassador with perfect frankness that the Khedive's conduct might have created a popular excitement in the midst of which some insult offered to the British uniform or the British flag might have raised the Egyptian question in its most acute phase. He had, therefore, telegraphed to Lord Cromer instructions which clearly conveyed that the prerogative claimed by the Khedive of acting independently of the British resident would not be tolerated, even if force had ultimately to be employed.

On the Uganda question, raised by Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) (Feb. 3), Lord Rosebery's definite policy was almost unanimously endorsed. The rivalries of the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries had produced an unsettled state of affairs in East Africa. France, claiming to be the special protectress of the latter—notwithstanding the loudly asserted anti-clericalism of the French Cabinet and Chamber—was morbidly sensitive to any course which failed to reflect its influence. Sir Gerald Portal was, therefore, sent to Uganda with a free hand. He was empowered to settle all burning questions, define an attitude towards the king, quiet religious broils, prevent all massacres, ascertain the responsibilities and power of the East Africa Chartered Company, and then to advise on the best course to be permanently pursued. Mr. Gladstone, in his answer to Mr. Labouchere, minimised as much as possible Sir Gerald Portal's mission, saying that he was not sent to administer Uganda, but only to supply the Government at home with information. When the House of Commons next met (Feb. 6), Mr. Gladstone was forced to correct his previous statement, and to admit that Sir Gerald Portal had received from Lord Salisbury a despatch giving him full powers of control, administrative and political, over Uganda.

Agricultural distress and the measures to be taken for its relief formed the next subject of debate, on the complaint that no notice had been made to the subject in the Queen's Speech. Incidentally the question of bimetallism was discussed (Feb. 6) in a somewhat academic tone, only serving to show how little the question was understood, and how strong the feeling was in favour of monometallism. The agricultural question naturally could not be discussed without reference to Ireland, and Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) drew attention to the fall of agricultural prices throughout Ireland, and especially in Ulster. The farmers could not sell their cattle, and the flax would not pay the cost of the seed. He also accused Mr. Morley of having been anxious in 1886 to take action in view of the depression of finance, but that in face of the present greater fall he absolutely refused to interfere with the judicial rents or to take any other line of action. Mr. Morley in reply admitted that he had called for official reports "dealing with the matter of prices generally," and that these reports, though



they had not been fully examined, "had led him to the conclusion that, while there was every reason to admit that considerable room existed for improvement in the general agricultural condition of Ireland, that condition at the present moment could not be regarded as a critical one." If the Ulster farmers had been hit over cattle and flax, they had done well in grass-seed, the price of which had risen 22 per cent. The price of hay, too, had risen by 36 per cent. "A time might come when it would be necessary to make remedial proposals to Parliament of the kind suggested by some hon. gentlemen from Ireland; but at the present moment he was not inclined either to submit himself, or to support, a measure on the subject."

On the general question the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Wm. Harcourt), in a thoughtful and weighty speech, pointed out that if they dealt with one interest in distress they must deal with all, and this would revolutionise our financial system. He quoted with approval Lord Salisbury's declaration that he would never consent to impose a tax on the food of the people, and proceeded to say that the question of agricultural distress could not be satisfactorily treated by tampering with the currency of the country. In his opinion low prices were the result, not of any monetary system, but of the development of greater means of production. The Government were anxious that the proposed committee should discuss the whole subject in the most sympathetic spirit, and desired to do everything they properly could to promote the well-being of the agricultural community. After this assurance the House might have been content to let the matter drop, as Mr. Labouchere had dropped the East African question, but a division was taken upon purely party lines, and the amendment was rejected by 272 to 232 votes.

After the agricultural the industrial question claimed the attention of the "working man's friends," but the debate and division showed that on this problem and its proper solution opinions were very unsettled. Mr. Keir Hardie (*West Ham*), an essentially working man's representative and an advanced Radical, moved an amendment, expressing regret that the Queen's Speech did not refer to the prevalent industrial depression with a view to prompt and effective legislation in the interests of the unemployed. In a far more temperate speech than his platform utterances had led the House to anticipate he urged the claims of a hitherto unchampioned class. Among the remedial steps he suggested were the abolition of overtime at the dockyards, the proper execution of Government contracts in this country, and the establishment of home colonies or vacant land as a means of providing for unemployed working men. The amendment was seconded by a strong Conservative Mr. Howard Vincent (*Sheffield, C.*), who contended that much of the existing distress was due to unjust fiscal laws.

Mr. Saunders (*Walworth*), a Gladstonian Liberal, who represented a working-class metropolitan constituency, opposed the amendment because it suggested no practical remedy which the Government could adopt. Whilst, on the other hand, the Conservative member for an equally typical constituency, Mr. Bousfield (*Hackney, N.*), remarked that an overwhelming majority of members were pledged to support this social reform, and asked the Prime Minister whether he intended to treat them as he did his majority of 1886, which he smashed and pulverised on the rock of Home Rule. A more prominent member of the Opposition, Sir J. Gorst (*Cambridge Univ.*), held that this question was more important than the question of Home Rule, and observed that the electors of England had by a large majority at the last general election pronounced their opinion to that effect. There was no reason why the Government should not even now promise that this question of industrial depression should, subject to the exigencies of carrying the Home Rule Bill, occupy the second place in their programme in lieu of the gerrymandering legislation which was intended to give an electioneering advantage to one political party.

In the presence of such divergent opinions, and in ignorance of how far the speakers represented any one besides themselves, the task of the Government was not very clear. The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Mundella), however, spoke out very frankly, saying that the amendment, if carried, would be tantamount to a vote of censure on the Government, and reminded the House that he had himself placed on the paper three bills on labour questions—one dealing with the hours of labour of railway servants, another for the notification of accidents, and the third for promoting conciliation in labour disputes. Moreover, other members of the Government had given notice of various important measures affecting the interests of the labouring classes. He added, amid cheers, that he had organised an efficient Labour Department, which was in communication with the so-called labour bureaux, with a view to ascertain whether those institutions could be utilised. He wished they could remove these questions from the arena of party politics, but, unhappily, the tone and tenor of the speeches in the present debate had shown a party bias. As long as he held his present office labour questions would continue to receive his most careful attention.

This declaration conciliated the old trades unionists of the Labour Party, and Mr. Cremer (*Shoreditch*) announced his intention of not supporting Mr. Keir Hardie, whilst Sir J. Fergusson (*Manchester, N.E.*), for the official Conservatives, and Mr. Wyndham (*Dover*), for the more independent of the same party, found good reason for not following the lead of Mr. Keir Hardie, whose amendment was rejected by 276 to 109, the minority being composed of a heterogeneous gathering of Socialists, Tory Democrats and malcontents of various shades.



A more decided victory was gained on the following day (Feb. 8), by the Gladstonians, who by 312 to 228 votes defeated Mr. Jesse Collings' amendment, expressing regret that no measure had been promised for the relief of agricultural labourers. This was in other terms the same amendment as that by which in 1885 Mr. Gladstone had overthrown Lord Beaconsfield's Government. On the present occasion the Prime Minister was Mr. Gladstone, and he obtained apparently abundant pleasure in taunting Mr. Collings (*Birmingham, Bordesley*) with his abandonment of the Liberal Party, whose speech, he said, reminded him of the frozen tunes of Baron Munchhausen's horn, Mr. Collings in the warmer air of Opposition thawing out the tunes which during the previous six years of a Conservative Administration had been suspended. Speaking with greater warmth in reference to the obstructive tactics of the Opposition, he asserted that the Parish Councils Bill when introduced would be found to confer all the benefits sought by Mr. Jesse Collings, and many more besides.

The success of the Government in defeating an amendment which had been lukewarmly supported by the Opposition was made the occasion of an extraordinary demonstration. The leading members of the Government, exclusive of Mr. Gladstone, were brought in triumph to the National Liberal Club, where for some unexplained reason they gratified the members with a pæan on the virtues of their absent leader, and their own devotion to his and their own interests.

On the following day (Feb. 9) came the turn of the Irish Nationalists, of whom Mr. J. Redmond, a Parnellite (*Waterford City*), had managed to make himself the spokesman on behalf of the imprisoned dynamiters. The Anti-Parnellites would have gladly saved their Ministerial allies from the necessity of speaking out upon a question of such delicacy, but their hands were forced by Mr. Redmond, and they had no option but to follow him into the division lobby, and to leave him the credit with their countrymen of having put himself in the front of the fray. The debate was only interesting from the admirable speech it drew from the Home Secretary (Mr. Asquith, Q.C.), who gave evidence of possessing qualities which at once impressed the House that he would rise to high political eminence. Hitherto his speeches had been chiefly noted for their polished style and carefully prepared impromptus. On this occasion there were no balanced phrases and nicely rounded periods in Mr. Asquith's speech. There were none of those epigrammatic flashes with which he had on previous occasions lit up his discourse. But there was a strong, clear, direct, and thoroughly outspoken declaration of policy, with no trace of weakness or indecision, and none of those softened arts of conciliation resorted to sometimes to win Irish votes. The Home Secretary, after fully admitting Mr. Redmond's right to raise the question, complained of the way in which he himself

had been treated by the Opposition, for Mr. Chamberlain had accused him of "scandalously abusing the clemency of the Crown for political purposes," and Sir Frederick Milner had put down a hostile amendment, but had since run away from it. Mr. Asquith proceeded to declare that there was not a single allegation of fact or ground of suspicion mentioned by Mr. Redmond which he had not carefully and patiently investigated, and he commented strongly on the fact that Mr. Redmond had only gone into one case out of many, and had asked the House to upset the decisions of courts of law and of successive Secretaries of State without so much as knowing the names of all the prisoners concerned. Why, he asked, had not Mr. Redmond gone into all the cases? and, when Mr. Redmond replied, "It would have taken me three or four hours," the Home Secretary retorted, amid cheers, "The House would not have grudged the time; the hon. and learned gentleman knows the House too well." He proceeded to deal with all the cases, and showed that there was not a tittle of evidence to support the theory that explosives were "planted" on Daly by the police, and in a strong and eloquent denunciation of men who feared to meet their foes by force of arms in the open field, and who flew instead to the use of assassination and dynamite, he declared such persons to be "as much outside the pale of political offences as the man who in time of war poisoned the stream." Mr. Asquith further declared, with great emphasis, and amid loud cheers, that so long as he held his present position, and was responsible for the exercise of the prerogative of mercy, not one of these prisoners should receive any different treatment or have his sentence sooner interfered with than any other criminal now lying in her Majesty's gaols. He denied that England was an asylum for such people, and he pointed to the recent extradition of the anarchist François, the confederate of Ravachol, in proof of this. It was, he confessed, a "painful and repugnant duty" to make such a speech as this; it was much more easy to be clement and to let people out of gaol; but the Government had a duty to discharge, and were determined to discharge it at whatever cost. Persons who warred against society in this way, using terror for their instrument, and showing a reckless disregard of the safety of the weak, the innocent, and the helpless, would receive no consideration or indulgence from any British Government.

The division which followed showed that however little they may have appreciated Mr. Redmond's leadership the Anti-Parnellites were forced to support his demand. They found also a few, but very few, English Radicals to go into the lobby with them, whilst the Opposition seized the occasion of giving the Government upwards of 200 votes—more, in fact, than their own supporters supplied—and Mr. Redmond's amendment was negatived by 397 to 81 votes.



The debate on the Address, which might reasonably have been brought to a close at the end of the Friday's (Feb. 10) sitting, was protracted chiefly through a violent personal wrangle arising between the two front benches. Exception was taken to the question of the release of the Gweedore prisoners, being brought forward by Mr. Ross, Q.C. (*Londonderry*), who had been one of the prosecuting counsel when the case had been tried. The Government were obviously too anxious to avoid discussion, and their Attorney-General, Sir Charles Russell (*Hackney, S.*), was put forward to make a very strong pronouncement upon the question of etiquette. The Speaker declined to say that Mr. Ross would be out of order in proceeding, and Sir Charles Russell was confronted with his own action during the course of the Parnell Commission. After an hour or two had been spent on this point, giving rise to much heated controversy, another hour or two were consumed in an attempt to induce the Government to rescind their determination to hold a Saturday sitting in order to conclude the debate on the Address. The rest of the evening (Feb. 10) was devoted to a flood of maiden speeches, evoked by Mr. Arnold Foster's (*Belfast, W.*) amendment, dealing with clerical intimidation in the Meath elections. Mr. Arnold Foster, Mr. Horace Plunket (*Dublin County, S.*), Mr. Herbert Paul (*Edinburgh, S.*), and Mr. G. J. Butcher (*York City*) delivered excellent speeches which favourably impressed the House, and of which they were not altogether able to destroy the good effect during the course of the session.

The unwonted event of the House meeting on Saturday in the first fortnight was marked by a most interesting and striking speech from Mr. Gladstone, who went out of his way to answer Mr. James Lowther (*Kent, Thanet*) and Mr. J. H. Wilson (*Middlesboro'*), "the sailors' member," who, from two widely opposed points, urged that some restrictions should be placed upon the immigration of aliens into the United Kingdom. The former declared that from 80 to 90 per cent. of the persons engaged in the tailoring trade at the East End of London were foreigners, and in the shoemaking trade 25 per cent. Mr. Wilson alleged that our mercantile marine was largely manned by foreigners, a source of real danger in case of war. Mr. Gladstone spoke at some considerable length and with remarkable vigour, displaying an interest in the labour question which surprised even his own followers. He refused to admit the intended deduction from Mr. Lowther's speech, that the immigration of destitute aliens had thrown many British work-people upon the rates, and thereby added to the burdens of the country. Such a general belief, however, unless sustained by specific facts, did not bring the question to such a state of maturity as to warrant the Government in framing legislation. As to the deplorable sanitary condition of a portion of these foreign immigrants, it had already received the attention of the

President of the Local Government Board, and the Government were doing all they could to ascertain the real state of the facts. He understood Mr. Lowther to include in the phrase "destitute aliens" a large proportion of those Jewish and other immigrants who were now crowding the tailoring trade in the East End of London. If men obtained work on arriving in this country, and we were to spring upon them as destitute aliens, we should strike at the interests of the labourers whom we exported annually in hundreds of thousands; and he was not prepared to furnish foreign countries with something like a justification for the erection of barriers, really due to jealousy and selfishness, against the emigrants from this country. Her Majesty's Government recognised that the immigration of destitute aliens was a fair subject for investigation, and, if necessary, for legislation when the facts were made out. The general question of this immigration had been considered by the President of the Board of Trade, and the new Labour Department would institute a full inquiry into the facts; while in regard to America a commissioner was about to be despatched to the United States to make inquiries into their system of restriction. Undoubtedly there was a strong feeling in this country on the subject of alien immigration, and the Government were not only willing to grant a committee, but desired to assist in the investigation. They would, however, be guilty of endeavouring to obtain popularity under false pretences if they accepted an amendment which was so limited by the phrase "destitute aliens" that no practical result could spring from it.

Mr. Gladstone's refusal to countenance legislation on this subject was fully borne out by the figures quoted subsequently by the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Mundella), who, on the strength of the last census, declared that on the night when it was taken the number of foreign-born persons in England and Wales, rich and poor, resident or passing travellers, was under 200,000; the number of European foreigners being 168,719, of whom 87,448 were in London. On the other hand, within the past ten years, 1,100,000 British and Irish emigrants had betaken themselves to the United States alone. The promise of a committee to inquire into and report on the real state of the case was deemed sufficient, and Mr. Lowther's amendment having been rejected by 234 to 119 votes, the Address was agreed to without further obstacle. Many questions, however, which might have been legitimately raised were held over on an indefinite understanding that a more fitting occasion would be found to discuss them, and the vagueness of this arrangement led to much subsequent misunderstanding, and added further difficulties to the despatch of public business.

Outside the walls of Parliament a good deal of interest was concentrated on a number of the by-elections, for which writs had been moved. The vacancy at Huddersfield, occasioned by the death in India of Mr. Wm. Summers, a painstaking politician, who



had been unaccountably omitted from the new Liberal Government, was filled by Sir Joseph Crosland, a local Conservative, who had unsuccessfully contested the seat on three previous occasions. At the last general election he had been defeated by Mr. Summers by 261 votes, but on the present occasion (Feb. 4) he received 35 votes more than his opponent, Mr. Woodhead, a local manufacturer, on a slightly increased poll. At Burnley, which had been represented by the absconding bankrupt, Mr. Jabez S. Balfour, there was no such strong revulsion of feeling. An advanced Radical, and a thorough supporter of Home Rule, Hon. P. Stanhope, who at the general election had lost his seat at Wednesbury, was now returned to Parliament against Mr. W. Lindsay, a Conservative, by a majority of 693. Mr. Jabez Balfour's majority had been 1,415, and a fewer number of votes were then recorded. At Rochester, where the Conservative had been unseated on petition, Lord Cranborne was returned (Feb. 8) unopposed, the Gladstonians having been unable to agree upon a candidate. At Halifax and Walsall, however, the Ministerial candidates were more decidedly successful. At the former, Mr. Rawson Shaw succeeded to his father's seat, polling 4,617 votes against 4,249 given to Mr. A. Arnold, a Conservative, and 3,028 to Mr. Lister, a Labour candidate, whose determination to stand was alone thought likely to be fatal to Mr. Shaw's chances. At Walsall, where the sitting Conservative, Mr. F. James, had been unseated on petition, Sir Alfred Hayter, a Gladstonian, regained the seat for his party, defeating by 79 votes Mr. Ritchie, a prominent member of the previous Administration, who had lost his seat for the Tower Hamlets at the general election, possibly because his Conservatism was of too Liberal a type, and was the author of the London County Council. On the whole, therefore, the net result of the by-elections was to leave things as they were—the loss of the seat at Huddersfield being balanced by the gain at Walsall. The Unionists, however, found much consolation in their "moral victories" elsewhere, as shown in the increased number of votes polled by their candidates.

A little later in the month the Gladstonians were more fortunate; for although they failed to replace Mr. Louis Jennings at Stockport by one of their own party, Mr. Whiteley defeating (Feb. 22) their candidate, Major Sharp Hume, by 5,264 to 4,799 votes, they recovered the Hexham division of Northumberland and the Cirencester division of Gloucestershire by increased majorities, and firmly established their candidate at Pontefract. In the former, Mr. R. G. Clayton, who was unseated on petition, had at the general election carried the seat by a majority of 82 votes (4,092 to 4,010), but at the by-election Mr. M'Innes, previously defeated, secured 4,804 votes against 4,358 given to Mr. Richard Clayton. In the Cirencester division two contests had been held—one



immediately after the death of the sitting member, Mr. Winterbotham, when the Conservative, Colonel Chester Master, was returned by the narrow majority of 3—4,277 to 4,274. Mr. H. W. Lawson, the defeated Gladstonian, thereupon demanded a scrutiny, when the election judges found the votes to have been equal and the election void. On the present occasion Mr. H. W. Lawson polled 4,687 votes against 4,445, so that the seat once more reverted to the Liberals. The Pontefract election was more disastrous than either of these two last named, for the seat had been held by the Conservatives since 1885, when Mr. Childers had been defeated by Captain Rowland Winn. His succession to his father's peerage necessitated a new election, when Mr. Reckitt, a Gladstonian candidate, was successful (Feb. 13) with 1,228 votes against 1,169 given to his opponent, Mr. Shaw. Two other elections, Gateshead and the Horsham division of Sussex, left the former representation unchanged (Feb. 24)—Mr. Wm. Allan, the Gladstonian, polling 6,434 against 5,586 by Mr. P. Ralli, who at the general election had come within 300 votes of Mr. W. H. James; whilst at Horsham Mr. J. H. Johnstone succeeded to the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Wm. Barttelot by 4,150 votes to 2,656 polled by the Gladstonian, Mr. R. G. Wilberforce, who, however, in 1892 had only received 2,268 votes.

Each side pretended to find consolation in the results of these elections, and the figures were manipulated to suit the tastes and sympathies of either party. As, however, a new register had come into force at the beginning of the year, all comparisons were probably equally untrustworthy as showing any actual change of feeling. In the ten contested elections which had been held since the new year, six constituencies remained unchanged, whilst two which had returned Conservatives at the general election now returned Gladstonians. One—Cirencester—which had been for a moment represented by a Conservative returned to Liberalism, and in the remaining seat—Huddersfield—a Conservative had replaced a Liberal. On the other hand, taking in Halifax and Stockport, two double-barrelled constituencies, the highest poll as representing the full strength of the party—and omitting Maidstone, where a Conservative, Lord Cranborne, was returned unopposed—it showed that in these ten constituencies 45,290 Gladstonians had voted in 1893, compared with 45,871 in the previous year, and 46,114 Unionists, as compared with 45,424 in 1892—a fairly conclusive proof that the Unionist feeling in England at least was not diminishing. Five of these elections, moreover, had taken place before and the remaining five after the outlines of the new Home Rule Bill had been revealed.

On the day originally announced (Feb. 13) Mr. Gladstone rose in a House packed to overflowing, and in a speech occupying two hours and a quarter, during which his voice, though it grew weaker, was scarcely once heard to falter, expounded the

lines upon which the Government proposed to redeem their promise to give autonomy to the Irish people. Their secret had been admirably kept up to the last moment, for not a single hint had been given as to the proposals which were to conciliate the Irish without alienating the more moderate English and Scotch supporters of the Government. It was indeed rumoured that the actual details of certain parts of the bill had not been agreed upon by the Cabinet until the very eve of Mr. Gladstone's introductory speech. If this were so it was obvious that the protraction of the debate on the Address had not been altogether without use to the Government. But that as it may, Mr. Gladstone's speech showed that—except perhaps, on the land question—the whole had been thoroughly decided upon by the Prime Minister, and accepted on knowledge or on trust by his colleagues. In every way, however, it was a remarkable performance, especially for a man of eighty-three years, of which by far the greater portion had been passed in the stress and strain of political life. By general consent the speech did not equal that with which in 1886 he had first laid his Home Rule proposals before the country. The effect it produced upon the House was not nearly so strong—there was no enthusiasm about its reception, which was, indeed, cold and flat; but no doubt the silence of the House was partly attributable to the desire not to embarrass the speaker by too great a strain upon his strength. His own enthusiasm was, however, great, and he was full of animation, but his voice, which was full and clear when he began, showed traces of wear as he went on, and his exposition of the details of his measure, and the grave and solemn peroration with which his speech closed, were difficult to hear.

Mr. Gladstone began by justifying his own policy of giving Ireland autonomy instead of coercion. Between the Act of Union and 1830 there had been twelve years entirely free from coercion, but he pointed out that between 1832 and 1886 there had only been two years in which Ireland had been free from exceptional and oppressive laws, while since 1886 coercion had been made permanent—a state of things which was a “distinct and violent breach” of the pledge given at the Union, which promised equality of laws to Ireland. He was astonished that the Irish members had endured this state of things for so long, for up to 1885 only a small minority of them pleaded for self-government, but the wide extension of the franchise and the secret vote had in 1885 brought about a change, and now four-fifths of Ireland's representatives demanded local government. He admitted that Ireland was to some extent disunited on the subject, but he contended that if there were no disunion in Ireland, the opposition to Home Rule would “vanish as a shadow, and be never heard of more.” However, he did not believe that the views of the Irish minority were unalterable, and he cited instances



in which those views had been changed. As to English opinion, he declined to menace England, for it was "not by menaces that England was to be converted," but he pointed out that while she gave a majority of 211 against Home Rule in 1886, she had only given a majority of 71 against it now. Two-thirds of the adverse majority had vanished, and he asked who would be the "effective guarantee for the maintenance of the remainder"? After this exordium, delivered with great spirit, Mr. Gladstone then passed to give what he called "some intelligible account" of his bill, but he warned his hearers that he would have to confine himself to leading principles and features. He adhered to the five cardinal principles of the bill of 1886—the establishment of a legislative body in Dublin to deal with Irish as distinct from imperial affairs, the equality of all the kingdoms, an equitable repartition of imperial charges, the protection of minorities, and the carrying out of the plan as a "real and continued," if not a "final" settlement. The supreme authority of Parliament was not to be impaired or restricted, but an Irish Legislature was to be constituted, consisting of a legislative council and a legislative assembly, with power to make laws for exclusively Irish affairs. The subjects reserved from this legislature would be, among others, matters relating to the Crown, peace and war, dignities and titles, the law of treason, the law of aliens, and everything that belonged to external trade. The Irish Parliament would also be forbidden to interfere with religious freedom or with personal freedom. The viceroy would be removed from party by being appointed for six years, subject to the revoking power of the Crown, but would be subject to no religious disabilities; the executive powers of the sovereign would be fully devolved upon him: and he would have an executive committee of the Irish Privy Council to act as his Cabinet. He would have a veto on Irish bills on the advice of the executive committee, subject to the instructions of the sovereign. The legislative council would consist of forty-eight members elected by a constituency of about 170,000, possessing a rating qualification of 20*l.* annual value, and would be elected for eight years; the legislative assembly would comprise 103 members elected by the existing constituencies for five years. If any bills were passed by the assembly but rejected by the council, after two such occurrences, or after a dissolution, the two assemblies would be required to meet together, and the fate of the bill would be decided by the joint assembly. When any question of the invalidity of an Irish Act arose, there would be an appeal to the Privy Council, which would try it judicially, to see whether it was *ultra vires*, upon the initiative, not of any irresponsible person, but of the viceroy or the Secretary of State. The judges would be irremovable, and there would be two exchequer judges appointed to deal with financial and imperial business. The Irish Parliament would be appointed to meet



on the first Tuesday in September. Money bills would require the initiative of the viceroy, but the financial arrangements might be reconsidered after fifteen years on an address either from the House of Commons or from the Legislative Assembly. The Irish constabulary would be gradually reduced, and finally extinguished, their place being taken by local police. Mr. Gladstone then reviewed the arguments for and against the retention of the Irish members in Westminster, and declined to regard the question as at all vital to the bill, but announced that it proposed to retain them, eighty instead of over a hundred strong, with limited powers of voting. First of all, they would be excluded from voting upon any motion or bill expressly confined to Great Britain; secondly, they were not to vote for any tax not levied in Ireland, nor for any appropriation of money otherwise than for imperial services—the schedule to the bill naming the services—nor on motions or resolutions exclusively affecting Great Britain, or things or persons therein. With reference, however, to the first restriction, it seemed to the Government that there should be some way of raising the question whether or not the bill or motion ought to be extended to Ireland, and therefore Irish members would not be excluded from voting for a motion “incidental to” such bill or motion. Turning at length to the question of finance, Mr. Gladstone seemed for a moment to have lost that clearness and grasp of his subject which he had so often displayed in dealing with fiscal and financial proposals. The keynote of the bill, however, was to be found in the provision that there was to be one system of legislation for all the kingdoms in regard to it. This might be considered as taxing legislation or regulative legislation. Under the former head might be included customs duties, excise duties, the post office and telegraphs. By adopting this scheme they were likely to avoid any clashing or friction between the agents of the Imperial and the Irish Governments, and a larger and more liberal transfer would be made to Ireland for the management of her own affairs than could be otherwise effected. The principle to which they were bound to give effect was that Ireland should bear her fair share of imperial expenditure. The plan of a lump sum or “tribute” adopted in 1886 had disappeared in consequence of the retention of the Irish members; but the method of “quota” had not been now adopted. It was proposed to appropriate a particular fund, and to say that that fund should be taken by us, and should stand in fulfilment of all the obligations of Ireland for imperial purposes. The amount might be represented at 2,430,000*l.* gross a year, and subtracting from that sum 60,000*l.* a year for collecting, 2,370,000*l.* was the sum to be contributed, which was between the two points of 4 per cent. and a charge of 5 per cent. The Irish balance-sheet, therefore, stood in this position. On the credit side there would be a total of 5,660,000*l.*, and on the

other side the Irish Government would take over the whole of the civil government charges of the country, except the constabulary charges. These civil government charges amounted to 3,210,000*l.* Then there would be the collection of the revenue and the postal charges, and two-thirds of the charge for the constabulary which Ireland would be required to bear. These things would bring the Irish charge up to 5,160,000*l.*, and thus Ireland would have a clear surplus of 500,000*l.* with which to start on her own account. By arriving at this settlement we should escape the impending and constantly accruing increment of Irish charges. In a grave and solemn peroration, too low-voiced to be heard by all his audience, Mr. Gladstone earnestly expressed his wish to redeem the "fame and character of the country from an old dishonour," and to "increase, enhance and magnify the strength, greatness, glory and union of the empire," warning his hearers that if his bill or something like it were not passed there would be a demand, perhaps under less favourable circumstances, for the repeal of the Union. He declared that he would never bequeath to his country the continuance of that "heritage of discord" which had been handed down from generation to generation through seven centuries, and that it would be "a misery" to him in his closing years if he omitted any possible measure to uphold and promote the cause of all parties and nations in these isles. He entreated those nations, if with his latest breath, to let "the dead past bury its dead," to cast behind every recollection of bygone periods, and to cherish, love and sustain one another through all the vicissitudes in human affairs in the time to come.

The task of replying off-hand to a speech dealing with so many intricate questions and raising such numerous constitutional and administrative difficulties was confided to the ex-Solicitor-General, Sir Edward Clarke, Q.C. (*Plymouth*), who acquitted himself with credit in indicating the chief points to which his party would offer determined resistance. He began by referring to the omission of all reference to the land question; but Mr. Gladstone at once interposed saying that he had unaccountably omitted to say that the land legislation would be retained for three years in the hands of the Imperial Parliament. Sir Edward Clarke next took exception to the attention of eighty Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, to the omission of any clause protecting the Irish Protestants of Ulster and elsewhere, and to the sole guarantee of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament being referred to in the preamble to the bill thus depriving it of all weight and making it liable to be shuffled out of the Statute Book at any moment. Then the veto itself was so attenuated by the conditions surrounding it as to be entirely ineffective, while the loyal minority could make no stand with Dublin Parliament against the disloyal majority. After showing the embarrassment and confusion which must flow from the peculiar position assigned



to the Irish members retained in the House of Commons, he concluded a vigorous speech by declaring that the Opposition would offer an uncompromising resistance to the bill, confident that they had the support of the country.

After several speeches from the Opposition side of the House, representing various forms of Unionism, all strongly denouncing the bill, Mr. Sexton (*Kerry, N.*), on behalf of the Nationalists, gave expression to the views of the Irish majority, canvassing with certain freedom the details of the bill, pronounced the plan of the Irish executive better than that of the bill of 1886. He also approved in general terms of the proposals with regard to the constabulary, and as to the legislature he preferred two Houses to the two orders in one House suggested in the bill of 1886. To the reservations on the Irish Legislature he had no substantial objection, but he claimed that the Irish members should be maintained at their present number until the power of the Imperial Legislature to deal with the land question passed to the Local Legislature. He regarded the veto as an improvement on the last bill, and he had no objection to the *ultra vires* proposal, nor to the conditions under which the Irish members were to be retained in the House of Commons. To the financial part of the scheme he urged several objections. The sum contributed by Ireland to the imperial exchequer would be larger than that asked for in 1886, and larger than that actually contributed at the present time, and he denied that the half-million surplus would not be applicable to the general purposes of Ireland.

Col. Saunderson (*Armagh, N.*) closed the first night's debate by an energetic denunciation of the bill on behalf of Ulster, declaring that the Irish Unionists would give it the most uncompromising opposition, because they believed it would absolutely destroy the liberty and prosperity of Ireland.

Compared with the reception given to the bill of 1886, the press of London and the provinces was lukewarm in both commendation and condemnation. For nearly every one, except Mr. Gladstone, the subject was threadbare, and many Liberals grudged the time which they saw would be spent in passing a bill through the Commons which was doomed beforehand to rejection by the Lords. The *Times*, holding the question of Home Rule to be one of constitutional danger rather than political expediency, had from an early date abandoned its customary attitude of an impartial observer, and had thrown the weight of its influence on the side of the Unionists. Writing on the morning after the introduction of the Home Rule Bill, it expressed its views thus: "We need hardly say that Mr. Gladstone's presentation of his case abounded in ingenuities and plausibilities; yet the impression produced is one of profound disappointment. It is maintained by the Unionists that no plan which would establish a subordinate though practically independent legislature, with an executive



resting upon it, in Ireland would constitute either a safe or a stable settlement of the Irish difficulty; but it is admitted that, given certain optimist assumptions, a scheme may be produced which would have the appearance, at least, of promising the Imperial Parliament and the people of Great Britain some immediate and substantial consideration in return. In 1886 Mr. Gladstone made the relief to be obtained by getting rid of the Irish question at Westminster the very corner-stone of his policy. It has now disappeared altogether. There are complications beyond number, but among them all there is no effective provision for removing from the Imperial Government any real part of the pressure of Irish troubles. When Mr. Gladstone himself in his elaborate exposition of his new measure is capable of omitting any mention whatever of the question of the land, which by universal admission lies at the root of the Irish controversy and has agitated Parliament for two whole generations, we can see plainly how he has artificially restricted his view and merged the vital issues of his prolonged conflict in a mere manipulation of political machinery."

The *Standard*, which, notwithstanding its position as the recognised organ of the Conservatives, had frequently adopted a very independent tone, wrote: "It may be said at once that the measure is impracticable and impossible. If it were passed it would never work. Mr. Gladstone offers Ireland a mere paper constitution like those which the Abbé Sieyès used to craft by the dozen, and its details are open to even stronger objection than were the provisions of the bill of 1886. The truth cannot be disguised that the revised scheme, where it differs from the original one, does so only by substituting one form of futility for another, and avoids patent difficulties by leaving them untouched. Empty homage is done to the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament by the simple recognition of it in the preamble. The imperial veto on Irish legislation is reduced to a constitutional device which is hardly decent blind for the fact that, in practice, there will be no possibility of control; while, as to the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, the proposals made do not purport to be more than a complimentary concession to the prejudices of some of the English Gladstonians, which their leader complacently expects to see annulled at the earliest opportunity by the aid of the Opposition votes."

The *Daily Telegraph* preferred to hold its judgment in suspense until the printed text of so complicated a bill could be examined critically, and refrained from pronouncing finally upon any of the points definitely raised, even upon the proposal of the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. It summed up its remarks: "On the whole, the conclusion that Ministers have come to—a conclusion in which they have been largely anticipated by their fellow-countrymen—is that 'the whole

business we have undertaken is full of thorns and brambles'; and 'their feeling that a shadow of uncertainty hangs over the subject has been faintly and modestly indicated' by their affixing to the bill the words 'unless and until Parliament shall otherwise determine.' It is a proviso which might perhaps have been attached with advantage, not only to this particular proposal, but to every other contained in the bill, not to say to the entire scheme itself. Marvellous as Mr. Gladstone's exposition was, considered as a physical and intellectual *tour de force*, it was not, however, statesmanship, nor bore the remotest resemblance to anything deserving the name."

The two chief organs of the Liberal Party naturally viewed the measure from a very different standpoint, but neither would prophesy for it a prosperous course, nor would either admit that it was not capable of amendment and improvement. The *Daily News* wrote: "The measure, though it runs with one important exception upon the same lines as its predecessor, shows in several points a great and marked improvement. To call it a measure of separation would be utterly childish and absurd. We are not enamoured of Second Chambers, or of what John Bright used to call fancy franchises. But it may be necessary to recognise in some practical shape the demand of the minority for protection, and nobody can say that they have not got it. It is quite true, as Mr. Gladstone says, that the exclusion of the Irish members does not destroy, and indeed cannot destroy, the supremacy of Parliament. But a large body of electors have been brought to think that it would, and many Liberals have pledged themselves to vote against it. We must not forget that Irish members have in the past rendered great services to the Liberal Party, and may be expected to do so again. If they choose to stay, it is not for us to expel them."

The *Daily Chronicle*, however, was more robust in its belief in Mr. Gladstone, and in its desire to assume the place of chief exponent of the Liberal Party in London, wrote in a less guarded tone than its elder colleague: "Mr. Gladstone has so far recognised the force of public opinion as to make provision in his new bill for the retention of the Irish members, and the preservation of the integrity of the Imperial Parliament. This is the one great feature of the new bill which makes it, in our judgment, acceptable alike to the people of Great Britain and of Ireland, and without which the bill would have no chance whatever of finding its way to the Statute Book. The astonishing thing is that, after all the controversy of the last seven years, Mr. Gladstone should still speak, as he spoke last night, of the retention of the Irish members as something secondary and not of vital importance. We can assure him that it is vital, and not of secondary but of supreme importance; and if by any chance he could be persuaded to change his mind again, and he should revert to the discredited twenty-fourth

aimed at holding a middle line between the two. He declared that the measure went too far for the Unionists, but not far enough for Irishmen. In common with the other general Unionist organs—of which the *London Standard* was the most prominent—it maintained the principle of self-government which would give the Irish exclusive jurisdiction over their own affairs, and possibly a preponderating vote in the British affairs also.

On the return, however, to the debate in the House of Commons, the position leaders had in the interval had changed. It was due to master more perfectly Mr. Gladstone's speech, to come to some scheme, and to concert among themselves. It was decided that a motion should be adopted to postpone the debate until after the meeting of the Committee of some apparently well-defined arrangements. The Unionists were to insist upon the harshness of the provisions with regard to England and the necessity of the empire and to the security of the empire and to the safety of the empire; whilst the Ulster members would insist that it would inflict upon the Irish people a heavy burden. Broadly speaking, the debate was devoted to the resolution for Mr. Balfour in resuming the debate. He set, and before considering whether the measure was good or bad, he and his friends had a long discussion required on the subject at all. He had rested the whole of the question of social order in Ireland, and the only alternative was Home Rule. The only alternative was Home Rule. The only alternative was Home Rule. Peace and order now, but, a different state of things.



persons with political objects to serve to raise a chronic agrarian agitation throughout Ireland; and this did not point to the necessity for Home Rule, because until agrarian outrages were put out of the way it would be criminal to create in Ireland a legislature which was to be practically independent of the Imperial Parliament. Dealing with Mr. Gladstone's assertion that the mere existence of a Crimes Act was a breach of the pledge given at the time of the union, when "equal laws" were promised to Ireland, he said that in reality there was no evidence to show that such a bargain was ever made. What Mr. Pitt promised was that after the union no fiscal legislation should take effect which would give any advantage to the British manufacturer against his Irish rival, and that promise had been faithfully kept. Mr. Balfour next insisted on the right of the Ulster minority to protection as against the rest of Ireland, and wondered why the Government failed to see that Ulster's demand was at least as strong as was the demand of 5,000,000 of Irish people to be freed from control by the 30,000,000 of Great Britain. Proceeding to deal with the provisions of the bill, he asked what was to be the future of the constabulary, the civil servants, and the judges. As to the constabulary and civil servants, it would be a gross injustice to compel them to serve new masters, or send them adrift, when they could no longer turn to other means of livelihood, with inadequate compensation. When the claims of the Irish clergy under disestablishment were being considered, it was said to be a matter of honour to make adequate provision for them. But now "honour" had gone by the board, and Mr. Balfour only hoped that "duty" would not follow it. As to the judges, he pointed out that there was a provision which would admit of the reduction of their salaries, and he amused the House by asking whether, if they gave just but unpopular decisions, there was to be a fresh reduction of salary by the Irish Parliament for each case—whether, in short, the judges were to be "paid by the job." He commented on the absurdity of mapping out Ireland into three different sets of constituencies—one to elect 103 members for the Irish Parliament, another to elect eighty members for the Imperial Parliament, and a third to elect forty-eight members for the legislative council—and he instanced this as a specimen of the "complexity" in which the House of Commons in dealing with the question would soon be "helplessly entangled." He laughed at the protection offered for minorities, which would never protect the land-owners—"the easiest objects of plunder"—and he submitted that the protection offered by this "paper constitution" was hardly worth the paper it was written on, for in these democratic times the first occurrence of friction and the first onrush of popular feeling would effectually upset it. The veto, too, would not be a permanent safeguard of anybody or anything, but would be capable of occasional use in a

anner which must cause the profoundest irritation among those whom the bill was expected to please. Then he criticised the arrangements by which the Queen was to have two sets of advisers instead of one, and asked what was to happen if the two sets did not agree. The power of the Crown would be greatly augmented; but a deadlock might be produced at any moment. He thought little of the "paper supremacy" offered, but in the operative clauses of the bill, but in the preamble; and he warned the Government that if the supremacy had any vitality at all it would be used by the present Opposition when they were in power. They would be no party to the bargain with the Nationalists by which it was not to be used, and would not allow such a weapon for the maintenance of justice to rest in their hands. Injustice might be deplored, but it prevented the Government dependent on a majority of Nationalist votes, and as their Government would not be so permanent, and would not allow injustice to be done. As to the intention of the first members at Westminster and the fact that the Imperial Parliament was to be responsible for the Empire's internal affairs, through affairs and finance, through the various departments, and the expenditure of the Imperial Parliament in internal matters. The Imperial Parliament was to be responsible for the Empire's internal affairs, through affairs and finance, through the various departments, and the expenditure of the Imperial Parliament in internal matters. The Imperial Parliament was to be responsible for the Empire's internal affairs, through affairs and finance, through the various departments, and the expenditure of the Imperial Parliament in internal matters.

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her Imperial Parliament eighty Irish members who would constantly raise Irish questions, and who, "though they would not be allowed to vote upon a road bill, might turn out a Ministry." It was a matter of surprise to him that seven years of careful meditation had only ended in producing this "strange abortion" of a measure, but the fact was that those who had framed it had attempted an impossible task. Federal Government, Colonial Government, and the British Constitution, might each be very good, but this "bastard combination of the three was ludicrous and impossible." Great empires had always been built up of smaller states by an evolutionary process of integration, but the Prime Minister asked them to retrace their steps towards disintegration.

The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*), was put up to answer the leader of the Opposition, and in so doing displayed considerable skilfulness in avoiding the more telling criticisms on the bill. He justified its introduction on the ground of the failure of the coercion policy of the late Government, and that the Government had received a commission from the country to do what they were doing. The bill, he declared, would be found to combine large grants of power over local affairs with complete safeguards against public transgressions. The Crown would not have two sets of advisers, but her Majesty would be advised, as at present, by the Imperial Cabinet. In ordinary cases the Lord Lieutenant, with the advice of his Irish Ministers, would grant or withhold his assent to bills; but if an extreme case should arise, and if some act of tyrannous oppression should be attempted by the Irish majority, it would be the duty of the British Cabinet to intervene. They could not, if they would, impair the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and, moreover, the bill contained a clause in which the functions of the Imperial Parliament in regard to Irish legislation were clearly set forth. He defended the creation of a second chamber as a valuable element which might be a strong and useful part of the Irish Government. Her Majesty's Government intended to abide by their engagements to the constabulary, and the same remark applied essentially to the arrangements respecting the civil servants and the judges. The plan for the retention of the Irish members was, in his judgment, the best that could be adopted, and he believed it was likely before long to become clear, easy and familiar in its working. As we were going to retain Ireland as a partner in all our most important affairs, he did not apprehend that any insuperable difficulties would arise as to the financial parts of the bill.

The only other speech of importance made during the evening was that by Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford City*), who, speaking on behalf of the small body of Nationalists who still clung in name at least to the late Mr. Parnell, expressed their



intention to withhold a final judgment on the bill until it was in print. In reference, however, to the explanation given by Mr. Gladstone, he had no hesitation in saying that in the bill there were great blots, and that it would be necessary to press for serious amendment of many of its provisions. He was in thorough accordance with the broad principle of the bill, which he understood to be the creation of an Irish Parliament, with an executive responsible to it, and with full control over the management of purely Irish affairs with the exception of two or three matters. The Irish people were willing to accept a measure of this kind based upon the validity of the Act of Union and the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament; but they asked that there should be no vexatious and capricious interference by the Imperial Parliament, either by way of revision, amendment, or repeal, with Acts passed by the Irish Legislature within the limits of the constitution conferred upon it. After criticising at considerable length the provisions of the bill relating to the veto, he urged that as long as the questions of the constabulary and the land were kept under the control of the Imperial Parliament the Irish members ought in common justice to be allowed to remain at Westminster in their full numbers. In financial matters Ireland received worse treatment under the present measure than she did under the bill of 1886. He welcomed the proposal for the establishment of the two chambers, and he would approve even more stringent provisions than those contained in the bill for the protection of minorities.

The debate was continued for two nights more, mainly in consequence of the custom or rule which reserves certain hours before and after the dinner hour for Cabinet and ex-Cabinet Ministers. After a spirited and noisy squabble on a question of privilege, in the course of which the Irish members showed a feverish anxiety to apply to themselves expressions employed by Lord Wolmer in a speech at a Liberal Unionist banquet, and endorsed by the *Times*, Lord Randolph Churchill (*Paddington, S.*), speaking against the bill, and Mr. Campbell Bannerman (*Stirling Boroughs*) occupied nearly the whole of the evening, but neither added much for the guidance of their hearers. On the last night (Feb. 17) Mr. Chamberlain and the Secretary for Ireland, Mr. John Morley, brought back the debate to a higher level. The former, as the leader of the Liberal Unionists in the House of Commons, was anxious to satisfy the expectations of his friends, and was perhaps not wholly uninfluenced by personal feeling towards his former colleagues. His speech was in all ways the most masterly which had been delivered during the course of the debate, and was marked by clear and incisive criticism of the bill rather than by eloquent denunciation of the feeling which had dictated it. He declined to indulge in recrimination, for the astonishment with which a Prime Minister and a great political party

had been found proposing Home Rule at all was now "ancient history," and a new Parliament had been elected in order to carry out a Home Rule policy. He therefore confined himself to investigating how far Mr. Gladstone's cardinal principles of giving the widest possible extension to local government in Ireland consistent with the unity of the empire, the supremacy of Parliament, and the protection of minorities, had been carried out. He admitted that he had "never been able to resist this formula," but he denied that the bill realised it, and pointed out that a vote against the second reading of the bill would not be a vote against Home Rule, but the expression of an opinion that this particular bill did not fulfil the conditions laid down. He contended that there could be no imperial unity with Ireland if she had a separate Parliament, because of the geographical position of the country, which placed her within a few hours of our shores, and made it impossible for her to become independent without being a source of danger to the very existence of the empire. In this her position was quite different from that of India or the colonies. If she had been a thousand miles off she would long ago have been a self-governing colony, but her political condition was controlled by her geographical situation, and her interests could not be allowed to outweigh the interests of the larger country. While the Gladstonians encouraged the spirit of Irish nationality they deprived Ireland of all the most cherished privileges of an independent nation. She was not to be allowed to deal with religion or education, even though Scotland and Wales were to be allowed to do as they liked with their Churches, and she must not deal with her own trade. This only sowed the seeds of future discontent and further demands, which would manifest themselves in "time of England's emergency and Ireland's opportunity." It would be absurd to suppose that Ireland would not then take advantage of it, and, indeed, it would be a want of patriotism from their own point of view if Irishmen did not then use the weapon placed in their hands in order to establish their full rights as a nation. There were no guarantees that this would be a "permanent and continuous settlement," for who could speak for the leaders who would follow the present Irish leaders, and who might now, perhaps, be waiting to supplant them? Irishmen would necessarily endeavour to make an incomplete settlement complete whenever the opportunity presented itself; and where, then, would be the imperial unity? If Great Britain were once more engaged in a tremendous struggle for existence, say, with America, France, or Russia, the "union of hearts" would not help her much. Irish members would be at Westminster embarrassing and hampering her, heavy demands would have to be made upon Ireland as well as upon ourselves for the cost of the war, the collection of Irish taxation would be in the hands of an Irish Parliament, and what if that Parliament



ould resist? All the organisation of the country would be in the hands of the native and popular assembly—the executive, the police, the judiciary and the civil officials—and the risk of most insurmountable obstacles would arise. Moreover, it would be very difficult to prevent the arming and drilling of a people peculiarly apt in military affairs. It was as unwise to dismiss these considerations as only distant possibilities as it would be for a man to refrain from insuring his house against fire. As to the supremacy of Parliament, he denied that any part of it was left in the bill, and he showed that if any future plan of campaign were set going the Irish Parliament would be able to refuse the use of the police, and to withdraw protection from the landowners, bailiffs, caretakers, and “landgrabbers,” whose lives, despite all the Imperial Parliament could do, would not be worth a moment's purchase. In the same fashion the Roman Catholic Church might be practically endowed by various provisions of the restricted provision against such endowment. The veto of the Crown would be of no use, for, if exercised, the Irish Government would resign, with nobody willing to take their places, and unless the new constitution was withdrawn, the result would be a deadlock. The weapon would break in the hands of the State the first time it was used. Concurrent legislation by the Imperial Parliament could not be carried out in the face of a hostile Irish Parliament; but he warned the Government that the Opposition would not fail to use the veto, unless as it was, when they were in power. As to the retention of the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, though he approved of it as a sign of imperial supremacy, he showed that it must lead to endless difficulties and embarrassments, for the Irish members would be continually “dangling about the lobby,” never knowing when they were to be called into the House, and this would be found intolerable in practice. There were really only two alternatives—either the Irish Parliament must make a sort of “enlarged idea of the London County Council,” or four separate Parliaments must be given to England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, with an Imperial Parliament for all. By the arrangement under the bill the door for foreign influence would be widely opened, and the Irish members might stay a British Ministry in office, but would be unable to support any of the measures on which it had set its heart, and there would be continuous corruption, the Irish members being paid not in money, but in kind. Finally, Mr. Chamberlain examined the provisions for the protection of minorities, and showed that no proper care had been taken to secure Ulster against oppression. He got into animated conflict with Mr. Bryce, whom he accused of having told the House to take no notice of Ulster and her bluster, and Mr. Bryce, though at first disposed to resent this charge, had ultimately to admit it was true. Mr. Chamberlain concluded a powerful speech by telling the House that if Ulster made up her mind to fight,



it would take more than the power of the most powerful Liberal Government to coerce her into subjection, and that the step which Parliament was now asked to take would, if adopted, prove irrevocable, for, if ever the question arose of withdrawing the new constitution, Ireland would be in fever heat, perhaps insurrection, and it would be at a time of great emergency, with all the friends of Ireland and all the enemies of Great Britain looking on. If the House committed this "national crime," they should at least remember the possible consequences, and "never in the history of the world had a risk so tremendous been encountered with so light-hearted an indifference to its possible results."

Mr. Blake (*Longford, S.*) who had attained high office and much distinction in the Canadian Parliament, but had now returned to his own country, spoke with animation and enthusiasm in favour of the bill, but he scarcely attempted deal with any of the criticism which had been levelled against it. Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) dealt chiefly with its financial clauses, exposing the baseless assumptions on which they rested, and Mr. Morley closed the debate with a conciliatory speech in which he dwelt upon the necessity of making concessions to Irish feeling. The question as to the Government intended to deal with the Irish land during the next three years was very simple—matters would remain as they were now, subject to be dealt with if any emergency arose. Referring to Mr. Chamberlain's speech, he thought it was evident that his right hon. friend regarded imperialism as nothing at all but centralisation, that by imperial supremacy he meant the negation of self-government, and that by protection of minorities he meant the prolonged ascendency of Ulster. He rested his defence of the proposal to set before Parliament in Ireland on a broad political proposition which was supported by all the lessons of modern European experience. The proposition was that the way to baffle clerical usurpation as distinct from sacerdotal influences in the domain of faith and morals was to confront it by a strong lay, non-representative, political authority. Admitting that the evils connected with the retention of the Irish members at Westminster were perfectly obvious, he submitted that if they were granted that the election of a national Government for Ireland was a matter of political expediency, the question of the manner in which the Irish members were to vote in that House was a question important indeed, but secondary to the paramount object with which her Government started. After replying to various criticisms, he said all the arguments against the measure were based on the assumption that Ireland was a constant, and an irreconcilable enemy. He for one would not make that assumption, and the more he was brought into contact with the *Irishmen* the more strongly he felt convinced

ple were more likely to profit by a free Parliamentary government.

With this speech the debate closed, and leave was given to bring in the bill "to amend the provision for the government of Ireland." This was done by Mr. Gladstone amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the Irish members, and the second reading was down for March 13.

Meanwhile a variety of topics, chosen with the special view of exposing the policy of the new Ministry, had been touched on in the House of Lords. Lord Rosebery was forced (Feb. 10) to admit that Sir Gerald Portal, subject to certain very vague instructions, had been allowed practically a free hand. In this way the strange vacillation and hesitancy displayed by Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt in dealing with Mr. Labouchere's motion (Feb. 3) were shown to have been needless, except as a party manœuvre to avoid a division in the House of Commons. Lord Salisbury had an even better occasion (Feb. 14) of exposing the tactics of the Liberal Government when he obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury the minutes of a recent meeting of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, from which it appeared that Mr. Leveson Gower, a subordinate of the Government, had stated that he had the authority of the Government to protest against the rearrangement of certain Welsh parishes, in view of a Suspensory Bill for the Welsh Church which was about to be introduced. The President of the Council (Earl of Kimberley) was evidently taken aback by this vigorous and unexpected attack, and could only throw over Mr. Leveson Gower and disavow his proceedings. Of more practical value, however, were the three bills brought in by the Lord Chancellor—one to consolidate the law for the protection of persons acting in the exercise of public duties; a second to consolidate the law relating to the sale of goods, and the transactions under the "hire and purchase system"; and a third dealing with bills of sale. All these rapidly (Feb. 21) obtained second reading, and having been subsequently discussed and amended in Committee, were read a third time and sent to the Commons before Easter.

Outside the House little happened which attracted more than passing attention. The Duke of Devonshire took advantage of a dinner given by the Liberal Union Club (Feb. 14) to show that he still regarded himself as the head of that party. He described the new Home Rule Bill as one which failed in every respect to meet the objections raised against the bill of 1886. Alluding to Mr. Gladstone's complaint that Ulster had ceased to be Nationalist in spirit, he declared that the Prime Minister seemed absolutely incapable of understanding the position of Ulster, which on grounds of reason and experience had become the most loyal, the most prosperous, and most contented part of Ireland. The meeting, which was most soberant in tone, tempted Lord Wolmer—in whose honour



the dinner was given—to let fall the remark, that as the Irish members must be supported by the Liberal Party, Mr. Gladstone was “relying on a majority of forty mercenaries.” This statement was at once challenged in the House of Commons (Feb. 16), whereupon Lord Wolmer declared that if his statement was denied, he withdrew it absolutely. Mr. Sexton, moreover, in a further attempt to call the *Times* to account for endorsing the statement, declared that the Irish members had “never received one penny from the Government or any rich English partisans.”

By introducing the Home Rule Bill the Government had fulfilled the first part of their promise to their Irish supporters, and it was therefore incumbent on them to satisfy some of the demands put forward by other sections of their followers, or to redeem some of those pledges known as the “Newcastle programme.” Before doing so it was necessary to elect a Chairman of Ways and Means, who would be called upon to preside when the House was in Committee. Mr. L. Courtney (*Bodmin*), originally selected in 1886 in succession to Sir Arthur Otway, during six sessions discharged the delicate duties of the post with conspicuous ability. Under trying circumstances, especially during the discussion of the Crimes Act, he had displayed tact, firmness and impartiality, and had won the approval of all parties, and especially of the Irish members, who, when often suffering from rebukes, abided by his ruling, and treated him with marked consideration. Mr. Courtney, although a Liberal, and as such a member of Mr. Gladstone’s previous Administration, had been proposed for the post of Chairman of Committees by the Conservative leader of the House, Mr. W. H. Smith. On the Irish question he had separated himself from Mr. Gladstone, but on other points he had shown a disposition to modify his opinions, which were those of the Liberal Party before its disruption. His nomination therefore to the chair by his former chief would have been not only a graceful acknowledgment of his six years’ good service, but would have shown that the Prime Minister harboured no resentful feelings against those who were unable to follow him upon one point. On many sides these considerations were urged, but they had no weight with Mr. Gladstone, who without any reference to the former occupant or his services moved that the Rt. Hon. J. W. Mellor (*Sowerby, Yorkshire*) should take the chair, to which the House silently acquiesced. Mr. Mellor had sat for Grantham for a short time, 1884–5, and in Mr. Gladstone’s shortlived Administration of 1886 he had filled the office of Judge-Advocate-General. He had, however, contested unsuccessfully more than one seat, and had been active in providing Liberal candidates for various constituencies, but with very slight success for the party cause.

That Mr. Gladstone should have been able without serious protest or opposition to displace a capable and well-tryed man in favour of one who, at the very best, was unacquainted with



the proceedings of the previous six years, was evidence that he felt that the Government was in a far stronger position than at the commencement of the session. The Home Rule Bill had altogether failed to produce those divisions in the Ministerial ranks which the Unionists had anticipated. Mr. Balfour was unfairly as well as unwisely judged by his followers for refusing, by not taking advantage of all the forms of procedure, to delay the bill, and by a section of the Conservatives was even accused of being lukewarm in his opposition, and of not dividing the House oftener during the debate on the Address. At the same time Mr. Asquith's reply to Mr. Redmond's amendment, and Lord Rosebery's steady conduct of foreign policy, had rendered the more moderate section of the Unionists less eager to expose, in season and out of season, the cohesion of the Ministerialists. To resist when resistance was of any avail, to improve measures which could not be stopped, and above all to impress upon the country the idea that Conservatism was as equally opposed to reaction as to revolution, was the policy to which the more enlightened members of the Opposition adhered. It was Mr. Balfour's misfortune, and in no sense his fault, that he had to endeavour to content the two sections into which his followers were divided, and to lead them to attack opponents who showed an unbroken front.

Added to this, there was the difficulty of attacking Home Rule on its weakest point without incurring the charge of inconsistency. The bill of 1886 had been defeated nominally on account of the exclusion of the Irish members from Westminster. Mr. Gladstone on the grounds of generous treatment, and Mr. John Morley on those of expediency in the interests of English legislation, were perhaps alone in standing by their original opinions. The bulk of the Gladstonians were strongly in favour of the retention of the Irish, and Mr. Gladstone sacrificed his own views to the wishes of the party. The new bill, therefore, altogether met the objections originally raised by the Liberal Unionists; and it was difficult for them with any show of sincerity to condemn off-hand a plan which maintained the principle of "taxation and representation." The new danger of retaining members to vote on subjects on which they disclaimed responsibility did not at once force itself on the public mind.

Another cause of the improved position of the Ministry was to be found in the measures which they introduced in rapid succession as soon as their leader's promise to the Irish Nationalists had been redeemed. Each section of the party was in this way assured that there was at least the apparent desire and intention on the part of the Government to give effect to their respective demands. The Scotch and Welsh disestablishers were soothed—the former by the promise contained in the Queen's Speech, and the latter by a Suspensory Bill; to the agricultural labourers a Parish Councils Bill was offered;

for the working men more or less imbued with the growing taste for State Socialism an Employers' Liability Bill was prepared; and for the temperance party which had given strong support to the Gladstonians at the elections a Local Option Bill was brought in; whilst for the party at large a small reform bill—the Registration Bill—was, under the guise of judicial impartiality, to revise the voting lists and regulate electoral procedure in the interests of the Radical Party.

The measure last named was the first introduced (Feb. 20) after the Home Rule Bill had been read a first time. The President of the Local Government Board, Mr. H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton*), had a good case which he turned to excellent advantage by pointing out the absurdity of the existing system, which imposed practically a minimum of eighteen months and a maximum of two years and three months "before a qualified householder was able to exercise the franchise." Premising that the measure was highly technical, involving many details, he went on to describe at considerable length the machinery and defects of the existing system of registration, and finally he stated to the House the changes which the Government proposed in order to remedy those defects. It was intended in the first place to abolish altogether the conditions with reference to rating, and the Government had come to the conclusion that the period of residence to qualify all voters, of whatever description, should be reduced to three months, ending on June 24 in every year. Further, successive occupations and different qualifications in the same electoral area would be sufficient, but it was not proposed to deal with successive occupations where an elector had removed during the three months from one electoral area to another. The only condition it was intended to remove was that which required a lodger to send in his claim to be registered. With regard to the machinery, it was provided that in future the registration of electors in all its stages should be entrusted to a new class of officials called superintendent registrars and district registrars. A superintendent registrar would be appointed for every Parliamentary electoral area, and upon him would devolve the duties discharged by the clerk of the peace and by the town clerk under the existing system; while the district registrar would take the place of the present overseers. The lists after being prepared by the district registrar would be sent to the superintendent registrar, upon whom would devolve the duty—not the option—of supplying omissions, correcting errors, and dealing with claims and objections. Questions of law, however, were reserved for the decision of the revising barrister, to whom any person aggrieved by the action of the superintendent registrar would have the right to appeal. The Government thought the appointment and remuneration of the registrars should be in the hands of the town councils and the county councils. A clause had been introduced into the bill



providing that where a householder who was registered in one Parliamentary area had removed into another, and had completed a residence of three months ending on December 25, he might be transferred to the register of the area to which he had removed. In conclusion, Mr. Fowler said it was the intention of the Government that the bill should be referred to a Grand Committee, representative of all sections of the House.

The measure was received with general approval, although some Conservatives announced their preference for six months' residence instead of three as a necessary qualification, and others intimated their intention to resist any attempt to increase local burdens by imposing on the rates the cost of registration. An attempt, however, to get the reading of the bill a second time (March 23) was foiled by the younger members of the Conservative Party, who on this occasion gained over Mr. Balfour to abet them on the ground that it was rather a reform bill than a registration bill, and that in order to ascertain the peculiar needs of each locality it should be referred to a select committee with power to take evidence. At this point the further discussion was postponed until after Easter.

The Secretary of State for Scotland, Sir George Trevelyan (*Glasgow, Bridgeton*), followed with the outlines of a similar measure for the northern kingdom. In Scotland, he explained, there was already a responsible officer for the preparation of the electoral rolls, but the machinery was expensive and somewhat antiquated. The qualifying period as in England was to be reduced to three months, and a person who had qualified before September 3 of any year, and had subsequently removed to another and distant constituency, might at the expiration of three months' residency, before March 31, apply to the sheriff to have his name as a voter transferred from the old to the new constituency. Another novel feature of the Scotch measure was to do away with the obligation of the payment of rates as a qualification for the franchise. The bill for Scotland provoked even less discussion than that for England, and both were happily launched and read a first time.

The Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, Q.C. (*Fife, E.*), then came forward to move the second reading of the Employers' Liability Bill, and in so doing traced the history of the doctrine of common employment round which the controversy now raged, and said it was clear that some modification must be made in the law, as the Act of 1880 had given rise to much litigation and to a serious agitation on the part of the workmen. Proceeding to call attention to the provisions of the present measure, he stated, amid cheers, that it abolished altogether the doctrine of common employment. To state the matter briefly, the principle upon which the bill was founded was that, where a person for his own profit set in motion agencies involving risk to others, he ought to be civilly



responsible for the consequences. When the bill passed the employer would still be at liberty to raise the defence of contributory negligence, while, with reference to the defence of acquiescence expressed in the legal maxim *Volenti non injuria*, and in view of recent decisions in the courts on the subject, a clause was introduced similar to that in the Act of 1880. After making most careful inquiries the Government had come to the conclusion that for the future a general prospective agreement by a workman to contract himself out of his statutory rights ought to be prohibited. If the House believed that the remedy given by the Act was required by justice and public policy it was only proper to make the right of the workmen inalienable and indefeasible. If, however, a workman obtained damages under the statute, the employer would be entitled to have the sum to which the workman would otherwise be entitled out of a mutual insurance fund in the event of such a fund existing, to which both the workman and the employer had contributed. Then there was a new definition of the word "workman" so as to include seamen in British ships, and, finally, the bill greatly simplified the procedure by means of which the workman could pursue his legal remedy.

The bill, although dealing in a fair spirit with many grievances admitted on all sides to be real, was not allowed to pass unchallenged. Mr. J. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*), with a keen sense of the value of the workmen's vote, was not going to allow the Government the credit of being their only friend. The points really at issue between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Chamberlain were the abolition of the doctrine of common employment and the exclusion of compensation in cases where the workman had neglected to warn his employer. Mr. Chamberlain therefore moved an amendment to the effect that no alteration of the law relating to employers' liability would be final or satisfactory which did not provide compensation to workmen for all injuries sustained in the ordinary course of their employment, and not caused by their own acts or default. He objected to the proposals of the Government because they would not settle old lines broad and simple a long-standing controversy, and would fail to place the law on a logical footing. The new law would produce a new crop of anomalies, and would give rise to difficulties more serious than those with which we had hitherto had to deal.

The general feeling of the House was obviously in favour of the principle of the Government measure, recognising that the points at issue might be more advantageously discussed in Committee. The young Conservative Party, however, saw an opportunity for delaying Government business, and, notwithstanding an effort to get the second reading agreed to, the debate in accordance with the twelve o'clock rule had to be adjourned, and was not resumed until a month later (March).

24). By this time the opposition to it had widened out, and a renewed and prolonged discussion ensued; and a *prima facie* case was fairly made out that, in the case of certain railway servants and others, this bill was an infringement of the perfect law of liberty which some Liberals still held to be of higher authority than the *fiat* of State Socialism.

The next important measure proposed by the Government was a short bill consisting of only one clause—"to prevent for a limited time the creation of new interests in Church of England bishoprics, dignities and benefices in Wales and Monmouthshire." By dint of more urgent insistence, by partially veiled threats of secession, and other means, the Welsh disestablishment party had succeeded in obtaining practical recognition of their demands before their Scotch brethren, although equal relief had been promised to both in the Queen's Speech. The Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, Q.C. (*East Fife*), in moving for leave to bring in the bill (Feb. 23) admitted at the outset that his bill was "a first step towards the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church in Wales," and he justified its introduction as the outcome of the policy of the Liberal Party at the general election. But the Government could not hope to carry a "complicated and detailed Disestablishment Bill" this session, and, therefore, as their obligation would not be met by giving a merely formal assent to an abstract resolution, a Suspensory Bill was necessary. When Mr. Gladstone brought in his Irish Church resolution in 1868 he was not a Minister of the Crown, but only leader of the Opposition; but now that he was Prime Minister it would obviously be a "mere waste of time" to begin with a resolution. Patronage would not be touched by the present bill, which was a bill of only a single clause, and which did not prohibit fresh appointments, but only provided that in all such appointments the emoluments of the office to be held by the new incumbents would be "subject to the pleasure of Parliament," so that there would be no future claims for compensation arising out of them. He declined to discuss the "abstract question of disestablishment," or "the moral and constitutional right of Parliament to appropriate to national uses national property which had been enjoyed for a long time by members of a particular religious community," for those questions were conclusively settled in 1869, when the Irish Church was disestablished. He therefore protested in advance against objections from "belated controversialists who talked of plunder and sacrilege," and declared that "such expressions should be banished to some museum of political antiquities." When he maintained that the Church in Wales was in "a very small minority," there were emphatic protests and denials from the Opposition, and he made much of the fact that Wales and Monmouthshire now returned thirty-one members pledged to disestablishment, and only three who were against it. This



being denied, and the counter-assertion made that the Welsh majority was returned "on Home Rule," he read a passage from Lord Salisbury declaring that it was disestablishment and not Home Rule which had resulted in the return of so many Welsh Gladstonian members. Mr. Asquith went on to contend that the Welsh national sentiment against the Church was a "culminating and continuous" one, which had been going on ever since 1868, and that it had progressed marvellously, despite the fact that at the outset the Church had all the material advantages and resources on her side, with wealthy endowments and a most valuable weapon in the increased zeal and devotion of her ministers. Yet she had been worsted. If to favour disestablishment was "separatism," he avowed himself a separatist, but claimed to have in his company the Duke of Devonshire, who had admitted that if the people of Scotland wished for disestablishment they ought to be allowed to have it. He denied that the English Church would suffer, and "vindicated" her against the faint-heartedness of her own adherents. He declared himself to be a better friend to her than her own people, and urged that she had always greatly prospered in those countries where she had no establishment at all at her back. He believed the Church would be strengthened, not weakened, and made more instead of less influential as a moral and regenerating force when she could "step down from the position of invidious ascendancy, cast aside the encumbering traditions of her own political past, and descend into the common arena where she could meet her rivals on level ground and on equal terms, to contend with them for the spiritual advancement of Wales."

Sir John Gorst (*Cambridge Univ.*) moved the rejection of the bill in a long speech, which excited little enthusiasm among his own supporters, on the grounds that the Church had been most useful to the people of Wales; that suspension was far worse than disestablishment, by stopping existing life without stimulating fresh life in the other direction; and that what was called the "national sentiment of Wales" was a different sentiment from English Nonconformity, perverted and transient, and actuated by hostility to the Church. Lord Randolph Churchill (*Paddington, N.*), however, before the close of the evening, infused into the debate fire and spirit which had been greatly lacking in the speeches of the supporters and opponents of the measure. He taunted Mr. Asquith with having admitted that Mr. Gladstone had got his majority in Wales, not for Home Rule, but for disestablishment, dismissing him to "his own museum of political antiquities" to discover the views of his own chief, who in dealing with the Irish Church twenty years previously had distinctly separated the case of Wales from that of Ireland, and had said that it was "practically impossible" to separate the case of Wales from that of England. Lord R. Churchill next enlarged on the "cruel and



ust" nature of the proposal of the Government, which naturally asked Parliament to give a pledge for the future establishment and disendowment of the Church in Wales without any inquiry, without knowing in the least degree how the Welsh Church was going to be dealt with, and with no information as to the position of the Church or the policy of the Government. The position was one whereby, even if disestablishment was not carried out, the Church in Wales should gradually starved, and virtually killed by inches. What government did they expect to be in office next year, and if they were not quite sure on this point, was it right, politically or morally, to take such a step as this? If any long period elapsed after the passage of this bill without disestablishment owing, and men were found unwilling to enter the ministry of a Church whose future was so uncertain, the result would be that no marriages or burials could take place, and all the ministrations of the sacraments according to the rites of the Church of England would be arrested. After commenting on the extraordinary growth of the Church in Wales in recent years, he declared the object of the Government in the course they were pursuing to be, not "plunder"—that was merely the local motive—but to secure votes for Home Rule. For the same Irish policy Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were prepared to sacrifice anything, to abandon all former opinions, and to violate all former pledges. Nothing was to be spared—certainly never such a trifle as the Established Church in Wales. The right hon. gentleman's one cry was: "Votes! Votes! votes!" Was this the way to carry on the Government one day at the mercy of the Irish members, another at the mercy of the members from Wales, and a third at the mercy of the Scotch members? It was a Government carried on on principles "more suited to a Whitechapel auction than to the conduct of the affairs of State." It was the duty of the Tory party to make clear to the country the iniquitous nature of the "politically infamous aims" which the Government had in view, and the resources on which they relied for carrying them out.

It was not likely that Mr. Gladstone would remain silent under imputations so grave, or that he could altogether restrain his resentment they aroused. In a speech in which he gave more than usual signs of a ruffled temper, Mr. Gladstone declared the "aims and resources" of the Government to consist in an endeavour to redeem their pledges; and he avowed himself not ashamed of either Home Rule or disestablishment, and was willing to obtain votes for both. At the same time he did his utmost to minimise the bill, and admitted that his own support of disestablishment in Wales was recent, because the parliamentary representation of the country had only recently shown itself favourable to that course. The bill was then read for the first time by 301 to 245 votes—Mr. Chamberlain and more

than a score of Liberal Unionists abstaining—and was not again heard of for the remainder of the session.

The anxiety of the Government to satisfy all sections of its supporters was next displayed in the introduction of a Local Option Bill to establish local control over the traffic in liquors. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Wm. Harcourt (*Derby*), in a turgid and tawdry speech, little suited to a Parliamentary audience, depicted the results of drink and intemperance, not through the fault of the people, but of the legislature, from which the drink traffic sprang as “a regulated monopoly created by law.” In a more business-like tone, he then went on to explain the means by which Parliament might successfully interfere with this traffic. The Government bill was not to be a licensing bill with complicated licensing machinery, but was designed to control the liquor traffic by popular control in the shape of a direct veto of the inhabitants. In any area (which was to be the parish in rural districts, the borough in small boroughs where there were no wards, the ward in large boroughs, and the sanitary district or ward in London), one-tenth of the registered municipal electors might address a requisition to the authority asking for a poll against the issuing or renewing of licences, and a poll must be granted. If two-thirds of the persons actually voting resolved the question in the affirmative, no licence was to be granted or renewed within the area, and no further poll on the subject would be taken for a period of three years. The bill applied to Scotland but not to Ireland, where “the people might wish to settle the question for themselves.” The polls were to be managed on the most economical principles, and all expenditure for canvassing and the like would be strictly prohibited. The bill, however, did not aim at interfering with the consumption of liquor in private houses or in places open for the consumption of food and, therefore, railway refreshment rooms, inns, or hotels in the case of travellers or lodgers, and eating-houses would be exempted from the bill, but with a penalty not exceeding 50*l.* and forfeiture of the licence if the privilege thus given was abused—the object of the bill being not to interfere with reasonable requirements, but only to carry on a crusade against “the bar, the gin palace, the taproom, and the beerhouse.” There was to be no pecuniary compensation for the disestablished liquor dealers, neither Parliament nor the licensing magistrates having ever recognised any right to such a thing but there would be a “time-compensation”—in other words due notice would be given to the publicans of the fate hanging over their heads, and for this purpose provision was made that the veto, however soon it might be passed in any locality would not take effect until three years after the passing of the bill. Finally, the bill dealt with Sunday closing; but recognising the fact that this stood on a different footing from total prohibition, it provided that a simple majority should suffice



authorise Sunday closing, and that there should be no postponement of its operations—it would take effect as soon as passed by a bare majority of the ratepayers. In the subsequent session many divergent views were put forward. The religious party expressed approval of the bill, tempered by regrets that Sunday closing was not to be made universally compulsory, and the two temperance advocates—Mr. Tritton (*Norwood*) and T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*)—failed to see any satisfactory solution of the question in the measure. After a promise from Mr. Goschen that the proposal would be sharply criticised, though in no party spirit, the bill was brought in and read a first time without a division. In addition to the bills detailed in detail, the Government found their programme incomplete without promising to deal with the inequality of rates in the metropolis (Feb. 24), to support private members' measures for enfranchising places of worship (Feb. 22), providing a better supply of workmen's trains (Feb. 22), and to ease the vote for the cost of superannuating elementary school teachers (Feb. 24).

A week later in the House of Lords the Bishop of Chester brought forward (March 2) a far more extensive measure "for abolishing a system of retail sale of intoxicating liquor." He dwelt at considerable length and with great clearness on the object he had in view, and the means by which he proposed to carry it out. The system he proposed to set up was in accordance with the recommendation of the Lords' Committee on Temperance which sat in 1878, that legal facilities should be given for the local adoption of the Gothenburg and Mr. Chamblin's schemes, or some modification of them. He contended that some serious reform was necessary, seeing that one-eighth of the wages of the working classes were said to be spent in drink, but he pointed out that the people required to be entered into the scheme. He gave a history and description of the well-known Gothenburg system, which simply set up a limited liability company to sell drink for the public under the control of the local authority, all surplus profits, after the payment of a moderate interest, being devoted to the public welfare. He cited a great deal of testimony in proof of the advantages which had accrued to Sweden and Norway through the adoption of the Gothenburg system, and he showed that it had been applied to the canteens of our army with conspicuous success. Then he proceeded to describe the provisions of his own measure, which, if passed, would be adopted in any locality on the vote of a simple majority of those enjoying the local government franchise, which would include women. Ten voters would be able to demand a plebiscite, and if it were decided to apply the bill, ten qualified persons might form a company whose articles of association would have to be approved by the Board of Trade, and one of the directors must belong to, or be nominated by, the local authority, which would also appoint one of the two

auditors. Existing licensed victuallers would have their interests considered by the arrangement that the bill could not be enforced anywhere until five years after its passage into law. There would be compulsory powers on both sides to buy out or to insist on being bought out by arbitration. When the bill was in operation there would be a reduction in the number of licences to a *maximum* proportion of one to a thousand inhabitants in towns, and one to six hundred in the country. All licences issued by justices would be included, so as to make the control as complete as possible, and an attempt would be made to bring private clubs within the scope of the bill by registration. The company's interest would be limited to 5 per cent. on the capital, and the surplus profits, after transferring one-third to a reserve fund, would be applied to public purposes not directly met by rates, such as open spaces, public libraries and museums, hospitals, old-age pensions, or other objects of a public and charitable nature. Tea or coffee houses, reading-rooms, libraries, working men's waiting-rooms, or other conveniences for the amusement, recreation, or instruction of the customers would be established in connection with the company's premises. The managers, many of whom would no doubt be disestablished licensed victuallers, would have their interest based upon the sale of non-alcoholic beverages, for they would be paid partly by a fixed salary, and partly by a bonus upon the sale of those refreshments. No credit would be given. Rules would be laid down to ensure that children and young persons should not be served, and careful precautions would be taken against adulteration. In the subsequent discussion which took place upon it the bill was supported by Lord Thring, the Duke of Westminster and the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Earl of Kimberley reserving his opinion until he had considered the matter. The subsequent course of the bill was not so peaceful as its first appearance presaged. On the motion of the second reading (June 6) the leaders on both sides expressed the opinion that the evidence as to the working of the Gothenburg system was so conflicting that it was difficult to form an opinion as to its success or otherwise, and the motion for the second reading was negatived without a division.

A similar fate befell the bill introduced by the Bishop of London (March 24) on behalf of the Church of England Temperance Society, to reform the law relating to liquor licences. Dr. Temple explained that unlike the Local Control Bill of the Government, or the measure introduced by the Bishop of Chester, which were in the nature of experiments, the bill he presented sought to deal with the question as a whole, and not with merely a part of it. There were too many public-houses in existence, and the bill sought to reduce their number, not by a direct vote of the population—a plan to which there were obvious objections—but by establishing a licensing board, which for five years should exercise the powers of the existing



licensing magistrates, at the expiration of which period the number of public-houses should be fixed in proportion to the population. As to compensation, the Bishop of London held that the owners should—and probably would—provide a system of insurance amongst themselves to compensate those publicans whose licences were extinguished. On moving the second reading (May 12), the bishop found considerable support of its principle, but a general hesitation as to its practical working. The Marquess of Salisbury frankly opposed the bill, and Lord Kimberley, whilst approving of the idea of popular control, was unable to consent to the proposal of compensation. In presence of this opposition, the Bishop of London consented to the rejection of his motion without a division.

In the House of Commons another similar but more restricted measure—the Liquor Traffic Local Veto (Wales) Bill—introduced by a private member, enjoyed, however, a longer, if not more prosperous course than the Government bill. Major Jones (*Carmarthen Dist.*) moved the second reading (March 15), and in view of the growing unpopularity of the Government Liquor Traffic (Local Control) Bill, and of the possibility that they might be induced to drop that measure and to take up the Welsh bill instead, considerable interest attached to the fate of the bill. Major Jones' bill proposed to allow a poll to be taken by the ratepayers of any town or district to decide, first, in respect of the sale of intoxicating liquors, with power to prohibit it by two-thirds vote; secondly, in respect of reducing the number of licences by a simple majority; and, thirdly, in respect of terminating, also by a simple majority, that no new licences should be granted. The debate which took place was long and dry, and contained absolutely nothing new, the whole subject having been threshed out over and over again. Sir William Stott (*Brighton*) attacked the measure because it contained provision for compensating the disestablished publicans, and urged the rejection of the bill—a line which was strongly supported by the Opposition leaders, but the Government, on the other hand, declared themselves, through the mouth of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Wm. Harcourt), in favour of the bill, because, though it differed from their own measure, it maintained the principle of local option. He was not prepared to accept the amendment, because, in his opinion, the people of the country were as strongly opposed as ever to the principle of compensation that had been set up in 1888. Sir William Stott's amendment was negatived by 281 to 246, and the bill was read a second time; and on the following day (March 22) the House went into Committee on its first clause, but at this progress was reported, and the bill disappeared from sight, the unusually brief interval which elapsed between the close of the session and the practical assumption of the time of the House for Government business, one or two—altogether academic—were raised by private members.

Mr. Kimber (*Wandsworth*), in anticipation of the Ministerial Registration Bill, called attention (Feb. 21) to the disparities existing in the representation of certain constituencies, and moved for an inquiry by committee on commission. He contended that these disparities were of such a nature and extent as to involve the danger of the will of the nation being misrepresented, and possibly controverted, by the decisions of the House of Commons as at present constituted. Entering into an examination of the statistics, he pointed out that in round numbers there were in the United Kingdom 38,000,000 people, and 6,200,000 voters who returned 670 members to Parliament. This gave an average of 56,000 of the population represented by a member, and an average of 9,300 voters to every member. In point of fact, however, so far from an average number of 56,000 people having a member, there were 55 members who represented over 80,000 of the population, while there were 18 members who represented fewer than 20,000. The numbers of the population represented by a member ranged from 163,000 to 13,300. If these disparities were removed England would, according to the proper ratio, have 488 members instead of 465, as at present; Wales would have 28 instead of 30; Scotland would have 71 instead of 72; and Ireland would have only 83 instead of 103. In such circumstances, the party now in power, instead of having a majority of 40, might have been in a minority of six. These figures, Mr. Kimber urged, showed the desirability of at once instituting an inquiry into the whole subject, with a view to the removal of the obvious disparities existing in our system of Parliamentary representation.

Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean*), to whose skill and tact the passing of the Redistribution Bill of 1884 was largely due, moved an amendment to the effect that while deprecating the reference of the subject of redistribution of seats to a committee or commission, the House was of opinion that the great discrepancies in electoral power which still existed between constituencies deserved the attention of her Majesty's Government with a view to legislation in a future session if general agreement could be arrived at. He believed that in England the local anomalies were greater than those in Ireland. In 1884 the Conservative Party agreed that if there was to be a reduction in the Irish representation it should be from 103 to 100, and this would be a most insignificant change. The great difficulty in the way of a redistribution of seats was the different scale of representation as between counties and boroughs, and there could be no real equality without adopting a completely revolutionary scheme—either personal and proportional representation or else equal electoral districts. The first of these schemes had been already rejected by the House, and he did not think a proposal to establish equal electoral districts would be popular in the country. In his opinion the question of redistribution could never be settled unless an understanding were arrived between members of both political parties.



The Government were not anxious to show a preference for either plan—one committing them to the results of an inquiry which might seriously disturb, in favour of their opponents, the existing constituencies, whilst the other would have pledged them to undertake legislation on a question which bristled as much with personal as with political questions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Wm. Harcourt (*Derby*), was therefore put forward to deprecate action in either sense. Admitting that great disparities existed in the representation of both Great Britain and Ireland, and especially of London, he believed that before long, and sooner rather than later, there must be another Redistribution Bill. Matters of this kind were, however, settled by a sort of balance of political forces in the country. As the hon. member who brought this subject forward had attained his object of submitting the facts to the House, he would probably not press the motion to a division. For his own part, he was certain that before many years were over the Government, whatever political party might be in office, must deal with this subject, not with a view to obtain absolute symmetry, but in order to procure a common-sense adjustment, so as to avoid unfairness in the representation.

With this vague assurance the House seemed content, and both the resolution and amendment were withdrawn, Liberals and Conservatives alike recognising that having progressed so far in the direction of electoral districts, such glaring anomalies as Mr. Kimber had pointed out could not long survive; whilst both sides were equally averse to a system which might sweep away the special characteristics which the existing system of electoral districts ensured.

The other discussion was on the apparently inexhaustible theme of bimetallism, a question which caused schism amongst both parties, and brought into apparent agreement politicians of the most opposite opinions on all other points. The subject was introduced (Feb. 28) by Sir H. Meysey-Thompson, (*Handsworth*), who moved a resolution urging, in view of the growing divergence of value between gold and silver, and the serious evils resulting therefrom, that the Government should use its utmost influence to procure the reassembling of the Monetary Conference, and to impress upon our representatives the immediate necessity of finding some effective remedy in concert with other nations. He denied that the question was a party one, we had any connection with protection, and he defined bimetallism to mean simply that every man, woman, and child in the world should have exactly the same laws with regard to their gold and silver money. He explained that more than half the population of the world were silver-using people, and he contended that it was to the silver-using countries that we must look more and more for our trade and for an outlet for our manufactures. Gold had been rendered artificially scarce, and prices had been artificially depressed with disastrous results to

agricultural and manufacturing production. G  
ciated to such an extent that the same com  
could be bought for 100*l.* between 1865 and 187  
66*l.*, so that the value of gold had gone up 50  
other great Powers, he contended, were willi  
bimetallism, but could not do so without the  
England, and England refused to move in th  
result was that India in particular suffered m  
she had to pay 15,000,000*l.* a year to England,  
a silver currency, had to pay 50 per cent. more  
while England, instead of getting her "pound  
pound and a half, and would probably soon  
pounds, as the rupee, nominally worth 2*s.*, was  
1*s.* 3*d.*, would soon be worth only 1*s.*, and m  
drop to the value of 9*d.* There was only one  
for this state of things—either bimetallism  
Indian mints to the coinage of silver; but th  
of the question, since it would reduce all silve  
value.

It might have been supposed that in view  
demand upon his strength and attention Mr.  
have gladly availed himself of the rest which a  
motion offered. But this was not the view of  
Premier, for as soon as the motion had been  
of his own party, Mr. S. Montagu (*Whitech*  
authority of great ability, Mr. Gladstone re  
spent nearly an hour in attacking with qu  
the pernicious heresy which was being propos  
to know why the author of the resolution had  
any definite plan for adoption, and laughed a  
position" in which Parliament would be plac  
gates to Brussels on "a fool's errand" with  
what they were to do. He denied that any of  
had committed themselves to bimetallism, an  
laughter of the House that "though one man  
to the water, not twenty men could make  
author of the resolution seemed to anticipat  
the human race into the Garden of Eden," h  
himself thought that by bimetallism they w  
even below their original destiny, and to get  
other regions which it would not be pr  
name." He denied that trade had done so  
1873, and pointed to the fact that whereas  
trade amounted to 1,100,000,000*l.* sterling, it  
to 1,800,000,000*l.* The best standard of val  
be gold, because it was the least variable,  
upon a copious memory for historical fact  
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signed, as the proved evils of the present state of affairs. Looking at the question from the point of view of India, it seemed to him to be a matter of the first importance that the conference should meet again, and endeavour to arrive at some solution of the question. In his judgment our delegates at the conference were greatly to blame, as they grossly violated the instructions they had received, and he complained that Mr Gladstone on coming into office had added two strong monetary metallists to the three representatives previously appointed. If the conference had failed so far the failure was due to the attitude of England, and of the official delegates who represented her.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Wm. Harcourt, who could scarcely pretend to more than amateur acquaintance with the subject, skilfully avoided the dangers which it presented to the unwary. He put a new construction on the action of the British delegates at the Brussels Conference, who, so far from having broken up the proceedings, were the only persons who prevented its members from separating almost as soon as they met. At the very commencement of the conference the United States moved a resolution affirming the desirability of devising some measure for encouraging the use of silver in the currency system of nations, and Sir Rivers Wilson and the other British delegates were almost the only supporters of that resolution. Indeed, he was officially informed by the delegates of the United States, who visited this country after the conference, that they received more support and assistance from our delegates than from the representatives of any other Power. The truth was that the conference broke up because no definite proposal was made by any responsible Government. If, however, the United States or any other Power should come forward with a distinct proposal, her Majesty's Government would be quite prepared to discuss it. The object of the motion was to raise prices by an artificial system. That, in his opinion, was not a desirable object, as he believed, on the contrary, that cheapness was an advantage, especially to those classes of the community who had not much money to spend.

The discussion had been so much prolonged by various speakers—each of whom had some different remedy to propose—that only a few minutes were left to Mr. A. J. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) to explain the views of a philosophic bimetallicist. He maintained that it was evident from the course of the discussion that the evils complained of might be mitigated by some international agreement, giving greater stability to the standard of value. To the evidence placed before them the Government closed their eyes and resolved to do nothing. A division was then taken, and the resolution was negatived by 229 to 148 votes, wholly independent of the usual party lines.

By this time the tactics of the two parties had been a



veloped. To the already portentous array of measures certain to arouse long and contentious discussion, the Government had added further promises to redeem; and what was more important, measures to pass, which in the event of a general election would place them in a more advantageous position. To the Opposition the postponement, if they could not hope for the defeat, of these measures, was of no less vital importance. The Government majority might at the last carry each bill through its several stages; but it would not be powerful enough to suppress discussion, or to prevent the minority finding shelter and protection behind the rules of the House, if its opposition could be conducted discreetly and without an obvious intention to obstruct indiscriminately. At the outset, the Government underrated both the powers and the tenacity of the Opposition, and pursued their work of bringing in fresh bills, with an apparent belief that some would at least receive proper consideration. If this was ever the intention of the Unionist members in the House, they speedily found it necessary to pursue a more active policy. The newspapers of all shades of Unionist opinion, metropolitan and provincial, with one accord insisted that the duty of the Opposition at such a moment was "to oppose"—to hinder by every constitutional means—the passing of any of the Government measures, and to raise debates upon all manner of questions, on which the Government policy could be harassed or held up to ridicule.

Occasions were not difficult to find. Mr. Justice O'Brien, an Irish judge who had been holding an assize in County Clare, had openly declared his opinion that the juries in that county were so terrorised that they dared not find verdicts of guilty in the clearest cases of murder and outrage. This gave Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) the opportunity of raising the question of Irish administration in the House of Commons (March 2). In a powerful, but somewhat excited speech, he unfolded a terrible tale of arson, murderous assault, and other crimes, in County Clare, where Mr. Morley, after his taking office, had suspended the Crimes Act. Mr. Russell asserted that Clare was in the hands of a secret society, and that the law was powerless. It was the duty, therefore, of the Chief Secretary to ask for additional powers, and to see that every man and woman in the county should have the protection of the law. The Chief Secretary's (Mr. Morley) speech was not in the best taste or temper. He accused Mr. Russell of insincerity and the use of pharisaic language, and took refuge behind the somewhat evasive plea that the present Government could not be expected in six months to have achieved what their predecessors had been powerless to effect in six years. He knew, he said, of the disease, but "he did not profess to be able to find a remedy." He made a good point, however, when he showed that the Unionists, whether in despair or in confidence, had materially reduced the police force in County Clare. Mr.

Balfour retorted with his special panacea—the right to change the venue in trials for agrarian outrage—a right which the Chief Secretary had deliberately surrendered by suspending the Crimes Act. He further pointed out that at the time the Government were still using exceptional powers in Ireland they were denouncing their predecessors for having done so. The same topic was brought before the House of Lords (March 3) by the Marquess of Londonderry, and led to a prolonged but resultless discussion, Lord Inchiquin, the Lord Lieutenant of County Clare, contending that the evils sprang from the Land League, which for twelve years had ruled the county. Earl Spencer, whilst admitting the condition of Clare to be most unsatisfactory, declared that the Government had neglected nothing which they could properly do to bring about a change.

Although not actually in order, it may be as well to refer here to the last of the Cabinet measures, introduced before Easter. The serious inroads made upon the time of the House by noisy wranglings and heated “personal” discussions, had forced the Government to modify on more than one occasion their plans. Having the full command of the time of the House, it might have been thought possible to obtain some other moment for the introduction of the long-announced Parish Councils Bill than at a morning sitting of a private members’ day (March 21). The President of the Local Government Board, Mr. H. Fowler (*Wolverhampton*), had a good and sympathetic audience for his explanatory speech, which was remarkable for its lucidity and conciliatory tone. He exposed many of the absurdities of the existing system of local administration and control, showing that there was an unnecessary multiplication of local bodies, all differing from each other in powers, functions, areas, qualification, and mode of election, but all having power to tax the ratepayer for different purposes. The result was chaos in authorities, rates and areas, occasional conflict of jurisdiction, and constant extravagance both in time and money. He fully admitted the great value of the advancement made by the passing of the Local Government Act of 1888, which its author, Mr. Ritchie, had never regarded as final; and he declared that the time had now arrived for developing and enlarging the principle then laid down. In the bill he was introducing the municipalities were left untouched, the measure only dealt with the rural districts, and the parish was taken as the primary unit of local administration. He glibed at the existing vestry system as “a decrepit survival” which did not possess the confidence of the people, and which was in the main “useless and obstructive,” and he explained that, under the bill, in every civil parish with a population of 300 and upwards a parish council would be constituted, consisting of not fewer than five and not more than fifteen members, the number to be fixed from time to time by the



county council. There would also be provision for the holding of parish meetings, and while the chairman of the parish council would be elected by the council itself, the parish meeting would choose its own chairman, and would be held in the evening, not earlier than six nor later than eight o'clock. The council would be elected annually, and must meet at least four times a year. It would appoint the overseers—an office which the churchwardens would cease to hold—but the new overseers would have nothing to do with the ecclesiastical functions of the parish. The council would hold the parish property, and possess the powers, duties, and liabilities of the vestry except in regard to Church matters, and the powers of the churchwardens except in regard to Church charities, would be transferred to the council, who would also take over the powers of the boards of guardians with reference to the sale of parish property, and the whole machinery of the Allotments Act. The council would provide public offices; would be enabled compulsorily to acquire land for recreation grounds; would be authorised to utilise any water supply in the parish, to acquire rights of way, and to acquire land compulsorily, and in any compulsory acquisition or dealing with an unwilling seller would not be allowed to recover any extra compensation because of the compulsion. But the council would not be allowed to incur any loan or expense amounting to more than a penny rate in the pound, except with the consent of their constituency, the parish meeting and the district council, but with that consent they might borrow from the district or county council. The parish council would have a right to complain to the county council if the district council failed to do its work properly, and the county council would then be empowered to interfere, and have the work done at the cost of the locality. Parishes with a smaller population than 1000 would be grouped with other parishes under one parish council, but each separate parish, however small, would have its own parish meeting. The district councils would consist of the rural sanitary authorities reconstituted—the improvement commissioners and the local boards. For both parish and district councils plural voting would be abolished; the principle of "one man one vote" would be adopted; qualifications would be abolished, and women as well as men could be elected; proxy-papers and proxies would be done away with, and the election would be by ballot. The same rules would apply to the election of boards of guardians, all *ex-officio* or nominated members of which would be abolished, and the administration of the poor law would remain with the boards. Existing sanitary authorities would be abolished, and all their powers be transferred to the district council, whose chairman, if a borough mayor, would be an *ex-officio* justice of the peace.

The bill was favourably received on all sides of the House,

Mr. W. Long (*Liverpool, West Derby*) merely deprecating the idea that the creation of parish councils would put a stop to the depopulation of the country districts, and Mr. Goschen (*Hanover Square*) pointing out that the bill was in part the resurrection of a bill he had brought forward in 1872.

At this point, however, it is necessary to turn to what had been passing elsewhere. The Foreign Secretary, the Earl of Rosebery, whose utterances in the Upper House were somewhat rare and restrained, found at the anniversary dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute (March 1) an opportunity of expressing with more freedom his views of imperial federation. He gave an amusing description of the burdens imposed upon a Foreign Secretary by colonial expansion, declaring that he had at that moment twenty questions of delimitation of frontiers under consideration, that papers innumerable were full of expressions unintelligible about localities unknown, and that when proper charts were examined, it almost invariably happened that the localities were not to be found. He had no much belief in imperial conferences summoned at stated intervals to discuss vague propositions, but he believed in the pressing necessity of recognising at home the increasing interest taken in imperial questions. It was not surprising, he thought, that other nations suddenly awakening to the importance of colonial possessions should grumble at the progress we had made in building up our colonies, whilst they had been settling their internal affairs. From these nations we should always be hearing complaints, because we had selected the best spots, but a far greater difficulty arose with "another party nearer home," which attacked our colonial policy, and held that our empire was large enough and did not need expansion. This would be perfectly true if the world were elastic, but, as it was not, the only alternative was "to keep pegging out claims for the future. This country, he said, had to consider not merely what she wanted now, but what she would require hereafter. It was our heritage and responsibility, Lord Rosebery proceeded, that the world was, so far as they could mould it, populated by Anglo-Saxons. They would grossly fail if they shirked the responsibility laid upon them—they must not decline to take their fair share in the partition of the world, which had been forced upon them. Except the evidence that the Foreign Secretary held opinions which ensured his refusal to endorse a "policy of scuttle" the speech had perhaps but little importance. The Radical press did the best to minimise its meaning, whilst the other side insisted upon it as evidence that "destiny" was ever more powerful than party shibboleths.

For the moment, too, labour questions at home seemed more pressing than imperial questions abroad. The fight over the Eight Hours Bill had been prolonged through the winter—neither side giving way—although the advocates of



statutory limitation of the hours of labour seemed to gather strength as the ideas of State intervention in the relations of labour and capital became more popular. Mr. Gladstone was the first to catch the shift in the tide of opinion, for whilst a few months previously he had escaped the ordeal of an interview with the advocates of restricted hours, he now consented to receive a deputation of the Miners' Federation. A body of about seventy or eighty delegates were consequently invited to hear (March 3) the Prime Minister's latest views on the question. The time chosen, however, prevented any very full exposition of the miners' wishes. Representatives from the Yorkshire, North Staffordshire, South Wales and Midlothian coal districts, having briefly explained their own views, expressed their belief that many of their fellow-workmen were in favour of a limit of eight hours' work a day in mines, and yet were not prepared to support an Eight Hours Bill. To this Mr. Gladstone at once replied that a man might entertain an opinion conscientiously and not be prepared to enforce it. He thought the community at large, as far as he could judge, were prepared to concede the demand of the mining body. They might perhaps remember that, in discussing this matter before, they described to him that in Midlothian all the employers, with the exception of one, were in favour of the eight hours' system; but in that particular colliery the people stood out against it. They had shown him that a large number of the most important districts of the country were in favour of this eight hours' system; but there were important exceptions. Mr. Burt in the House of Commons had stated the difficulties he had felt in consequence of the sentiments held in Durham and Northumberland, and the delegates that day had not assured him that the sentiment in that district against the bill had disappeared. Passing, however, from this consideration, Mr. Gladstone went on to say he had not found in the course of his campaign in Midlothian, although his information was gathered in comparatively short visits, that there was unanimity in favour of the bill. In Fife there was a difference, and he found there was a considerable difference on the question in Eastern and Western Midlothian. In one district he did not find a very favourable disposition towards the Eight Hours Bill. It was rather a stagnant feeling. The delegates had spoken of the insufficiency of the voluntary methods, and about the costliness and disadvantages of strikes, and of the necessity to resort to the law. When he was in Midlothian the suggestion unquestionably occurred to him, and at first sight he was not prepared to reject it, that the method of local option might be applicable to mines. The delegates in that room did not represent everybody. He hoped they would consider the suggestion, or undoubtedly until there was a near approach to unanimity amongst the miners themselves they would not be able to adopt a compulsory bill. He did not think a large minority should

be put down in such a manner. He did not make these observations in any hostile manner. He only asked them to consider the best way out of the difficulty. They would agree with him that every method should be tried that was not irrational. As regarded the general subject great progress had been made—more progress would have to be made; but he did not think that they had arrived at a time for definite assertions, especially as he was engaged in Parliament with an undertaking equal to his strength. But he looked forward to good prospects for this question. They had defined the system at eight hours per day from bank to bank; but they must remember that such a system would work differently in different districts according to the depth and working of the mines, but possibly these difficulties might be adjusted. With regard to the bill before the House of Commons on the subject, Mr. Gladstone said that, if possible, the day set apart for the consideration of the bill should not be taken away, as it would be painful if such a measure were thrown over.

The election at Great Grimsby was the first which took place after the Government programme had been explained and the chief bills introduced. If the result could have been accepted as a criterion of public feeling, it seemed as if in a constituency partly urban and partly rural the proposed scheme for popular happiness excited but little enthusiasm. The sitting member, Mr. H. Josse, a Gladstonian employer of labour at Grimsby and a popular local leader, had, at the general election, been returned by 4,202 votes against Mr. Edward Heneage, a Liberal Unionist and former occupier of the seat, who on this occasion only polled 3,566 votes. Mr. Josse's constant ill health, which was followed soon afterwards by his death, obliged him to resign, and Mr. Heneage again presented himself, and was opposed by Mr. Henry Broadhurst, a so-called Labour candidate, who in former times had been mixed up with the trades union movement, and in Mr. Gladstone's brief administration had been Under-Secretary for the Home Department. He possessed no local connection with Grimsby and apparently his opinions failed to unite even the Gladstonian party, for Mr. Heneage was returned by 4,427 votes whilst only 3,463 were given to Mr. Broadhurst—showing that the defection from the Gladstonian side was even more marked than the increase of the Unionist vote—though doubtless the fact that Mr. Broadhurst was a stranger, and, although supported by the chairman of the principal railway, was strongly opposed by the Labour party, whilst Mr. Heneage was well known throughout the district, had some influence on the result.

The only other contested election before Easter was that for Banffshire, occasioned by the retirement of Mr. R. W. Duff, a Gladstonian, who had accepted the Governorship of New South Wales. In this case the Conservatives, although un-



ful in returning their candidate, found some consolation in the state of the poll. At the general election their candidate had only polled 1,414 votes, and the experience gained showed the hopelessness of any one not belonging to the county attracting the support of the lukewarm.

A member of a prominent county family, Mr. J. A. Grant, a son of Colonel Grant, the African explorer, was frequently fixed upon to champion the Unionist cause, but he succeeded in obtaining 2,395 votes, or 100 more than sufficed to return Mr. Duff (March 16). On the other hand, Sir William Wedderburn, who, as a Gladstonian, had successfully contested North Ayrshire, managed to attract supporters—and although his majority was 100 less than Duff's in the previous autumn, it was far more truly indicative of the balance of political parties in Banffshire. Mr. Beaufof, member for the Kennington Division, also placed his signature in the hands of his committee, on the ground of having been returned as a Gladstonian, he was unwilling to support the Government Local Option Bill. The Liberal Committee, having taken into consideration the exceeding improbability of the bill ever becoming the subject of a party fight, requested Mr. Beaufof to retain his seat and to vote in accordance with his own views should the question arise.

The position of affairs at this moment was, it must be noted, somewhat critical for the Opposition, and their eager anticipations of an approaching dissolution suddenly ceased. They were conscious of the general effect produced on the rate by the various bills brought forward, whilst the Home Rule Bill, although more disliked than that of 1886, was likely to divide rather than to invite to opposition. English Unionists, heartily tired of the whole question, anxious to postpone fighting until the committee stage; the Irish Unionists, seeing, as they thought, their lives and property at stake, fancied they were being deserted by English allies, who seemed to care more for the ninth rate, which affected themselves, than for all the rest of the country. It was, therefore, not without cause that Lord Salisbury, on the 8th of March (March 8) at the Carlton Club a meeting of theervative members, at which the section leaders were able to express to their desires, whilst the leader himself, urged by Mr. A. J. Balfour and Sir Wm. Hart-Dyke, imposed upon them the necessity of obeying orders in vital cases, and to abstain from the dangerous practice of proposing a general engagement over points which were not defensible. The "irregulars," under the leadership of James Lowther (*Kent, Thanet*), and even at times of Randolph Churchill (*Paddington, S.*), had on more than one occasion forced the fighting in a way which, notwithstanding the intervention of Mr. A. J. Balfour and the main body of the party, had ended disastrously. Lord Salisbury on the

same occasion reflected somewhat severely on the non-attendance of many Conservatives contrasting unfavourably with the steady rally of the Ministerialists. At the same time he declared his intention of opposing the Home Rule Bill in every way, and of offering an uncompromising resistance to the passing of the second reading before Easter. Lord Randolph Churchill assured his friends of his determination to act in the closest co-operation with the Conservative leaders, and Mr. A. J. Balfour appealed to all present to accord to the Liberal Unionists, on matters not affecting the Home Rule question, "liberty of conscience."

It cannot be said that the advice given at this meeting was followed to the letter by some of those attending it. The announcement that the Government intended to proceed forthwith to the second reading of the Home Rule Bill regardless of the demand of certain Unionist reformers to discuss the actual condition of the army raised a strong protest. It is probable that the minority were aware of the unpractical nature of such discussions, and consequently might have considered the time so occupied as time lost. On the other hand, they could hardly openly discountenance the fundamental principle of Parliamentary Government "grievances before supply." The best part of an evening (March 9) was taken up in the discussion of how business was to be conducted, and in the afternoon an unnecessary amount of heat had been generated, and both sides the Government were forced to give way. Gladstone was at first for riding rough shod over all difficulties, and whilst announcing that the second reading of the Bill originally fixed for March 13 would be postponed until March 16, he accompanied the announcement by stating that he might have to ask members to "make a sacrifice of their convenience either by sitting on Saturdays or by curtailing Easter holidays." From this and other signs it was obvious that the intention to carry the second reading of the Home Rule Bill before Easter, even if by so doing the discussion of the army and navy votes was curtailed or rushed.

The chiefs of the Opposition, on the rare occasions in which they were able to quit Westminster, concentrated their attention either on the Home Rule Bill, or on the "rousing" of Ulster—which was to form one of the great points in the Unionist campaign. Middlesex, was an important stronghold, and the West Riding gave hopes of rallying to Liberalism less tinged with Socialism than that which the actual members for the moment professed. Mr. Balfour, therefore, found it expedient to go to Ealing, whilst the Duke of Devonshire undertook to open the campaign at Bradford. Balfour's speech (March 8) was full of fighting, and was intended to encourage the Middlesex Conservatives to persevere as they had begun. After describing Mr. Gladstone's bill as "a step for the worse government of Great Britain," he touched



ssion upon its clauses, incidentally remarking that there nothing to prevent the enrolment of volunteers in Ireland 1780, with the direful results related in history. The proposal to make a constitution, in which the popular assembly had within it two kinds of majorities, was probably untried in all the experiments of constitution-making. Two chambers and two systems of taxation implied two Budgets, two Committees of Ways and Means, two Appropriation Acts. The difficulties of collecting taxes in Ireland—already very great—would be immensely increased, and smugglers alone would flourish. Home Rule, which the English were to give Ireland, together with a large sum of money, would drive the Irish out of Ireland; but Irish labour would follow English labour to England and increase the existing competition in the labour market. "The Irish," said Mr. Balfour, "are to decide as by what administration we are to be governed; the English are to control our taxation; the Irish are to manage our affairs; and in order to remunerate them for their thankless service we are going gratuitously to hand over 100,000,000*l.* of money to their pockets."

On the following day (March 9) the Duke of Devonshire made a weighty speech at Bradford, dwelling at the outset on the state of things in Ulster, where thousands of loyal business men were preparing to transfer themselves and their capital to a country on whose laws they could depend. Turning next to the guarantees for the protection of the loyal minority, and for the special interests, the Duke of Devonshire pronounced them ample; for even supposing the Government desirous to do it, he said, "no agency had been left by which to do it. There is," he said, "no limitation upon the executive power, the action of the Irish Cabinet, corresponding or attempting to correspond with the limitation which the bill imposes upon their powers of making laws. We must get distinctly into our minds, that after this bill passes the Imperial Government will not have a single minister, executive officer, or official in Ireland, who will be responsible to it or to our Parliament, every man of them—from the Chief Secretary, and from the members of the Lord Lieutenant's Cabinet to the humblest servant, to the humblest tax-gatherer, the humblest bailiff, process-server—every person of official rank in Ireland—every official—will in future be under the orders, and under the control, of their Cabinet, and will own no responsibility to the British Government or the British Parliament."

In all his references to his former chief and colleagues the Duke of Devonshire was fair and even generous. He thought it natural that those who had been accustomed to confide in Gladstone should in presence of the great division of opinion give him another chance of carrying out a policy on which his heart was set. But this was not the view of the situation taken in Ireland by the people whom it would mainly

affect. To Irishmen, whether Nationalists or Unionists, it was a question of vital importance, affecting their interests, even their liberties and lives. Certainly the majority of the people of Ireland were looking forward with hope and enthusiasm to the greatness and prosperity which they thought this policy was to confer upon them. But there were thousands of men in Ulster, and in other parts of Ireland also, who were now considering how far it might be possible for them to transfer their business, their industries, which were the life-blood of Irish prosperity, to a country in the justice of whose laws and government they could depend, rather than remain exposed to the domination of a Government which they knew would be composed of their own enemies, which they believed would be composed of the enemies of their country. On the face of the bill, the Duke of Devonshire continued, was the assertion that the supreme authority of Parliament was not to be impaired. There was another assertion—that while they were asked to delegate to a local legislature in Dublin certain powers now exercised by Parliament, those powers were not to be equal, or coextensive with those now exercised by the Imperial Parliament. Thus there were in the bill certain exceptions and restrictions imposed upon the functions of the Irish Parliament, which it was proposed to create. The exceptions related to such matters as the Crown, peace and war, the army and navy, treaties with foreign nations, trade, coinage, the law of treason and treason-felony—on those subjects the Irish Parliament was not to have power to make laws. Thus this measure began by removing from the scope of the powers of the Irish Parliament every power which was known and recognised as an attribute of a nation. The restrictions were of a different character. They required careful examination and study, not because they were worth anything as restrictions, but as showing the mind of the Government as to the subjects upon which the Irish Parliament might be expected to require some restraint, and on which it would be likely to go wrong if it were left with complete immunity to do so. These restrictions might be described generally as restrictions to prevent any abuse of power in the direction of subservience to priestly domination and the indulgence in religious intolerance, any abuse of power in the direction of tyrannical and oppressive government, any abuse of power in the direction of legal plunder or robbery. Those were the things which, in the opinion of the Government, the Irish Parliament might wish to do, and which they should be restrained from doing. By far the most important provision of this bill was that which enacted that Ireland was in future to be governed by an Executive Committee of the Privy Council—in reality an Irish Cabinet under the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—just as the empire was now governed by a Cabinet, which was a Committee of the Privy Council under the authority of the Queen. There was no limitation



on the executive power of the Irish Cabinet corresponding with the limitation which the bill imposed upon their power making laws. After this bill passed the Imperial Government would not have a single minister, executive officer, or official in Ireland, who would be responsible to it or to their Parliament, but every person of official rank in Ireland would be under the sole orders of the Irish Cabinet, and would own no responsibility to the British Government or the British Parliament. Under this arrangement, if the Irish Government and the Irish people were so minded, there was not one of those legislative restrictions and exceptions which they might not defy and with impunity defy. There was no legal, constitutional, or orderly redress which our Government or any aggrieved person might have against any infraction by the Irish Parliament of those restrictions which were placed upon it. It was true they would be entitled to treat such an act of the Irish Government and Parliament as an act of open rebellion. In that case they could use their military forces and suppress the rebellion. But was that the safeguard they were looking for? That would be neither more nor less than civil war. It was not necessary to assume that the Irish Parliament would openly infringe the restrictions which were to be placed on its actions. It would be a great deal easier and a great deal safer to evade than to defy the law; and there was not one of those restrictions which, taken in conjunction with the limited executive power to be conferred upon Irish members, might not be easily and safely evaded. He did not say the Irish Government would wantonly provoke a collision between themselves and the British people in these matters. But if they could do so, what a heritage of difficulties would be prepared for the future Irish Government. The Irish Roman Catholic priesthood, who would have so great an influence over the composition of the future Irish Parliament, would not quietly permanently submit to having the control of the education of that country taken out of their hands. The Irish tenant-farmers, who had been taught that Home Rule meant to them the possession of their holdings without the obligation of paying rent, and who were only Home Rulers because they held that belief, would not be satisfied with a Government which allowed that it was no more disposed, in the words of the Act, "to deprive any man of his property without due compensation" than the present Government. The Irish-American element, whose action had been dictated at least as much by hatred of Great Britain as by love of Ireland, would not be altogether without influence upon the Irish Parliament. And they would, in themselves, one day or another, of the undoubted influence which they would possess in that assembly, and raise the question of difficulty and embarrassment for the British Government, and raise it at some critical moment when it would be most inconvenient and dangerous to the national

welfare. Then it was impossible not to foresee that evasion if not open defiance of the law, would inevitably take place and would cause collision, jealousy, and animosity between the two countries.

It should be added that at the time of its delivery the Lord of Devonshire's speech hardly obtained the credit it afterwards received. It was recognised later on to indicate the lines which opposition to the bill was to be conducted by the Liberal Unionists, and served as a text-book to speakers on that subject when addressing Parliament or public meetings.

In the House of Commons the exigencies of supply at least gave the Opposition the opportunity of bringing forward various questions which, although touched upon in the debate on the Address, and subsequently made the subject of irritating interpellations, had not been altogether rendered useless as matters of attack and delay. The younger and less responsible members of the Opposition were eager to take the fullest advantage of the forms of the House, and in this they were supported by the principal Unionist organs. The leaders of the party, however, though they may have disapproved of tactics which might at a future time recoil upon themselves, were, after a slight resistance and show of resistance, forced to follow their followers. The statement of the County of Clare, the ruling of the chairman on the question whether a question of general policy could be discussed, the Supplementary Estimate (March 2), the Irish Light Railways Bill (March 3), all gave rise to protracted debate, and often to heated discussion. In dealing with the last-named subject a proposed expenditure of 600,000*l.* to complete the works inaugurated by the previous Government—Mr. Chamberlain declared that such an expenditure of money, practically provided by England, was intelligible so long as the policy of the Union was maintained. If, however, Ireland was to be self-sustaining under the management of a separate Legislature, the case was altogether different; and he protested against the idea of carrying out a Unionist policy at the very moment that the repeal of the Union was under consideration. In this matter, however, as in all others, the Ministerial majority finally obtained the vote required, with or without the preliminary use of the closure.

The long-delayed report of the Evicted Tenants' Commission, presided over by Mr. Justice Matthew, gave special interest to the debate on the vote for its cost. The report fully justified all anticipations as to its scope, recognising that "the conditions into which the tenants entered (the Plan of Campaign) could not be denounced as fraudulent and dishonest," though "they were pronounced by high authority to be criminal." The fact that the majority of the tenants dealt with in the report had been evicted because they would not pay their rent—not because they could not—was not considered to justify any especial harshness in their treatment. The report, therefore, re-



ended that the Land Commission, or if thought more advisable, a special commission, should be appointed with the power to determine the rent at which the petitioners (evicted tenants) should be entitled to reinstatement. The landlord, on the other hand, might insist on the land thus relet being purchased, but even then the price of the freehold was to be fixed by the commission, which might extend the time for the payment of instalments, whilst Boards of Guardians were to be authorised to lend tenants money to restart their farms. With regard to the tenants actually in possession, the commission would decide whether their interest in the farms was "substantial," and if so, they were, when possible, to be bought. In the event of this being found impracticable, the evicted tenants were to be comforted with land to be found elsewhere.

The vote for the expenses of the commission, which gave rise to a prolonged debate (March 13), was, however, somewhat deprived of its importance, and perhaps, too, of its bitterness, by the violent scenes which preceded. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the absence of Mr. Gladstone, had to announce in view of the slow progress of supplies the Government had decided not to press forward the second reading of the Home Rule Bill before Easter. The secret had been leaked out, and its revelation, whilst it delighted the Opposition, grieved the Irish Nationalists and possibly a few British radicals. For a breach of privilege, Mr. Conyngham (Cambridge), the offender, was brought to the notice of the House for having written a letter to the *Westminster Gazette* in which he had charged the Tory members with obstructing the Speaker of "snubbing" members who attempted to move the closure. He had further urged the Government to arrange to move the closure every five or ten minutes, saying that "Mr. Speaker would probably refuse to entertain such motions, but I doubt if he would continue to snubbing us, and in either case the country would be the loser." The Speaker closed the incident with a statement of civility, saying that he did not think Mr. Conyngham's "action" was worth consideration.

After these episodes, which, as personal matters, somewhat diminished the interest of the House to a high degree, a purely political discussion would have done little good. Mr. (Mr. S.) moved the reduction of the cost of the commission by 2,170*l.*, the cost of the commission to consider the case of the evicted tenants. In the course of his speech, he impeached the policy of the Government in appointing the commission, and described the expenditure of money as sheer waste, because the commission was not in the possession of the land. Sir J. Mathew went to the aid of the Secretary with packing the commission.

conduct of the president rendered its findings absolutely worthless as far as Parliament was concerned. It was, in fact, a commission for making the ways of transgressors easy. The president disappointed everybody, and his opening speech, his conduct towards the counsel who represented the landlord and his threats to the newspapers shattered every hope that a fair hearing would be accorded to both sides in this question. It was, therefore, not surprising that the commissioners should recommend that privileges which were denied to honest tenants should be offered to men who had swindled their landlord. The reply of the Chief Secretary, Mr. J. Morley (*Newcastle*) was exceedingly able, and pitched in a key to deprecate violent language on either side. He defended the issuing of the commission on the ground that it was in harmony with the 13th section of the Land Act of 1891. The object of the present Government was to ascertain exactly the conditions on which the evicted tenants might be advantageously restored to the homes, and the late Government, he observed, actually passed a clause for reinstating in their holdings the men who were now denounced as swindlers. He indignantly repudiated the charge of packing the commission, and declined to say a word in vindication of Sir J. Mathew, who, in his opinion, had been most unjustly treated. Her Majesty's Government would proceed, without delay, to consider the report of the commission in order to ascertain what was the best course to pursue and what proposals ought to be laid before Parliament. They would do all they could to put an end to the unsatisfactory state of affairs at present existing.

Mr. A. J. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) began by suggesting that the Chief Secretary must perfectly well know that the proposals of the commissioners could not be carried into effect. What, however, was of more immediate importance was that Mr. Morley had absolutely perverted or misinterpreted the meaning of the clause of the Land Act on which he had pretended to hitch his commission. Mr. Balfour pointed out the difference between recommending an amicable settlement for the good of the neighbourhood, and forcing down the throats of the landlords an arrangement which might be grossly unjust. The commissioners who signed the report could only be regarded as partisans of the evicted tenants. The facts which they stated were mis-stated; their proposals involved a gigantic scheme of eviction; and the retaken farms were virtually to be stocked at the expense of the landlords who had been robbed by a political combination. Proposals of this kind might be printed in a blue-book, but he believed they would never be submitted by a responsible Government to the House of Commons. In short, they were mere waste paper. In conclusion, Mr. Balfour remarked that if the Government really believed in their Home Rule Bill, why did they ask the Imperial Parliament to expend time and money in reinstating



tenants on terms hitherto unheard of even in the history of land legislation? For some speeches in support of the commission from Nationalist members of both sections, Mr. Chamberlain (Birmingham, W.) said the appointment of this commission was a question as to the circumstances in which it was made and allowable to take a judge of the High Court in Ireland from his ordinary duties in order to preside over a judicial inquiry. He suggested that the principle to be adopted was that judges should only be appointed to conduct investigations when the subject of inquiry was in the nature of a criminal charge or a civil suit. In the case of the Russell Commission, he observed, the allegations almost amounted to a criminal charge, and, moreover, the persons concerned themselves demanded an inquiry; whereas the object of the Government in the present case was to find a political basis for the results of a political agitation. Every condition for a fair inquiry was ignored; the commissioners were expected to endorse a foregone conclusion; and the judge pronounced the verdict before he had heard the evidence.

Attorney-General, Sir Charles Russell (*Hackney, S.*), in a conciliatory tone, admitting that judges should not be called upon to aid in such inquiries, but did not think that Mr. T. W. Russell's motion had been put down for the purpose of raising a discussion upon that somewhat vague question. No one who looked at the condition of the evicted tenants could suppose that the commission was intended to conduct a judicial inquiry. The commission had no authority to determine the rights of any one in Ireland, whether tenant or landlord, its sole function being to collect information on which the judgment of the Government and the House might be formed. Assuming the Plan of Campaign to be an illegal combination, it had undoubtedly brought about a state of things which every man who had at heart the welfare of Ireland must desire to see dealt with in some reasonable and proper way. With reference to the attacks on Sir John Mathew, he affirmed that no lawyer in the House would dare express an opinion that that learned judge did not do full and complete justice in this matter. The Attorney-General concluded by defending the course adopted by Sir John Mathew, and asserted that no commission analogous to the present had ever allowed the right of cross-examination in the manner in which it was claimed by two of the counsel for the

speech naturally brought up Mr. Carson (*Dublin Univ.*), who appeared before the commission on the first day, but subsequently withdrawn. He explained that he did not consider it an absolute right the privilege of cross-examination, and submitted to the commission that, in this particular case, some one did not undertake the process of sifting the

truth by cross-examination the proceedings would be a far and a sham. He withdrew from the inquiry because he perceived from the method they adopted that the commissioners were not determined to sift the truth to the bottom. The was, he contended, no spontaneous movement on the part of the tenants which justified the Chief Secretary in appointing this commission. In conclusion, he branded the recommendations of the commissioners as audacious and fraudulent devices to fulfil political promises.

Mr. Morley then moved the closure, which was accepted, and Mr. T. W. Russell's motion was negatived by 287 to 250 votes.

This small vote involved only a question of home politics, whereas the great service votes of the year were supposed to indicate the policy of the Administration in its attitude towards the outside world. The Conservatives had, at least, acted up to their professions, for, having found the navy in a condition which they had denounced when in Opposition, they had not hesitated to take special means for raising it to a greater state of efficiency. The Liberals, whilst unable to withstand the force of popular opinion, had done their utmost to belittle the efforts of their opponents, and to impede them in the financial stratagem by which Mr. Goschen and Lord George Hamilton had arranged to find 6,000,000*l.* without apparent burden on the taxpayer. On the return of Mr. Gladstone to power, it was a matter of speculation whether the old Radical cry of retrenchment and the doctrines of the Cobden school would have to give way to the demands of those who were for maintaining the empire and at the same time for fostering national interests at the expense of the State. That Mr. Gladstone himself was in doubt as to the direction in which the current of popular opinion would set was perhaps seen in his appointment of official responsibility. Contrary to the theories of the school of finance of which he had been the great exponent, the head of the Admiralty was chosen from the House of Lords, and consequently wholly beyond the reach of that constant control which was supposed to be requisite for the dispendent department of the State. Moreover, the new First Lord had never displayed any special qualifications for his new office, and his previous career had given him no experience in naval affairs, nor afforded evidence of great strength of purpose or firmness of will. The representatives of the Admiralty in the House of Commons were even less known. The qualifications of the Civil Lord, Mr. E. Robertson, were wholly legal, and although he had displayed in Opposition a certain grasp of financial questions, and a clearness of head which rendered his advice valuable, there had been nothing in his previous career to suggest the possession of administrative capacity. The Secretary of the Admiralty (Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth) was even less known, except as a politician of whom something had been expected, but from whom nothing had ever come.



discussed in Parliament at intervals for upwards of twenty years, and held office in Mr. Gladstone's shortlived Ministry of 1886, and left no mark behind him. The Navy estimates for the 1893-4 were, as had become customary, preceded by an explanatory paper, in which the policy of the past and present of the Admiralty were contrasted. The amount asked for service of the year was 14,240,100*l.*—just 100*l.* less than the predecessors' estimate—but the number of seamen and the number of ships was raised from 74,100 to 76,700, in accordance with the recommendations of the Manning Committee appointed by the previous Government; the votes for pay and victualling and medical treatment were also consequently increased.

The only field, therefore, in which economies could be effected was that of shipbuilding. Four out of the five years contemplated by the Naval Defence Act expired on March 31, 1893, and that period one-half of the total number of ships—*viz.*, 100—provided for under that Act were completed. These were made up of two first-class battleships, three first-class cruisers, twenty-one second-class cruisers, four third-class cruisers of the *Pallas* type, and five torpedo gunboats. The Admiralty in the course of the financial year 1893-4—the last governed by the Naval Defence Act—proposed to complete 16 more ships—including five first-class battleships—which would include all the contract-built ships except the 100; and consequently only nine ships—which could be completed for about 283,000*l.*—would remain uncompleted at the close of the financial year.

With regard to the new work not included under the Naval Defence Act, of which the conditions were peremptory, the Government on coming into office had at once postponed completing the two new battleships which their predecessors proposed to lay down. These two ships, however, figured

at the head of the Government programme for 1893-4. In addition to these, three second-class cruisers and two sloops were to be constructed in the Admiralty dockyards, and in the dockyards, by contract, two first-class cruisers of the highest speed, coal supply, armament and defence attainable, and four torpedo-boat destroyers of an improved pattern. In the latest modern improvements were promised, and the second-class cruisers of the *Astræa* class were to be more fully armed, and with greater coal capacity than the contract-built ships. It was, however, especially in the matter of torpedo boats that the new Administration promised to show its activity. The previous year's estimates had included 10*l.* for laying down ten first-class torpedo boats, but the Government on coming into office found that no progress had been made with this work. Orders were consequently given to the private firms to push forward these vessels, which in speed and power were to be superior to all their predecessors. Six torpedo-boat destroyers of a new type, with a guaranteed speed

of twenty-seven knots an hour, were ordered in private yard and the promise was held out that if these proved successful fourteen other vessels of the same class would be ordered during the year.

The gun-manufacture, now undertaken by the Admiralty for all naval purposes, was reported to be working satisfactorily and a new 12-in. breech-loading steel and wire gun for the armament of the new battleships was adopted. The whole of the condemned guns of 6-in. and other smaller sizes were withdrawn and replaced by serviceable guns of later pattern. Cordite, the new smokeless powder, had given satisfactory results, but the final report of the Ordnance Committee was awaited before its adoption for all quick-firing guns; and, on the other hand, the whole service had been re-armed with the "Webley" revolver. With regard to new harbour accommodation, two additional docks, adapted for the largest vessels, were to be pushed forward at Portsmouth. At Chatham the deepening of the Medway was being proceeded with, and the convict prison would speedily be converted into naval barracks. At Portland a contract for a new coaling pier, to be complete in two years, had been made. At Gibraltar the magazines were to be improved and the new mole extended. At Malta a new dock had been brought into use, and additions made to the stores and magazines; whilst the new naval establishment at Sydney, N.S.W., was making good progress under the direction of the Colonial Government. Mobilisation, recruiting for the Marines and the training of the Royal Naval Reserve had been made the subjects of special study, and good results had followed the adoption of more elastic and at the same time of a more generous rate of pay.

Before, however, the votes for men and wages could be discussed, Sir John Gorst (*Cambridge University*), in his rôle of the working man's friend, was able to bring forward a resolution (March 6) to the effect that all persons in her Majesty's pay should be engaged at wages for a proper maintenance, and that the conditions of labour as regards hours, wages, insurance against accident, provision for old age, &c., should be such as to afford an example to private employers throughout the country. The motion was so framed that no member on the Liberal side could readily take exception to its intention, but the Government for the moment were far more anxious to get their votes than even to pose as friends of the working classes. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman (*Stirling Burghs*) on behalf of the Government, hastened to express his agreement with the proposition in principle. Though unable to embark in any daring scheme, he was anxious to remove anything which might betoken indifference to the well-being of the men employed in dockyards and arsenals. He further stated that the labour department of the Board of Trade was actively engaged in collecting information on the conditions



in the naval establishments, and he hoped that in due season some definite scheme might be drawn up. The topic introduced was too interesting to be allowed to drop, and discussion was continued until midnight, when the motion was agreed to.

On the following day (March 7), at a morning sitting, the Secretary of the Admiralty, Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth (*Clitheroe*), was at length able to introduce the Navy estimates—merely referring in his introductory speech the points already noticed in the explanatory note. There was, he remarked, an increase of 10 per cent. this year in the number of men and boys, the need for increase arising from the larger number of ships built under the Northbrook programme, and the Naval Defence programme. An official committee of great authority had been appointed to determine what should be the complement of every ship, and the effort of all vessels in the navy would be manned on the basis of the report of that committee. Indeed, this had already been done with regard to the *Royal Arthur* and the *Victoria*. The conditions of the peace fleet had also altered in a most remarkable way, owing to the system of the fleet reserve, and the necessity of having a sufficient number of men to keep the delicate machinery of these ships in perfect order. With respect to the fleet at sea, one result of the report of the Shipping Committee was that the number of engine-room artificers would be somewhat reduced, while the number of chief engineers would be increased. A large addition to the number of mines was another result of that report, and this increase would go on for two years more until we had a total of 16,000 mines. In spite of the increase in the number of men, the Admiralty were enabled to propose to Parliament practically the same sum which Lord G. Hamilton asked for last year. Although the amount now required—*viz.*, 14,240,100*l.*—was apparently 25,000*l.* more than was asked for two years ago, it was about 38,000*l.* less than the expenditure of 1891-2, which considerably exceeded the estimate. This result had been achieved, not by cutting down reconstruction, but by a careful limitation of each vote, and the inclusion of only what was absolutely necessary for maintaining the efficiency of the navy. With regard to the shipbuilding programme for 1893-4, he said the amount which it was proposed to expend was just under 10,000*l.* Adding the armaments, the expenditure would be 14,000,000*l.*, and the charge on taxation for shipbuilding would be upwards of 4,400,000*l.* Adverting to some matters connected with new construction, he dwelt on the importance of having a number of torpedo-boat destroyers. Six of these vessels had been ordered from three private firms, and it was intended to order fourteen other vessels of the same type during 1893-4. Further, it was proposed to construct by contract two new cruisers at a probable total cost of over 1,000*l.* These would be superior in speed, in coal capacity,

in defence, and in armament, to any cruisers which had been built in any part of the world. The necessity for constructing these cruisers had been forced upon the Admiralty by what was going on abroad, and no part of the programme was of greater importance. Coming next to the dockyard work, he said it was proposed to build two first-class battleships, which would be improvements on the *Royal Sovereign* type, three second-class cruisers, and two sloops, which were called in the estimates station gunboats. As to the general policy of the present board, it was like that of the late Board of Admiralty and aimed at maintaining our power at sea for the protection of our commerce. Approximately, he estimated the total cost of the new ships which the Admiralty proposed to build to be close upon 5,000,000*l.* Referring to the Naval Defence Act, he confessed that members on the Ministerial side were not enamoured of the policy of passing an Act of Parliament for these purposes, though he admitted that a naval defence programme was desirable. At the present moment they were only proposing a programme for one year, but he would not conceal from the House the circumstance that they had examined the probable effect of their programme in 1894-5. Still, they were a new Government, and preferred to restrict their public announcements to the financial year 1893-4. They fully recognised, however, the wisdom of continuity of policy in naval administration, and he confidently claimed that they had done nothing inconsistent with a broad and wise interpretation of that continuity.

Lord George Hamilton (*Ealing, Middlesex*), who had been First Lord of the Admiralty in the last Government, had little ground for complaint, except that the House was without sufficient information on the shipbuilding programme of the Admiralty. They were, he thought, trying to do too much with too little money; for in view of the discussion on the previous evening they could not eliminate from their calculations the prospect of increased pay in the dockyards. He defended the policy of a Naval Defence Act, on the ground that it actually embodied the will of Parliament, deliberately expressed, and could not at a time of political pressure or financial exigency be over-ruled by the Treasury, which was in his opinion one of the most antiquated and unbusiness-like of our public departments. After some further discussions from the various naval experts having seats in the House, the vote for men, by the aid of the closure, was agreed to, and a week later (March 11) that for wages was also obtained after a short debate.

The Army estimates were preceded by the issue of the inspector-general's report on recruiting during the previous year, which showed that even the slight improvement in the treatment of the soldier—falling far short of the commendations of Lord Wantage's Committee—had already had the result of making the service more popular, the



numbers in every district showing a distinct increase—5,656 over that of 1892, and more than 10,000 over that of 1891. In like manner the number of men joining the regular army from the militia was 15,659, and 2,336 from the volunteers. There is not the slightest doubt," according to the report, "that the improvement in the food and in the comforts afforded in barracks to soldiers has tended greatly to a marked diminution in the numbers of punishment for drunkenness and absence without leave. It may be confidently expected that these numbers will materially decrease year by year, and is intended to institute even more careful inquiries into the precedents of recruits of doubtful appearance or character." The inspector-general, moreover, fully endorsed the view of other army reformers, that if men of good conduct, with parents dependent on them, were allowed to leave the colours and go to the reserve before the expiration of their full time of service, parents would cease to dissuade their sons from enlisting. The Army estimates in the House of Commons were under direct management of the Secretary of State, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, who had for his assistants Lord Sandhurst (in the place of Lords) as under-secretary, and Mr. Wm. Woodall (now) as financial secretary, so that in the matter of Parliamentary control and administrative ability the military expenditure of the country left little to be desired, especially if economy still a cardinal feature of the Radical programme. By common consent there was no department of the State in which the leakage of public money with less financial results was so apparent. The British army was, in comparison with all other European nations and in point of numbers, almost out of it. This, however, was recognised by all parties as being in consonance with national feeling; but there was no desire that a minimum of efficiency should be obtained at the maximum expenditure, and that whilst keeping on foot the very smallest force of any of the great Powers its cost should be equal to that of the French or German armies.

The Secretary for War had, therefore, the difficult problem to solve which had baffled so many politicians of all shades who, since the Crimean war, had occupied his place, and it was, perhaps, a doubly difficult task for one whose theories, at least, led him to regard military and even defensive works objects on which expenditure should be reduced to the lowest possible figure. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's estimates, however, exceeded those of his predecessor by 171,600*l.*—although in fact the increase of actual expenditure was only 105,600*l.* They amounted to the aggregate to 17,802,900*l.* for the year 1893-4, as compared with 17,631,300*l.* for the year 1892-3, the chief increase being the pay of the army, &c., which was set down at 5,876,400*l.*, or 1,400*l.* above that of the previous year. The sudden increase in the garrison in Egypt had temporarily disturbed the arrangements for keeping equal the number of battalions of infantry

welfare. Then it was impossible not to foresee that evasion if not open defiance of the law, would inevitably take place and would cause collision, jealousy, and animosity between the two countries.

It should be added that at the time of its delivery the Duke of Devonshire's speech hardly obtained the credit it afterwards received. It was recognised later on to indicate the lines upon which opposition to the bill was to be conducted by the Liberal Unionists, and served as a text-book to speakers on that subject when addressing Parliament or public meetings.

In the House of Commons the exigencies of supply at length gave the Opposition the opportunity of bringing forward various questions which, although touched upon in the debate on the Address, and subsequently made the subject of irritating interrogations, had not been altogether rendered useless as matters of attack and delay. The younger and less responsible members of the Opposition were eager to take the fullest advantage of the forms of the House, and in this they were supported by the principal Unionist organs. The leaders of the party, however much they may have disapproved of tactics which might at a future time recoil upon themselves, were, after a slight resistance, on a show of resistance, forced to follow their followers. The state of the County of Clare, the ruling of the chairman on the point whether a question of general policy could be discussed on the Supplementary Estimate (March 2), the Irish Light Railway (March 3), all gave rise to protracted debate, and often to heated discussion. In dealing with the last-named subject, a proposed expenditure of 600,000*l.* to complete the work inaugurated by the previous Government—Mr. Chamberlain declared that such an expenditure of money, practically provided by England, was intelligible so long as the policy of the Union was maintained. If, however, Ireland was to be self-sustaining under the management of a separate Legislature the case was altogether different; and he protested against the idea of carrying out a Unionist policy at the very moment that the repeal of the Union was under consideration. In this matter, however, as in all others, the Ministerial majority finally obtained the vote required, with or without the preliminary use of the closure.

The long-delayed report of the Evicted Tenants' Commission, presided over by Mr. Justice Matthew, gave special interest to the debate on the vote for its cost. The report fully justified all anticipations as to its scope, recognising that "the combinations into which the tenants entered (the Plan of Campaign) could not be denounced as fraudulent and dishonest," though "they were pronounced by high authority to be criminal." The fact that the majority of the tenants dealt with in the report were evicted because they would not pay their rent—not because they could not—was not considered to justify any harshness in their treatment. The report, therefore, i



ded that the Land Commission, or if thought more advisable, a special commission, should be appointed with the power to determine the rent at which the petitioners (evicted tenants) should be entitled to reinstatement. The landlord, on the other hand, might insist on the land thus relet being purchased, but even then the price of the freehold was to be fixed by the commission, which might extend the time for the payment of instalments, whilst Boards of Guardians were to be authorised to lend tenants money to restart their farms. With regard to the tenants actually in possession, the commission was to decide whether their interest in the farms was "substantial," and if so, they were, when possible, to be bought out.

In the event of this being found impracticable, the evicted tenants were to be comforted with land to be found elsewhere.

The vote for the expenses of the commission, which gave rise to a prolonged debate (March 13), was, however, somewhat qualified by its importance, and perhaps, too, of its bitterness, the violent scenes which preceded. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the absence of Mr. Gladstone, had to announce in view of the slow progress of supplies the Government had decided not to press forward the second reading of the Land Rule Bill before Easter. The secret had been well kept, and its revelation, whilst it delighted the Opposition, alarmed the Irish Nationalists and possibly a few English radicals. For a breach of privilege, Mr. Conybeare (*Cornwall, Camborne*), the offender, was brought to the notice of the House for having written a letter to the *Westminster Gazette*, in which he had charged the Tory members with obstruction, and accused the Speaker of "snubbing" members who attempted to move the closure. He had further urged the Radical Party to arrange to move the closure every five or ten minutes, saying that "Mr. Speaker would probably refuse a good many such motions, but I doubt if he would continue the policy of snubbing us, and in either case the country would know what to think." The Speaker closed the incident with his customary dignity, saying that he did not think Mr. Conybeare's "indiscretion" was worth consideration.

After these episodes, which, as personal questions, had raised the interest of the House to a higher point than any purely political discussion would have done, Mr. T. W. Russell (*Lyons, S.*) moved the reduction of the vote for special commissions by 2,170*l.*, the cost of the commission appointed to consider the case of the evicted tenants in Ireland. In a vigorous speech, he impeached the policy of the Government in appointing the commission, and described the expenditure of the money as sheer waste, because not a single fact had been ascertained which was not in the possession of the Government before Sir J. Mathew went to Dublin. He charged the Chief Secretary with packing the commission, and averred that the

conduct of the president rendered its findings absolutely worthless as far as Parliament was concerned. It was, in fact, a commission for making the ways of transgressors easy. The president disappointed everybody, and his opening speech, his conduct towards the counsel who represented the landlords, and his threats to the newspapers shattered every hope that a fair hearing would be accorded to both sides in this question. It was, therefore, not surprising that the commissioners should recommend that privileges which were denied to honest tenants should be offered to men who had swindled their landlords. The reply of the Chief Secretary, Mr. J. Morley (*Newcastle*) was exceedingly able, and pitched in a key to deprecate violence on either side. He defended the issuing of the commission on the ground that it was in harmony with the provisions of the Land Act of 1891. The object of the present Government was to ascertain exactly the conditions on which the evicted tenants might be advantageously restored to their homes, and the late Government, he observed, actually passed a clause for reinstating in their holdings the men who were now denounced as swindlers. He indignantly repudiated the charge of packing the commission, and declined to say a word in vindication of Sir J. Mathew, who, in his opinion, had been most unjustly treated. Her Majesty's Government would proceed, without delay, to consider the report of the commission in order to ascertain what was the best course to pursue, and what proposals ought to be laid before Parliament. They would do all they could to put an end to the unsatisfactory state of affairs at present existing.

Mr. A. J. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) began by suggesting that the Chief Secretary must perfectly well know that the proposals of the commissioners could not be carried into effect. What, however, was of more immediate importance was that Mr. Morley had absolutely perverted or misinterpreted the meaning of the clause of the Land Act on which he had attempted to hitch his commission. Mr. Balfour pointed out the difference between recommending an amicable settlement for the good of the neighbourhood, and forcing down the throats of the landlords an arrangement which might be grossly unjust. The commissioners who signed the report could only be regarded as partisans of the evicted tenants. The facts which they stated were mis-stated; their proposals involved a gigantic scheme of eviction; and the retaken farms were virtually re-stocked at the expense of the landlords who had been robbed by a political combination. Proposals of this kind might be printed in a blue-book, but he believed they would not be submitted by a responsible Government to the House of Commons. In short, they were mere waste paper. In conclusion, Mr. Balfour remarked that if the Government really believed in their Home Rule Bill, why did they ask the *Imperial* Parliament to expend time and money in reinstating



tenants on terms hitherto unheard of even in the history of land legislation?

After some speeches in support of the commission from Nationalist members of both sections, Mr. Chamberlain (*Ingham, W.*) said the appointment of this commission was a question as to the circumstances in which it was possible and allowable to take a judge of the High Court in a country from his ordinary duties in order to preside over a special inquiry. He suggested that the principle to be observed was that judges should only be appointed to conduct investigations when the subject of inquiry was in the nature of a criminal charge or a civil suit. In the case of the Arnall Commission, he observed, the allegations almost amounted to a criminal charge, and, moreover, the persons concerned themselves demanded an inquiry; whereas the object of the Government in the present case was to find a political remedy for the results of a political agitation. Every condition of a fair inquiry was ignored; the commissioners were expected to endorse a foregone conclusion; and the judge pronounced the verdict before he had heard the evidence.

The Attorney-General, Sir Charles Russell (*Hackney, S.*), spoke in a conciliatory tone, admitting that judges should seldom be called upon to aid in such inquiries, but did not think that Mr. T. W. Russell's motion had been put down for the purpose of raising a discussion upon that somewhat technical question. No one who looked at the condition of the evicted tenants could suppose that the commission was intended to conduct a judicial inquiry. The commission had no authority to determine the rights of any one in Ireland, whether tenant or landlord, its sole function being to collect information on which the judgment of the Government and the House might be formed. Assuming the Plan of Campaign to be an illegal combination, it had undoubtedly brought about a state of things which every man who had at heart the welfare of Ireland must desire to see dealt with in some reasonable and proper way. With reference to the attacks on Sir J. Mathew, he affirmed that no lawyer in the House would dare to express an opinion that that learned judge did not intend to do full and complete justice in this matter. The Attorney-General concluded by defending the course adopted by Sir J. Mathew, and asserted that no commission analogous to this had ever allowed the right of cross-examination in the manner in which it was claimed by two of the counsel for the landlords.

This speech naturally brought up Mr. Carson (*Dublin Univ.*), who had appeared before the commission on the first day, but had subsequently withdrawn. He explained that he did not think it was an absolute right the privilege of cross-examination, although he submitted to the commission that, in this particular case, if some one did not undertake the process of sifting the

truth by cross-examination the proceedings would be a farce and a sham. He withdrew from the inquiry because he perceived from the method they adopted that the commissioners were not determined to sift the truth to the bottom. There was, he contended, no spontaneous movement on the part of the tenants which justified the Chief Secretary in appointing this commission. In conclusion, he branded the recommendations of the commissioners as audacious and fraudulent devices to fulfil political promises.

Mr. Morley then moved the closure, which was accepted, and Mr. T. W. Russell's motion was negatived by 287 to 250 votes.

This small vote involved only a question of home politics, whereas the great service votes of the year were supposed to indicate the policy of the Administration in its attitude towards the outside world. The Conservatives had, at least, acted up to their professions, for, having found the navy in a condition which they had denounced when in Opposition, they had not hesitated to take special means for raising it to a greater state of efficiency. The Liberals, whilst unable to withstand the force of popular opinion, had done their utmost to belittle the efforts of their opponents, and to impede them in the financial stratagem by which Mr. Goschen and Lord George Hamilton had arranged to find 6,000,000*l.* without apparent burden on the taxpayer. On the return of Mr. Gladstone to power, it was a matter of speculation whether the old Radical cry of retrenchment and the doctrines of the Cobden school would have to give way to the demands of those who were for maintaining the empire and at the same time for fostering national interests at the expense of the State. That Mr. Gladstone himself was in doubt as to the direction in which the current of popular opinion would set was perhaps seen in his appointment of official responsibility. Contrary to the theories of the school of finance of which he had been the great exponent, the head of the Admiralty was chosen from the House of Lords, and consequently wholly beyond the reach of that constant control which was supposed to be requisite for the expending department of the State. Moreover, the new First Lord had never displayed any special qualifications for his new office, and his previous career had given him no experience in naval affairs, nor afforded evidence of great strength of purpose or firmness of will. The representatives of the Admiralty in the House of Commons were even less known. The qualifications of the Civil Lord, Mr. E. Robertson, were wholly legal, and although he had displayed in Opposition a certain grasp of financial questions, and a clearness of head which rendered his advice valuable, there had been nothing in his previous career to suggest the possession of administrative capacity. The Secretary of the Admiralty (Sir Ughtred Kay-Shuttleworth) was even less known, except as a politician of whom some had been expected, but from whom nothing had ever



had sat in Parliament at intervals for upwards of twenty years, held office in Mr. Gladstone's shortlived Ministry of 1886, had left no mark behind him. The Navy estimates for the 1893-4 were, as had become customary, preceded by an explanatory paper, in which the policy of the past and present of Admiralty were contrasted. The amount asked for service of the year was 14,240,100*l.*—just 100*l.* less than predecessors' estimate—but the number of seamen and Marines was raised from 74,100 to 76,700, in accordance with recommendations of the Manning Committee appointed by previous Government; the votes for pay and victualling and medical treatment were also consequently increased.

The only field, therefore, in which economies could be effected was that of shipbuilding. Four out of the five years contemplated by the Naval Defence Act expired on March 31, 1893, in that period one-half of the total number of ships—*viz.*, thirty—provided for under that Act were completed. These were made up of two first-class battleships, three first-class cruisers, twenty-one second-class cruisers, four third-class cruisers of the *Pallas* type, and five torpedo gunboats. The Admiralty in the course of the financial year 1893-4—the last governed by the Naval Defence Act—proposed to complete thirty-six more ships—including five first-class battleships—of which would include all the contract-built ships except the *Invincible*; and consequently only nine ships—which could be completed for about 283,000*l.*—would remain uncompleted at the close of the financial year.

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and cavalry on foreign service, but it was hoped that the prejudicial results anticipated by Lord Wantage's Committee would be avoided. Owing to the exceptional number of men passing to the reserve a further sum of 55,000*l.* was needed for the pay of the force; whilst, in view of its increased numbers, it was no longer necessary to extend the service of men beyond twelve years. The number of efficient volunteers continued to increase, very few failing to reach the existing low standard in musketry. The large supplies of small arms made in previous years to the army enabled the Government to make very substantial reductions—95,000*l.*—under this head; whilst it was hoped that the whole infantry would be provided with the new arms before the close of the year. An increased expenditure on projectiles at foreign stations was also contemplated, as well as on the materials used in their manufacture.

In consequence of the large expenditure in progress for fortifications and barracks, not directly chargeable to Army votes, the vote for works showed a slight decrease, although provision had to be made in it for the first payment of the terminable annuity which was, under statute, taken to repay the funds borrowed for the special barrack expenditure. The amount provided for the annuity this year amounted to 32,600*l.* The non-effective expenditure remained the same; the reduction in the charge for pensions, owing to the adoption of shorter service, being checked by the grants of special pensions to soldiers who had served in the Crimea and India, and by more liberal terms of commutation allowed to pensioners residing in the colonies and foreign countries.

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman had somewhat more difficulty than his colleague at the Admiralty in obtaining the success of the year, although he had recourse to the strong measure of a Saturday sitting. The Opposition had an opportunity of discussing the Army estimates of displaying zeal for the service without the danger of being upbraided with objections. Army administration was notoriously defective, and with no war imminent, the time seemed well chosen to discuss possible remedies. Viscount Wolmer (*Edinburgh*) began by calling attention (March 9) to the report of Lord Wantage's Committee moving a resolution to the effect that "the present system of military administration fails to secure due economy in time of peace or efficiency for national defence." He contended, first, that the War Office had induced the Army to adopt schemes entailing a vast expenditure and had given effect to those schemes or properly administered them; secondly, that the War Office had wholly neglected to make provision for some very important contingencies; and thirdly, that the general condition of affairs caused by military expenditure had become extremely serious. The cardinal principle of Mr. Cardwell's scheme was that the number of men in the home should never be less than the number abroad.



portant policy had never been carried into effect. Again, it is of the highest importance that this country should be prepared for small wars, but at present there was absolutely no force, however small, ready to take the field in such an emergency. In illustration of his third point, Lord Wolmer stated that the ranks of the home army contained a large proportion of boys, who received men's wages, though they were useless for service either at home or abroad. In conclusion, he condemned the inadequate terms now offered to recruits, and maintained that officers ought to have a shilling a day clear.

These views were supported on different grounds by experts like Sir George Chesney (*Oxford City*), and economists like Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucestershire*). Mr. E. Stanhope (*Horncastle, Lincolnshire*), who had been Secretary for War in the previous Administration, was obliged to adopt a trenchant tone of criticism. He pointed out that circumstances existed which must add to our army expenditure almost as much as the most rigid economy could take from it. He agreed that a reduction might be made in the staff; but it should be borne in mind that we had to provide officers, not only for our very small army, but likewise for the larger army, which we should be obliged to mobilise if it became necessary to defend this country in real earnest. It was, in fact, of primary importance that we should not unduly reduce the number of officers, because in the event of a general mobilisation of our forces we might find ourselves short of the number actually required. Turning to the question of efficiency, he said nobody disputed that the army in India was composed of men properly qualified for the object for which they were raised, and he asserted that the army at home had never been more efficient or more thoroughly suitable for warlike purposes than it was at the present time. The state of recruiting was satisfactory, and our army was better armed and equipped than at any previous period. He did not, however, disguise the fact that reforms ought to be made as opportunities presented themselves, but unfortunately the fluctuations of public opinion rendered this task hopeless. The first of these reforms was connected with the higher administration of the army. He would like to see the staff at headquarters reduced, but the question was complicated by the control of the Treasury and the House of Commons over the army, and still further by the present constitution of the office of the Commander-in-Chief. When he was at the War Office he was not prepared to go beyond the recommendations of Lord Hartington's Commission as to ask the present Commander-in-Chief to retire in order that certain reforms might be introduced. The foundation of reforms to be effected in our army after the retirement of the present Commander-in-Chief would be the creation of a chief of the staff.

Lord R. Churchill (*Paddington, S.*), who, as chairman of the

Committee on Army Expenditure, had acquired special knowledge of the financial bearings of the question, intervened with some effect. He taunted the Liberal party with never having been renowned for their successful administration of military and naval affairs, and he remarked that when he brought before Parliament, at a great sacrifice to himself, the fact that the army expenditure was too high, and ought to be reduced, he got no sympathy from the other side of the House. He did not deny that there were grave defects in our military system, especially in the higher administration, which required reform and much more professional management than it now possessed. As to the Reserve, many military officers greatly doubted whether it would be of any use if called out in time of war, inasmuch as the men were not properly trained after they left the army. Lord R. Churchill believed our army was not provided with efficient field guns, and he urged the necessity of always keeping up the cavalry at full war strength. The report of Lord Hartington's Commission had produced indirectly an invaluable effect, and more improvement was going on than clearly appeared to the public eye. Still, reforms remained to be introduced, but in order to effect them we must have quiet Parliamentary times. Whatever improvement had been made was undoubtedly the work of the energetic and persevering, but at the same time unostentatious, administration which distinguished the two great spending departments during the last six years, when under the late Government, the country was quiet and tranquil.

It was nearly midnight when Mr. Campbell-Bannerman rose to reply to the various criticisms made on his administration of the War Office. He spoke for upwards of an hour in the tone of unabated official optimism, obtaining, however, a cordial burst of applause from his own side when he announced the intention of the Government to do away with the Presidency command in India. He denied that the defects in the military affairs were due to any particular system of War Office administration, and declared that the Department was feeling its way to the best possible army organisation. He ridiculed the idea that we required two army corps with sufficient reserves to feed them, and asked, amid loud Ministerial cheering, whether anybody would think of our sending an army to engage in a continental war. He also made it clear that he attached very little importance to army manœuvres, our country not being adapted for them, and our soldiers not requiring the sort of experience necessary in the case of countries possessing coterminous frontiers. His motion for the adjournment of the debate having been defeated by 225 against 167, the closure was moved on the Government side; but the Speaker would only allow it to be put, far as Lord Wolmer's motion was concerned, and this having been negatived without a division the House adjourned.

A morning sitting on the following day (March 10) was almost entirely taken up by the attempt of the Government



secure a Saturday sitting. The attempt was finally successful, but at the cost of the entire morning sitting; and the Saturday (March 11) it was found impossible to get work done beyond moving the Speaker out of the chair. Government being unable to obtain a single vote—the object for which the House had been brought together that day. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, however, was able to explain the Army estimates on the first vote for 184,441,000, and forces of all ranks, and his speech was in great measure more carefully studied answer to his critics than he had been able to give on the spur of the moment—readiness of reply not being one of the War Minister's characteristics. He admitted at the outset that he had no great changes to propose before the committee, for the general principles on which the army was organised remained unaltered. Those principles were introduced by Lord Cardwell more than twenty years before, and short service, localisation, and the organisation of battalions had stood the test of time. It was his opinion that the best policy was to give fair play to our system, and having done so, to leave it alone, especially as regards the organisation of the infantry, which was the main matter. In respect the system had not had fair play, just as the battalions had never been equalised. There were more battalions abroad than there were at home. In order to bring the balance to some extent, it was proposed to bring one battalion from Gibraltar and another from India. Another proposal was intended to bring home one battalion from Egypt, and to substitute for the same in Egypt a battalion of Guards. On these proposals the estimates were framed, but recent events in Egypt had rendered the realisation of any such scheme for the moment impossible. As taken with regard to the cavalry was to be equalised, not for individual regiments, but for the whole of the purpose of foreign service, the force being so organised that immediate embarkation would be no longer a difficulty. The force was to be divided into three main branches: the line and line of communication troops, the reserve force, which might be roughly described as consisting of a division, a cavalry brigade, a mounted division, and a battery of horse artillery, three batteries of horse artillery, a large number of special troops, such as the machine gun troops, telegraphic troops, balloon section, and so on. The force was constituted with a special view to the requirements of one of our small wars, and was estimated at 10,000 men and 8,700 horses. The position of the military at this time was such that the recruiting which had prevailed during the last few years appeared likely to continue. As regards the purchase of officers, he said that they were not to be purchased, but that the purchase of officers was a thing of the past. E. Stanhope, and he could not say that the purchase of officers was a thing of the past. That right hon. gentleman said that the purchase of officers was a thing of the past.

however, which required consideration. When a colonel completed the command of a regiment he might either retire with a handsome allowance, or might go on a sort of suspensory or purgatorial list in the expectation of possible employment, and while he was on that list the pain of purgatory was increased by the fact that he received only 200*l*. It had, therefore, been thought desirable to make some addition to their remuneration during their period of suspended animation. As to the officers of the army generally, they were more zealous, better instructed, and more devoted to their duty than at any previous period. The Reserve was also in a flourishing condition, and consisted of 77,000 men, who would be increased to 80,000 next year. The auxiliary forces were likewise in a satisfactory condition. The militia total was 108,288 as against 102,036 in 1891, but in the yeomanry there had been a reduction of establishment of 2,093 officers, non-commissioned officers and men. The most important change was the alteration from the troop to the squadron system and the brigading of adjutants, and in the permanent staff, the saving thus effected going back to the regiment in an increased grant. With reference to the Volunteers, the dearth of officers was the only unsatisfactory feature he had to report, but it was hoped that the issue of the decoration, and the more intimate relation into which the force had been brought with the army by the success of brigade camps, might do something to obtain officers; and the War Minister added that the question of giving some sort of decoration to non-commissioned officers commended itself to his mind as a desirable thing. In regard to material, both works and munitions of war, good progress had been made. After describing in detail the progress of the two great undertakings, outside the estimates, initiated by his predecessor, for imperial defence and for the housing of our soldiers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, reverting to the question of munitions of war, stated that the magazine rifle would soon be complete in its issue, 346,000 having been manufactured, 56,000 being in the hands of the troops, and 70,000 sent to India. The manufacture of the new cavalry carbine was progressing, and the weapon would shortly be issued; and no fewer than eighty-six batteries were armed with the twelve-pounder gun. As to the non-effective vote, he had only to state that it was intended to increase the number of pensions to veterans who had served in the Crimea or the Indian Mutiny. In conclusion Mr. Campbell-Bannerman said he was most happily circumstanced because, while he could announce no new departures and no great fresh reforms, no Secretary of State had ever been able to give a better report of the condition of the defensive forces of this country.

It was not for some days that the Secretary for War had the opportunity of again bringing forward (March 16) his vote for the land forces. In the meanwhile the Government had



subvention to local burdens, the increase was automatic. Class I., Public Works and Buildings, a reduction of 41,900*l.* was promised, the amount required being 1,643,254*l.* Class II., Salaries and Expenses of Public Departments, amounted to 2,024,706*l.*, an increase of 43,223*l.* Class III., Law and Justice, 3,800,481*l.*, a decrease of 10,053*l.* Class IV., Education, 9,172,216*l.*, showing an increase of 248,505*l.* for public education in England and Wales, of 210,168*l.* for the same purpose in Ireland, and of nearly 45,000*l.* for science and art. Class V., Foreign and Colonial Services, required 636,205*l.*, an increase of 2,332*l.* over the previous year's grant. Class VI., Non-effective Services, 671,037*l.*, an increase of 31,295*l.*; and Class VII., Miscellaneous Expenditure, 182,030*l.*, against 229,817*l.* the previous year, the chief cause of the reduction being the decrease in cost of stamping out pleuro-pneumonia from 90,000*l.* to 65,000*l.* and the omission of any provision for expenses under the foot-and-mouth disease.

The actual discussion of the Civil Service estimates was deferred until the late autumn, but the necessity of Votes and account—and also the supplementary estimates, 1892—afforded plenty of opportunity for heckling Ministers and raising debates on a variety of questions. In the course of the discussion (March 2) of a supplementary vote of 12,000*l.* for the National Portrait Gallery, it was announced that Lord Alexander had generously increased his offer from 60,000*l.* to 80,000*l.*, and that the Government proposed to find the additional sum of 16,000*l.*—the total cost of the new gallery. In the course of the discussion on the vote for the Mint (March 14), the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reference to complaints as to the inadequate supply of silver coinage, stated that there was an abundance of silver money waiting at the Bank of England, but that people would not take it away for use. With reference to the proceedings at the Brussels Monetary Conference, Sir Wm. Harcourt declared (March 15) that the delegates spoke their own opinions and not those of the Government; but that four of them were not in favour of bimetallism, and one held the contrary opinion. The rule by which the law officers of the Crown were forbidden to take private practice—except before the House of Lords—gave rise to considerable discussion (March 17) among the law members of the House; Sir Richard Webster (*Isle of Wight*), the ex-Attorney-General, declaring that the arrangement would impose an additional burden of at least 7,000*l.* on the country and that he and his friends declined to be bound by it. On the same night the Vice-President of the Council, Mr. Acland, speaking on the working of the new Education Act, said that there were still upwards of 1,000,000 children not enjoying the benefits of free education, but the increase of children and average attendance had risen to 120,000.

On the vote for diplomatic services, Mr. Labouchere moved

9) a reduction of 5,000*l.*—the cost of Sir G. Portal's mission to Uganda—and challenged the whole East African policy of the Government. He denounced Lord Rosebery as a "priest of jingoism," and maintained that, Sir G. Portal, by giving the power to set up a Protectorate in Uganda, would be undertaking new and vast responsibilities. Lord Rosebery denied this, asserting that Sir G. Portal's mission was only to report, and that he would reserve all permanent decisions for the free decision of the House of Commons. Mr. A. J. Balfour at once retorted that the Prime Minister was minimising the steps already taken and the steps to be given in the debate on the Address; and Mr. Balfour declared that we were bound at all costs to maintain our pledge, to reap the fruits of the cession of Heligoland and Uganda. Mr. Labouchere's amendment to reduce the vote was thereupon rejected by 368 to 48 votes, showing that in sitting on the Ministerial side of the House the Government no longer possessed the same power of command as when he was one of the leaders of the Opposition. The Uganda incident, however, was not closed by this vote, and on the following day Sir J. Fergusson (*Manchester, N.E.*), who had been Salisbury's Under-Secretary, remarked that on the previous day a representative of the Foreign Office had spoken on the East African question. This brought up the Under-Secretary, Edward Grey (*Berwick, Northumberland*), who insisted that if we quitted Uganda the slave trade would revive, and a large number of our sphere of influence would become one of the refuges of that traffic. "The evacuation of the country would certainly mean the massacre not only of the missionaries, but of the natives." The Government in electing to remain had pursued the only possible course. This frank declaration naturally disturbed the Radicals, and their mouthpiece, Mr. Labouchere, who lost no time in expressing the view that the Under-Secretary had thrown over Mr. Gladstone's "policy of non-interference." The Minister, as usual on such occasions, showed himself a master of dialectics. Whilst speaking encouragingly of the right of a young politician who had taken advantage of an opportunity to express his own opinion—an expression which he explained that the question was full of difficulties—he explained that the question was full of difficulties, and that no less than eleven "specimen points" were involved on no one of them had the Government been asked to come to a decision. He was quite right, and it was at Sir E. Grey was right upon certain points, but he had dwelt in his speech, but he could not have any further discussion on the mission was necessary for further conversation, which only served to increase the difference of opinion among the Ministers, and the matter had to drop.

After outwardly of small importance.



become a serious source of squabbling and misunderstanding arose out of certain questions addressed (March 16) to the Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, and the Chancellor of the Duchy, Mr. Bryce, on the appointment of county magistrates. The custom had hitherto been for the names of fit persons to be submitted by the lord-lieutenant to the Lord Chancellor, in the case of the County Palatine to the Chancellor of the Duchy. The majority of the lords-lieutenant being Unionists, the names of very few, if any, Radicals, it was alleged, were submitted for appointment. Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) admitted that he had tried to persuade the Lord-Lieutenant of Lancashire (Earl of Sefton) to place more Gladstonians upon the bench, but that lord-lieutenant having "absolutely declined to entertain the suggestion," Mr. Bryce had revoked his power and had gone back to the old practice of obtaining recommendation from all sources. Mr. Asquith (*Fifeshire, E.*), on the other hand, acknowledged that politics ought to have no connection with the appointment of judicial functionaries, and that he "did not know what were the politics of the various lord-lieutenant."

In their effort to improve the condition of the Established Church the House of Lords found no similar eagerness on the part of the zealous reformers in the Commons. The Archbishop of Canterbury's bill for amending the law of Church patronage, which was read a second time (March 16) without a division, proposed that all transfers of the right of presentation should be registered, and that no private patron should be able to effect such a transfer unless he had previously registered himself as patron. The archbishop's aim was to render the evasions of the law, not only difficult, but involving heavy penalties, and that benefices obtained by a breach of the law should be held void. The bill further gave power to the bishops to refuse to institute a presentee, either on the ground of bad character, heavy pecuniary embarrassment, or incapacity through infirmity to discharge the duties of the living. There were several other clauses in the bill, facilitating the vacation of benefices and the rights of presentation. The bill was cordially received on both sides of the House, and after being amended by the Standing Committee, and subsequently reported to the House (April 27), it was passed (May 2) and sent down to the House of Commons, where it did not even receive the courtesy of a first reading.

The House of Commons, however, was able to display more interest in a question which touched them more nearly, and to score at least a paper victory. Mr. Gladstone had informed (March 17) his followers that the only way in which the question of the payment of members could be settled was by a bill, for which no time could be found in the present session. Mr. W. Allan (*Gateshead*) took an early opportunity of moving a resolution, on going into Committee of &

"without any consultation with his colleagues," Mr. Balfour overwhelmed this declaration with uproarious laughter by describing it as "the most astounding reason for the most astounding proposition he had ever heard." Mr. John Morley, who followed, complained that this was the fifth vote of censure he had had to meet in eight weeks, and that it was founded on nothing new, either in fact or in argument. He "pitied" the leader of the Opposition for resorting to it, and declared it to be "not only a waste of time, but a blunder in tactics." He was much cheered when he declined to accept Dr. Cameron's motion for the previous question, and determined to meet the vote by a direct negative. He defended his policy and his action point by point on grounds already familiar. Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) and Mr. Smith-Barry (*Hants*), on the other hand, overflowed with stories of terrorism from all parts of Ireland. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, enunciated the singular theory that change of venue was generally objectionable as a departure from the proper form of trial by jury, which was intended to be a trial by the friends and neighbours of the accused. The greater portion of his speech, however, as usual, dealt with the wrongs Ireland had suffered for seven centuries; and, pointing to the ineradicable hostility of the Tory party to ever assist in any good measures for her benefit, he warmly defended Mr. Morley's administration on the various points on which it had been attacked. But, like the previous speakers, he never rose to his old level or gave any real life to the debate; and the same may be said of Lord Randolph Churchill, who followed him and supported the motion. The debate was closed by Dr. Cameron, who did not move the previous question—the vote of censure was rejected by 319 to 272 votes—and another evening had been spent in an absolutely fruitless debate.

Far more significant was the action of the Government in Mr. P. A. M'Hugh's (*Leitrim, N.*) Evicted Tenants (Ireland) Bill, framed in a degree upon the recommendations of Sir James Mathew's commission. Mr. Gladstone had declined to bring in a Government bill on the ground of want of time, but Mr. Morley, in the meanwhile, was ready to show his sympathy for the Irish evicted tenants by accepting the second reading of a private bill, which he proposed to remodel in committee. The whole of the debate was a curious display of party tactics, but the obvious desire of the Government to advertise their sympathy without committing themselves to a specific line was quite successful. The object of the bill was to reinstate by means of the Land Commission those tenants who had been evicted during the previous three years, and to charge any expenditure for compensation upon the surplus of the Irish Church fund. The Chief Secretary (Mr. John Morley), who rose just before five o'clock, when there was little more than half an hour left for ordinary controversial business, accepted the bill but in an entirely different form from that in which it was



presented to the House. He sketched out a series of amendments which practically made it a new measure altogether, and under which it was to be worked, not by the Land Commissioners, who must be "kept above suspicion," but by a new tribunal to be specially created, whose powers to reinstate would not be compulsory but discretionary; the provision for postponing the repayment of instalments would have to be struck out, and the money required under the bill should not be taken bodily from the Church surplus, but only borrowed under the guarantee of that fund. Mr. Sexton declared that all these changes could be made in committee, and he warned the Opposition not to obstruct the second reading of the bill, lest evil consequences should ensue in Ireland. But Mr. Goschen vigorously protested against what the Government had practically turned into an entirely new bill being read a second time after only half an hour's discussion, most of the time having been taken up by the Chief Secretary himself; and when, at half-past five, Mr. Sexton interrupted Mr. Goschen, and moved the closure, the Speaker refused, amid cheers, to put the question, on the ground that there had not yet been an opportunity for adequate discussion; so the debate had to stand adjourned, and no opportunity was found for renewing it during the session.

On the day on which the vote of censure—so incautiously invited—was to be discussed, Mr. Gladstone had summoned the members of his party to meet at the Foreign Office (March 27), to impress upon all factions that they must surrender the whole time of Parliament to the Ministry. With regard to the smallness of their majority, Mr. Gladstone reminded his hearers that since the Reform Act three of the longest-lived Governments were Governments which had even a smaller majority than the present. He cited the Melbourne Government of 1835, which lasted for six years and a month, and its majority never exceeded thirty. The Russell Government of 1837 and the Palmerston Government of 1859 were other instances. However, it was not the amount of a majority which determined its force, but the spirit which pervaded it. It was impossible that with such a great number of bills before them there should be no differences of opinion, but there was a general sense of unity and spirit of self-discipline in their ranks which, if it were maintained, might keep the Government in power as long as the Melbourne Ministry. As to difference of opinion, that did not exist, at least with regard to the chief bills—the Irish Home Rule and the Parish Councils Bills, for instance. Turning next to what the Prime Minister said he would not call by its usual harsh name—he preferred to call it "an impeding of too rapid legislation"—if there had been any delay in dealing with agricultural distress, it was no fault of theirs. They had hoped to have started the inquiry some time ago, and it might now have been doing excellent work. The time had now come when he thought it right to

make certain propositions to his party with a view to meeting the check upon the legislative efforts of Parliament. Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to point out that the chief delay arose in connection with the Address and in moving the Speaker out of the chair on going into Committee of Supply. The average time during Lord Salisbury's Government devoted to the Address and Supply before Easter was eleven days. This year twenty-three days had been so consumed. Out of twelve bills mentioned in the Queen's Speech four had not yet been introduced. Seven had only been introduced, and one only—the Hours of Labour (Railway Servants) Bill—had got as far as Grand Committee. Owing to the state of public business they would have to very seriously encroach upon the Easter vacation. The House would, he feared, have to sit until the day before Good Friday, and to reassemble on the following Tuesday (April 4), for, come what might, the Government intended to move the second reading of the Irish Home Rule Bill on Thursday (April 6). Dealing next with the appropriation of private members' time, Mr. Gladstone said the Government proposed that the Government of Ireland Bill should have precedence on all days on which it was set down; that Government business should have precedence on Tuesdays and at the morning sittings of Fridays—in fact, all the time except occasional Wednesdays. Mr. Gladstone admitted that this was a serious demand, but the alternative would be a failure to fulfil distinct pledges given to the country. Sir Joseph Pease (*Barnard Castle, Durham*), speaking for the North of England members, expressed approval of the programme, hinting that after Home Rule the Parish Councils Bill and the Employers' Liability should have the first places. Dr. Cameron (shortly afterwards to be known as Sir Charles Cameron) gave expression to the loyalty of the Scotch Liberal members. Professor Stuart (*Shoreditch*) expressed similar sentiments on behalf of the metropolitan members; and Mr. Stuart Rendel (*Montgomeryshire, E.*) pledged Wales to make any necessary sacrifice. Mr. Channing (*Northamptonshire, E.*), on behalf of the English county constituencies, declared that never had a Government in two months done more to merit confidence; and Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) said that the proposals of the Government for taking the time of the House would be endorsed with enthusiasm. He added, however, that all obstruction was not on the Tory side. Ministers were the greatest offenders—always speaking twice as long as anybody else—and he advised Mr. Gladstone to limit the debate on the second reading to three nights.

The plan was subsequently unfolded in greater detail to the House (March 30), where it was subjected to severe criticism from the Opposition leaders, but without obtaining any concessions; and the proposal was, after a long wrangle, adopted by 168 to 88 votes—but by this time the House was well-nigh



hausted by eight weeks of heavy work and unbroken attendance, during which the Government had unfolded eight or ten large measures, each requiring several weeks of the closest scrutiny and discussion.

Little liberty or strength was left to politicians outside the House, and few public meetings of importance were held. Mr. Bryce was the only Cabinet Minister who found time to visit his constituents at Aberdeen, but he made no revelations beyond that of his own complete acquiescence in everything which had been or was to be done. The same satisfaction was not felt by those whose interests did not lie in political life; and the leading members of the commercial world, both in London and Belfast, were alike sceptical of the blessings which Home Rule was to confer upon English or Irish trade and credit. To allay their disquiet, however, Mr. Gladstone consented to receive deputations (March 28) to protest against the proposed legislation. The Belfast deputation represented the Chamber of Commerce, the Linen Merchants' Association, and the Harbour Board of that city. They stated in the course of their temperate remonstrance that since the Home Rule Bill had been introduced seven railways had lost in value £1,000,000 sterling, and seven banks had seen their stocks depreciated to an almost equal amount. Their chief spokesman said that the Belfast industries would be destroyed by separation from Great Britain, and that that separation would involve such a social upheaval as they did not dare to contemplate. Mr. Gladstone's reply was not very encouraging, and according to some reports his reception had been the reverse of conciliatory. He admitted the depreciation of the securities, ascribing it to the political prepossessions and panic of the propertyed classes. He maintained, nevertheless, that the panic was groundless, because O'Connell had always shown anxiety for the prosperity of the Irish Protestants. He pointed out, moreover, that between 1782 and 1800—the existence of Grattan's Parliament—Belfast had doubled its population, and he cited the converse conditions of Canada, where the Catholics of the Lower Province got on fairly well with the Dominion Government.

Having dismissed his Irish remonstrants, the Prime Minister then received a deputation from the City of London, including representatives of the Bank of England, the large private banks and commercial firms. Sir John Lubbock, M.P., who acted as spokesman, pointed out how difficult it would be for Ireland to grow, under the proposed constitution, what would be needed for developing Irish resources. Already mortgages were being called in, and Irish loans were being refused even when very tempting terms were offered. Mr. Lidderdale, who, for the ability displayed by him when governor of the Bank of England, had been created a Privy Councillor, followed with still more unfavourable auguries of the ruin likely to follow Irish Home

Rule; and other representations of equal force succeeded. Mr Gladstone, in reply, expressed his keen regret that the perturbed classes had been hostile, not only to this measure but to previous Liberal measures of his—previous measures which did not depreciate the value of private property in England and he expressed himself bound to take the constitutional view that, what the majority of the representatives of the United Kingdom desire, was likely to be for the benefit, and not for the injury, of this kingdom. He argued that because Mr. Sexton, when Lord Mayor of Dublin, had raised a loan for the corporation on favourable terms—Home Rule being then altogether problematic—Irish securities would be freely accepted even after Home Rule had become a fact. Mr. Gladstone added that, far from proposing a revolutionary measure, he was proposing a Conservative measure for returning to the Irish régime of 1782, one of the most commercially prosperous eras, as he held it to be, in Irish history.

Both deputations, having been thoroughly lectured and scolded by Mr. Gladstone who allowed no one to speak—beyond a few minutes—but himself, then proceeded to visit the leader of the Opposition. Mr. Balfour was too much in sympathy with the views they held not to give them a cordial reception. He refused to believe that a great constitutional change, such as that threatened, could be forced down the throats of a country in which the whole industrial classes were opposed to it. In any case he could give his Irish hearers the assurance that England had not deserted Ulster, and would not desert them, and that the prospect of the disastrous measure being carried was very remote.

At this juncture—by some inexplicable wave or changeableness—the political prospects of the Unionists had, in their own eyes at least, considerably brightened. They had not achieved much, but at least they had prevented their opponents carrying anything on which they had set their hearts. The postponement of the second reading of the Irish Home Rule Bill until after Easter opened up possibilities of delay which would not have been so easy had the holidays intervened. A good deal of temper had been displayed on both sides of the House; but as in such cases the only losers could be those who were anxious to economise time, the outcome even of the most preposterous squabbles was to the advantage of the Opposition. In other respects this shifting of public opinion was altogether inexplicable and inexcusable, for the Ministry had shown extraordinary diligence in the production of their measures; they were measures which, if practical and adopted, might add considerably to the comfort of the people at large; and, above all, the symptoms of secession or dissatisfaction were traceable in the Ministerial ranks, the English and Irish Gladstonians working apparently in hearty union.



## CHAPTER III.

## The Home Rule Bill—Second Reading Debate.

THE shortness of the Easter recess was aggravated by Mr. Gladstone's determination to move the second reading of the Home Rule Bill immediately on the reassembling of the House of Commons, that is to say, on the Thursday in Easter week (April 6). Many members, however, refused to return to town so soon, and the result was that Mr. Gladstone's speech was delivered to an unusually thin House. That circumstance had no apparent effect on the speech or the speaker. Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*) was in excellent voice, and spoke for an hour and a half in commending the bill to the House. In his opening sentences he pressed upon honourable members the question, "whether and when and how this great controversy is to end." He lamented the absence of any answer to that question on the part of the opponents of the bill. There was an answer, indeed, from the member for Bodmin (Mr. Courtney), who had said that "patience" was all that was required. But as it had taken one century to bring round the Protestants, two centuries might be needed to operate in a like manner on the larger mass of the Roman Catholic people. Briefly reviewing Irish history since the Union, Mr. Gladstone said: "Never was there a time when the Irish nation was so near to an acceptance of the Union as in the first twenty-nine years of the Union, not because they loved it or wished to tolerate it, but because they were trodden under foot." Then came the advent of O'Connell, Catholic emancipation, and the Reform Act. "With the Reform Act came to Ireland the beginnings of political life, and with the beginnings of political life, after the political death that had prevailed since the commencement of the century, began the movement hostile to the Union. The movement first took form in the demand for repeal. It has varied in its forms. Mr. O'Connell himself was willing to accept any other practical alternative, but my point is that from the first beginnings of political life there has been a steady and a growing movement on the part of the mass of the people of Ireland pressing for and demanding either repeal or a modification of it. It is true, indeed, that the methods of Parliamentary action have not been uniformly persevered in. As long as there was hope Mr. O'Connell's method, which was consistently Parliamentary, was maintained. But after his trial and imprisonment, despair took possession of the minds of the Irish people as far as Parliamentary methods were concerned; and then came the disappearance of Mr. O'Connell and Parliamentary action from the scene. Then came partial revivals of national sentiment in

other forms, at length in forms contemplating and involving the use of physical force. These have passed away, and the Irish people have attained to the benefits of full Parliamentary emancipation; they obtained the immense boon of an extended franchise, and the full protection of that franchise by secret voting. And what has been the result? They have pressed by the largest majority perhaps ever returned within these islands for any purpose whatever, in the last Parliament and the present Parliament—Irish people have pressed upon you in a respectful and constitutional manner that you should make to them this great final concession."

Mr. Gladstone proceeded to deal with what he described as "one form of argument upon the question," and one which he said would be consistent and sufficient, if the allegations on which it was based could be substantiated. Amid murmur of dissent and other interruptions, he read, ostensibly from an article by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*, a number of disjointed passages and phrases having reference to the Irish people. He guarded himself against saying that the exact words he read had been used by any one, but he asserted that they were the foundations of Mr. Chamberlain's article. The purport of them was that Irishmen, except in Ulster, "had nothing human about them, that they threw all principle away, abused all power, had no sympathy with England, and no sense of justice. Remarkable that these propositions constituted the sole argument against Home Rule, Mr. Gladstone went on to dilate on the "union of hearts" which the Government desired to bring about. He predicted that Home Rule would certainly establish such a union, for it was the interest of the Irish people, above all things, to stand well with England, Ireland being a small country by the side of a large one, a weak country by the side of a strong one, and a poor country by the side of a rich one. It would be astounding to imagine that the 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 who now demanded Home Rule would be indifferent to the favourable judgment and sympathy of Great Britain, and nothing could be plainer than that it was their duty and interest to cherish them. Unless the Irish people were "hopelessly misconstructed," they must recognise that interest and duty. Proceeding to recapitulate the arguments for Home Rule, which the Government had urged, Mr. Gladstone said: "I will mention first that which is by no means the strongest, namely, that the present method of governing Ireland is incredibly, almost immeasurably, wasteful. Under it the government of Ireland cost twice as much per head as that of the greater country. Then we urge the argument of constitutional convenience. We say that the Irish question is the curse of this House. It is the great and standing impediment to the effective performance of its duties. Why is it that not a night passes in this House without questions being put to us most rationally to urge upon



the prosecution of this question and that question? It is the Irish question stands in the front of all other questions, and whatever Government was in power, has stood the way to such an extent as to reduce Parliament to a position not indeed of total inefficiency, but in the first place of intolerable labour, and in the second place of comparative inefficiency. You have not got in Ireland a state of contentment; we want to produce that state of contentment—if you call it only the contentment of a very large majority—and contend that in contentment lies the secret of national and imperial strength. And, lastly, we have urged that the good of this country is worth considering”—a sentiment which was received with vigorous cheers by the Opposition. After a satirical allusion to Mr. Chamberlain's gifts of prophecy and sight, Mr. Gladstone entered upon a long and elaborate historical survey to establish four propositions. First, that in the civilised world there has been no “incorporating union” effected and maintained by force against either of the parties to it that ever prospered; secondly, that incorporate unions that have prospered have been favoured by incidents of history, geography, language, and race; thirdly, that the concession of Home Rule, if made under compulsion, promoted the attachment of the subject to the giving power; and fourthly, that union not incorporate but autonomous had been attended in all cases by success, either complete or considerable. He ransacked Europe for examples—Holland and Belgium, Austria and Hungary, Prussia and Poland—to establish his first proposition; cited France, Italy, and Spain, in support of his second; adduced the case of Turkey in defence of the third; and went to Norway, Sweden, Russia and Finland, Denmark and Iceland, and many more for evidence of the fourth.

Passing on, then, to deal with the question of the retention of the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, the Prime Minister said (in evident reference to his observations on this subject in introducing the bill): “Though my intention was a perfectly clear and simple one, I believe it is possible that the argument which I endeavoured to work out for all the inconveniences of the retention may have led to a false impression. I admitted that the retention in principle was good; but I endeavoured to show that there were considerable practical difficulties in carrying it out. That, I think, is still true; but I wish to say one or two words in mitigation of some of my remarks as to the inconveniences of the retention. This is a very curious matter in every point of view. In the first place, apprehension is felt that Irish members remaining in this House, even if limited to imperial subjects, will frequently give weight on questions of confidence, or may from time to time be in votes of confidence on questions which are substantially, if not nominally and directly, English or British. It is rather curious to look back on what has happened in respect of

that matter during the last sixty years. During those sixty years the House of Commons has not been inactive in that portion of its duties which relates to the displacement of Administrations, for there are no fewer than twelve cases, to which, I believe, I have been myself more or less a party, either as promoting or opposing. The cases were in the years 1835, 1841, 1846, 1852 (February), 1852 (December), 1855, 1858, 1866, 1873, 1885, 1886, 1892. I will not go through the whole of the details, but it is a curious fact that out of these twelve cases when a vote of the House of Commons has displaced the Government there was not one on a British question. They were not all imperial; eight of them were imperial and the other four were Irish. The Government of Sir Robert Peel in 1846 was put out on what we call a Coercion or Crimes Bill for Ireland. I do not call that an Irish case, because the real force by which the Government was put out was the force of the Protectionist Party, who voted against Sir Robert Peel on imperial grounds, and not on Irish. There is less, therefore, to be apprehended from the figures I have given than might be expected on the score of inconvenience. With regard to what is called the 'in and out' question—which is a convenient and homely form of expression—that is the method we propose—namely, the presence of Irish members with limited powers of voting. All the anticipations of the great practical inconvenience from that plan depend on the assumption that those eight Irish members will constantly attend in the House of Commons or will habitually attend. I know not whether that is the general anticipation; I must say it is not mine. Those eight members will be found here on proper occasions, and those occasions will be found somewhat rare. Many of those gentlemen will, I hope, be the same men as will be chosen by the Irish people to represent them in their own domestic legislature, and as their domestic legislation must be for the present by far the most important subject to them, I believe Dublin will, at any rate for some time, be the preferred scene of action, and that neither for convenience nor inconvenience shall we have eighty gentlemen sometimes sitting opposite, and sometimes in the lobby of the House. In the same way, if the other method is proposed—and I endeavoured to argue the case fairly between the different methods—it would allow all Irish members to vote on all subjects—*omnes omnia*. But even with regard to that and with regard to the inconvenience which I feel myself, and have strongly urged, as to the field it might open for intrigue, yet I would observe that anything like a habitual inconvenience or interference by Irish members with British questions I fear one do not fear. I have noticed that wherever in this House we have had experience—and we have had a varied experience in the last sixty years—of members who, either by religious persuasion or by special cause, seem to be, not legislatively, but morally by their own internal sentiment, excluded



a proper competency to give votes on this or that particular point, the result has been to produce abstention where it was properly observed."

Finally, Mr. Gladstone discussed the financial arrangements of the bill, as to which he said that it was no light or easy matter to disentangle the finances of two countries which had been associated together for ninety years. He did not believe that it could be done without inconvenience, but the inconvenience was "mere dust in the balance" when compared with the moment of the purposes in view—"the real union of the two countries and the consolidation of the empire." Though he stated that he did not at this stage intend to enter "polemically" on financial questions, he endeavoured to show that the bill would be available for obtaining, at all times, a sufficient contribution from Ireland towards the imperial expenditure. "The thing," he said, "is the present amount of imperial expenditure and the present means of meeting it by a charge on Ireland. That, I think, is deliberately done by the bill. The consolidated fund, as is set forth in the bill. But then, unhappily, when expenditure increases, and you may say that apart from the exigencies of war we ought to keep in view the mode of bringing the consolidated fund into a fair share of any increased charge. I venture to say that the bill as it stands, not in a final form, but subject to further consideration, contains one particular clause which contemplates an augmentation in excise dues. That clause makes a large provision, a provision which it is quite possible the House may consider even, in certain contingencies, excessive. I do not go one step further. I contemplate the emergency of war. On this subject I offer no detailed explanation, but I have already given a pledge to the House when I stated in introducing the bill that we had in view a proposal by means of which it might be perfectly possible, going beyond the subjects of customs and excise, to direct taxation, and especially to income-tax, on which we mainly rely, so far as direct taxation is concerned, in the event of war—it would be perfectly possible so to amend the bill that Ireland should be made contributory in such a way that the Irish Exchequer should be charged with the payment of a sum in fair proportion to the amount levied in Great Britain. One mode in which this might be done would be this—you might provide that wherever there was an augmentation of direct taxation in Great Britain for war purposes, there should be imposed upon the consolidated fund of Great Britain a contingent prior charge, and that the amount of that charge, which would have to be computed by the authority of the Imperial Parliament, should be paid by the authority of the Imperial Parliament out of the Irish consolidated fund before any local charges could be met." In concluding his observations on the financial proposals of the bill, Mr. Gladstone said: "We propose to fix the Irish contribution at a little over 4 per cent., whereas the present Irish contribution to the imperial revenue

is no less than 12 per cent. That contribution, I am very sorry to say, has been for some time an injustice, and its continuance would be simply a prolongation of injustice."

A few eloquent sentences then closed the speech. Remark- ing that he had "but one word more to say," the Prime Minister proceeded: "Until a very recent period, certainly think until within the last sixty years, the epoch of the first Reform Act, the question between Great Britain and Ireland was a question between a nation and a class, or rather between a class and a nation; because I do not think that, except in a very limited sense indeed, we could call this country substantially a self-governing country until the period of the first Reform Act. During all the previous long, weary, deplorable centuries the question was in the main between a governing class on one side of the channel and a nation on the other side. Sir, it is not so now. It is now a question between a nation and a nation. If there is, as we believe that there is, injustice in the present legislative relations between England and Ireland, and if that injustice be deliberately accepted and prolonged, it will not be inflicted by a class upon a nation, not by an aristocracy, not by a body of landed proprietors, not by a body of merchants and manufacturers, not by the property of the country, but by the people of the country. It has now become—and it appears to me a consideration of extreme importance—it has now become a question, in the strictest sense, between a nation and a nation, and not only between a nation and a nation, but between a great nation and a small nation, between a strong nation and a weak nation, between a wealthy nation and a poor nation. There can be no more melancholy and, in the last result, no more degrading spectacle upon earth than the spectacle of oppression, or of wrong in whatever form, inflicted by the deliberate act of a nation upon another nation, especially by the deliberate act of such a country as Great Britain upon such a country as Ireland. But on the other hand there can be no nobler spectacle than that which we think is now dawning upon us, the spectacle of a nation deliberately set on the removal of injustice, deliberately determined to break—not through terror and not in haste, but under the sole influence of duty and honour—determined to break with whatever remains still existing of an evil tradition and determined in that way at once to pay a debt of justice and to consult by a bold, wide, and good act its own interests and its own honour."

Mr. Gladstone was followed by Sir M. Hicks-Beach (*Bristol W.*), who moved the rejection of the bill. While recognising the eloquence of the Prime Minister's speech, he complained that the greater part of it was "wholly beside the question." The House was entitled to expect from the author of the bill some reply to the criticisms upon it made both in the House and in the country, and some observations on the position of



question, in view of the rising and strong objection to the measure in Ireland itself. Sir Michael admitted that he did not consider the present system of Irish government perfect, but added that if he could see in the bill a real fulfilment of the Nationalist Convention in Dublin recently said they would find in it, "a certain and lasting bond of unity and bond between Great Britain and Ireland," no private friend or party ties should induce him to move its rejection. The evils of the present system were as nothing compared with those which this measure would bring on Great Britain, the empire, and on Ireland. Two requirements were sought to be met by the provisions of the bill. The first was the giving of a real autonomy to Ireland in purely Irish affairs; the second was the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. The bill did not fulfil either of those requirements. No Legislature could rest content "with a definition of purely Irish affairs which would place it in a worse position than the situation of a self-governing colony, which would exclude purely Irish affairs, customs and excise, external trade and navigation, the power to raise militia and volunteers, treason and treason-felony, all of which subjects would be left by this bill more completely under the domination—what is the proper word—of the Imperial Parliament than we are at present; and which in respect of the matters decided as purely Irish affairs would impose upon the Irish Legislature restrictions as to its power of dealing with religion, education, and with the rights of property which would be no more insulting because I believe they would be practically useless." On the other hand, Sir Michael went on to say, the bill did not effectually maintain the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. The whole administration of Ireland was handed over to the Government of Ireland, and legislative supremacy could not be worth much when some other persons were charged with the administration of the laws that were made. Examining the bill in detail, he maintained that the restrictions it proposed for the protection of the Protestant minority—which, he remarked, was much more powerful than the Government suspected—of the Civil Service, and of the ratepayers, were wholly inadequate. In regard to the first he did not fear that the Irish Legislature would establish the Roman Catholic religion, though he anticipated that Roman Catholic teaching would be indirectly subsidised. As to the landlords, the Government were contemplating the crime of permitting others to do what they knew it would be wrong to do themselves.

Turning to the other safeguards in the bill, Sir Michael said he thought that the Legislative Council was a valuable institution. "I will tell the House why," he added. "After months' deliberation her Majesty's Government have embodied in this bill their view of the extent to which a second

chamber may properly delay legislation passed by the popular assembly. They may delay it for two years, or until after dissolution. After this enunciation of an important principle I am quite sure no member of her Majesty's Government will endeavour to say anything unpleasant to the House of Lords if this bill should be postponed until after a dissolution, or even for more than two years." But as a safeguard the Legislative Council was a farce. The most it could do would be to delay legislation for a short period, at the end of which its power would be gone; and at no time would it have any control over the administration of the country. The supposed safeguard the veto was worthless, for if the veto were used no Irish Ministry could be formed at all. It could not be used twice, and certainly could not be repeated on the same bill. Indeed all the safeguards in the bill were "absolutely unreal." "There is not one of them," Sir Michael went on to say, "but is the complete mercy of the persons against whom they are devised, and I would infinitely sooner, in the interest of our own honesty, see it without any of these safeguards than that we should pretend to retain powers which in practice we know we can never exercise." As to the results of the bill, he pointed out that the authors of whatever there was of commercial industry and prosperity in Ireland condemned the proposed Irish Legislature as powerful only for mischief. They said that capital would be driven out of the country and labour would not find employment. The financial clauses, of the satisfactory operation of which Mr. Gladstone had spoken with so much confidence, suggested only confusion and difficulty to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. He showed that the provisions for increasing the Irish contribution would be quite unworkable; that the Irish Legislature would be incapable of performing the duties imposed upon it; and that bankruptcy would be speeding imminent, and fresh burdens would necessarily be placed on the British taxpayer. How, he asked, were the provisions for the protection of the British Exchequer to be enforced? They were as great a sham as the safeguards to the Irish minority. The presence at Westminster of eighty Irish members would lead to a perpetual succession, in return for their support, grants, loans, and assistance of all kinds to Ireland out of British pockets.

Remarking that worse remained behind, Sir Michael criticised the proposal for the retention of the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, and characterised it as "a mischievous absurdity, such as Great Britain would not tolerate for a single session." His observations on this branch of the subject led up to an effective peroration, in the delivery of which he was warmly cheered. "How," he asked, "can a measure give additional strength to the empire which renders unworkable the delicate machinery by which the majority in the Imperial Parliament controls the Imperial Cabinet and super-



es the affairs of the empire? How can a measure give additional strength to the empire which deprives the Imperial Government, responsible to the Imperial Parliament, of any power to enforce the legislation of the Imperial Parliament in any part of the United Kingdom? This bill is a novel constitution. It is not union, it is not federation, it is not colonial self-government. It is a bastard combination of all three, and deserves rejection for the mischief which it does to the empire and England, even if it would content Ireland. But would it content Ireland? Hon members below the gangway may accept the bill—though they have not yet accepted it—because they know that if they refused it they would get nothing at all, as was the case in 1886. They may accept it, because they can penetrate its disguises, and see through the shams of restrictions and securities that germ of Irish nationality which they have insistently advocated. They may accept it, because they know that the weakness which offers it to them now can be moulded by them and their successors to shape it as they will in the future. But can a bill which, in the words of a well-known statesman, “provincialises, degrades, and beggars Ireland,” be anything but a basis for further agitation? Can there be contentment in Ireland without peace? And what prospect of peace does any one find in this bill? We see every day arising, thanks to the introduction of this bill, that spirit of enmity between classes and creeds in Ireland which has been diminishing for years past, and the danger of which the Chief Secretary, who remembers Belfast in 1886, will never underrate. Some think that they are supporting this bill as the alternative of coercion. There will be plenty of coercion in Ireland if this bill should become law; but the coercion will then be the coercion of men who have been hitherto law-abiding subjects of the Queen, and who ask us now only to be allowed to retain the benefits of that union to which, in their belief, all their prosperity and all their happiness are really due. We have been appealed to in the name of our common patriotism to assist in passing this measure into law. To us it seems the duty of every patriotic subject to leave no stone unturned to ensure its rejection. We have been told that our resistance is vain, and that Home Rule must come. Sir, Home Rule will never come until Great Britain wills it. Whether this bill be accepted or rejected by this House, the real issue, as every hon. member among us knows and feels, remains for the decision of the constituencies of Great Britain. To them some day we shall confidently appeal, because we believe that they never will accept a scheme so pregnant with injury to themselves, and so incapable of benefiting Ireland.”

The honours of the first night of the debate necessarily belonged to the Prime Minister and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. But several private members intervened in the debate with more or less effect. Mr. Birrell (*Fife, W.*) amused

the House by his allusion to Mr. Chamberlain, "Apollo of Radicalism," who, he said, had deserted at Delphi, and now "sporting with Amaryllis" and played with the tangles of the hair of the Primrose League." Mr. Macartney (*Antic* cised, with a smartness which was enjoyed of the House and resented on the other, the of the Government majority. Mr. Barton (*Arm* who said he had come straight from Ulster, in House by his declaration that Ulster would not the bill if it were passed, and that he would his spend the rest of his life in penal servitude than under the provisions of the bill.

On the second night of the debate (April 7) the in favour of the bill was that of Mr. Stansfield (*J* the most important speech against it was that of (*Guildford, Surrey*). Mr. Stansfield declared him believer in the principle of nationality and in H based upon that principle. The supporters of the Great Britain and Ireland were inseparable. "T union, but it must not be too rigid and absolute the British and Irish peoples were monotonous only alternative to "a reasonable *modus vivendi*" typed coercion." He defended the retention of at Westminster on the ground that their presence sary to the unity of the kingdom, and he advised Protestants to abandon their fears and to join Catholic fellow-countrymen in promoting the of their common country. Mr. Brodrick pointed cases in which the imperial supremacy would be nullity under the provisions of the bill, and in the Irish Ministry could give advice to the Crown in the wishes of the people of this country. There in the veto provided by the bill to prevent the I from passing, on the first day of its assembly declaring that Ireland was independent, that no duties should be levied for the imperial revenue, imperial troops should be withdrawn. Moreover nothing to prevent the Irish Parliament from canon of the Catholic Church on the subject portion of the law of the land. As regarded Ireland, the Government admitted that security sary, but shrank from making them effective. E position of the landlords, he said a close time was to be given to them, but afterwards they with by a majority in Ireland so gerrymandered of members might represent the views of the people. As to the financial clauses, he charged ment with having left out several heavy charges indubitably fall upon the Irish Exchequer. The



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some hesitation at the promises which he makes to us now. But he does not take that view. If he says that the policy of conciliation has produced great results, I ask why he does not wait a little longer. Why could he not see if by a continuance in this policy still greater results might not be secured? Does any one in this House doubt that there has been a marvellous improvement in the condition of Ireland—ay, and in the relations between Ireland and this country—during the last twenty, thirty, or fifty years?"

Coming to the second proposition, that the bill would be a final settlement of the Irish question, Mr. Chamberlain said that the people of Great Britain were so sick of that question that he believed they would be ready to accept the bill if it could be proved that it would completely settle it. But the first condition of a settlement was that the Irish people should be contented with it. That condition had not been satisfied. The Prime Minister had ignored the Protestant minority, who constituted at least one-third of the population, and who were practically unanimous in their opposition to the bill. In addition to the Protestants nearly the whole of the property classes, whatever their religion, were opponents of the bill. Such a minority—amounting to something between one-third and one-half of the whole population—was by no means contemptible, especially as it was known that it resented the bill and would resist it to the utmost of its power. "I should like," said Mr. Chamberlain, "to ask the right honourable gentleman whether in his historical inquiries he has ever known of any State which has succeeded, or whose Government has lasted, when that Government has been opposed by the vast majority of the propertied classes and the great majority of the educated classes. I think the mere fact that there is a majority of this kind against the bill is very ominous as to its ultimate fate." But, putting this consideration aside, Mr. Chamberlain asked whether the representatives of the majority accepted the bill as a final settlement; whether the Prime Minister had got any assurances from them; and, if so, what was the value of those assurances. When the first Home Rule Bill was introduced Mr. Parnell declared that he accepted it as closing the great controversy between the two nations, and yet only a short time afterwards he declared, in the presence of his colleagues, that he had accepted it with their knowledge *pro tanto*, and that it was merely a Parliamentary bid. After referring to certain compromising admissions on the part of other members of the Nationalist party, Mr. Chamberlain held that any assurance of finality now given by the leaders of that party would be worthless. Moreover, he denied that the bill contained the elements of finality. He challenged the Nationalists to say whether they accepted the proposed veto of the Crown, exercised on the advice of the British Minister, in the same sense in which it was accepted by the English and Scotch supporters of the



vernment. The new Parliament in Dublin was to be prohibited from dealing with external trade, but undoubtedly one of the chief reasons why the Irish people desired to have Home Rule was that they might be able to develop native industries either by tariffs or by bounties. Under the bill they might, indeed, give bounties, but if the Irish Parliament desired to assist industries in this way they would find it necessary to pay large sums of money by direct taxation for the purpose, and as they would naturally shrink from adopting that course they must fall back on a protective tariff. The bill refused to Ireland the right to protect her own industries, and the Government had been warned that until that right was conceded there would be no finality. Again, the amnesty of political prisoners had been made by the Nationalist party another indispensable condition of a final settlement; and he could not believe that the Catholic ecclesiastics in Ireland would regard as a final settlement a measure which prohibited them from in any way connecting their Church with the State.

Turning to the financial provisions in the bill, Mr. Chamberlain accepted the statement that Ireland paid about one-twelfth of the total revenue of the United Kingdom. But he pointed out that a great part of the sum went back to Ireland for local purposes, so that in reality she contributed only about one-twenty-fifth of the imperial expenditure. The principle of giving generously to the poorer country was a just one as long as we were a United Kingdom, but if Ireland were made independent of us her claim for this exceptional consideration would fall to the ground. He maintained, then, that she ought to continue to pay one-twelfth. He showed that the bill would place Great Britain in a position of enormous disadvantage as compared with Ireland, for Ireland would pay 1,500,000*l.* less than she ought to pay in time of peace, and 2,500,000*l.* less than she ought to pay in time of war. But the Irish members were not satisfied. They had been making calculations to show that in time of peace they ought not to pay more than one-thirty-fifth—some of them said one-fiftieth—of the imperial revenue. As for war, *United Ireland* had contended a few days ago that Ireland would have no interest in any war carried on by Great Britain, and therefore ought not to be called on to pay towards its cost. "Surely that is a pretty knock-out for the union of hearts!" Mr. Chamberlain proceeded to argue that the Irish Parliament could only raise revenue by direct taxation, that this would result in many industries being transferred to Great Britain, and that consequently increased taxation must be levied on the tenant farmers and small occupiers. On all these grounds he urged that there was nothing final about the bill. He ridiculed the safeguards as of no value at all, for they could only be enforced by civil war. Without the good-will of the Nation-

alists they were not worth the paper they were written upon.

Mr. Chamberlain went on to denounce as "a monstrous travesty" Mr. Gladstone's description of the views he had enunciated in the *Nineteenth Century*. He denied that he had ever brought any charge against the Irish people out of Ulster. He had only brought charges against some of their leaders, and Mr. Gladstone himself had done the same thing. He instanced Mr. Gladstone's strictures on the Irish leaders as men who "preached the gospel of plunder," and were "marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the empire." At this point Mr. Gladstone interrupted Mr. Chamberlain with some warmth, and explained that these remarks were directed solely against Mr. Parnell at a time when he was "working to destroy the influence of the Land Bill." This explanation brought up Mr. William Redmond (*Clare, E.*), who interjected "You put all the blame on Parnell because he is dead." The loud cheers which followed Mr. Redmond's protest drew a sympathetic allusion from Mr. Chamberlain, who shortly afterwards concluded his speech. In the closing sentences of it he said "It is not I who am attributing to the Irish people a double dose of original sin, but it is my right hon. friend who insists on promoting this bill, and gifting the Irish people with a double dose of what I must call very original virtue indeed. He supposes that under these conditions the Irish people would sacrifice considerations of history, of religion, and of race; that they would support and give all the aid in their power to those whom they have been taught for 600 years to consider their oppressors; that they would fight against those whom for many years past they have been accustomed to consider their friends; and that they would do more than this—that they, a poor country, would actually pay out of their own pockets for those wars in which they had no interest or in which their interest was on the opposite side. To expect this of the Irish people is to attribute to them superhuman magnanimity and superhuman disinterestedness, because, as I have pointed out, their interest would be to take advantage of such a situation. Here is a bill which as to its important points not one of those gentlemen opposite will tell you is satisfactory to him, and not one of them will tell you it is a final settlement; and yet you suppose that when this country is in some great difficulty and danger, and when pressure would enable the Irish people to get all they want, they will not use that pressure to get that advantage. If we were in their place we should do it. It seems to me monstrous to suppose that under the circumstances they would not take that advantage. I admire the almost boundless faith my right hon. friend has in the Irish people. He tells us that in these conditions for the defence of the property and the lives of the loyal population we are to trust to their good inten-



men; that for assistance in time of dire necessity we are to rest to their gratitude; we are, in the words of Vivian, to—

Trust them all in all, or not at all.

es, but in the poem we learn that the great enchanter, when yielded to the temptress, brought about his own annihilation. We are asked to stake the dignity and influence, the honour and the life, of the nation upon this cast; we are asked to do so because we are told that we ought to have faith and trust in the members opposite. We are to do it on the assurance my right hon. friend gives us that a miracle will be wrought in our favour to change the hearts of men and alter the springs of human action. I say, and this is the last word I shall utter, that the possible danger is too great and the possible gain is too small, and if this bill were passed and if we escaped by a good fortune—which would be as unexampled as it would be undeserved—from disaster and disgrace which we should have fully provoked, still you have not been able to give us even a possible expectation of any advantage corresponding to the risk which you wish us to incur."

When Mr. Chamberlain had finished Mr. Gladstone made a curious half-apology to Mr. W. Redmond, to which the House listened in silence. "I ask," he said, "the permission of the House to explain, because I am afraid that by the expressions which it was necessary for me to use I inflicted pain upon an hon. gentleman opposite who is deeply attached to the memory of Mr. Parnell. I did not quote those words in any sense in the way of justifying or discussing those words. I quoted them to the best of my memory—which may, of course, have been at fault—as a mere matter of history, but, as the hon. member was deeply hurt, perhaps he will allow me simply to state the facts. I was under the impression—it was a firm conviction—at the time, upon the facts before me, that Mr. Parnell, previously to his imprisonment, was endeavouring to frustrate the effect of the Land Bill. I may have been right or wrong—that is not the question—but I was under that impression, and consequently I made that very heavy charge. When Mr. Parnell came out of Kilmainham I was under the impression that his mind had undergone a change with respect to the Land Bill. From that date forward no word and no word of censure in any speech of mine upon Mr. Parnell is to be found, and, on the contrary, I made a communication to Mr. Parnell, through a friend of his, stating that from me he would receive no difficulties in pursuing the purposes he had in view, which from that period I believed to be purposes beneficial to Ireland." Mr. Redmond acknowledged this tribute to his dead leader, and Mr. Justin McCarthy (*Longford, N.*) then spoke briefly in support of the Bill. He complained that Mr. Chamberlain's speech was only a repetition of familiar prophecies of treachery and danger.

He frankly confessed there were points in the bill which the Nationalist members would try to amend in committee. He could not say, for instance, that they were satisfied with the financial clauses as they now stood, but he would not at present argue that question. "But I say," Mr. M'Carthy continued, "that taking the principle of the bill, and accepting this measure as one for the better government of Ireland by the power and judgment of its highest leaders, we accept it as an honest attempt to settle the whole Irish question." In concluding his observations, Mr. M'Carthy said: "There is one thing which we now want in Ireland, and which we regard as specially important, and that is to conduct our local legislation for ourselves. As I understand, this measure will give us that right, subject to those reasonable precautions, checks and guarantees which the bill contains, and which we are perfectly willing to accept. And although no generation can pretend to bind all future generations—for the time may come when the whole constitution of the country may be changed—we say this, that as far as our foresight will enable us to look into the future, we believe that this measure when improved in committee will be, at all events in our time, a final settlement of the Irish question. That I am sure is the conviction of every Irishman who thinks for himself. We shall all welcome this bill as a statesmanlike measure, and as far as our mind and judgment and even our imagination can discern, we believe that it will be a final settlement of the question between Great Britain and Ireland."

The debate was continued by Mr. Plunket (*Dublin University*) in a powerful speech. He expressed his surprise that the leaders of the Nationalist Party had sat down without having pronounced any opinion on the controverted points which had been so long before the country. It was remarkable to see how perseveringly the policy of reticence and silence had been maintained. Among the Unionist Party in Ireland the bill had produced an intense feeling of indignation and dismay. It had called out a protest from all those politicians in Ireland, whether Protestants or Catholics, who were formerly the most firm and warm supporters of the Prime Minister. What these men believed was that if by any possibility the measure should become law, "it would at once be productive of civil tumult and bloodshed, and very probably of civil war in one part at least of Ireland." Proceeding to examine the details of the bill, Mr. Plunket denounced the proposed Legislative Council—the Upper House which had been devised as a protection for the minority—as a sham. The electors of a second chamber were to possess a qualification far lower than was required for a common jurymen. The effect of that qualification would be to return a class of small tenant farmers entirely under the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy. The House would in fact be "a priests' House." After, in an eloquent



message, describing the state of society in Ireland, Mr. Plunket asked: "Would hon. members be satisfied to have all their earnest interests confided to the protection and the care of a legislature such as is sure to be elected by the class of voters whom I have described, and under the social conditions to which I have been calling attention? Such as the electors are, such would be the representatives who would be returned by them, and such must be the Government of Ireland if this bill ever becomes law." He had often admired the eloquence and ability of Nationalist members of that House, but they were under the influence there of the traditions of an ancient assembly, and in the companionship of hon. members from England and Scotland. What was their record outside the House? He could not go back to the earlier times of the Land League; he would only refer to the proceedings in a famous committee-room upstairs, and to what afterwards happened in Ireland. Passing over the furious mutual recriminations, he would quote one sentence only. The state of things was all summed up in Archbishop Croke's despairing declaration: "I am afraid the cause is lost! Are we really fit for Home Rule? Do we deserve it?" Mr. Plunket went on to demonstrate the certainty of further agitation for larger concessions and more complete independence if the bill were passed, and he concluded by urging upon Irishmen a nobler patriotism—"a patriotism which feels no shame in submitting to a Parliament and an imperial power of which it is itself an integral element, and in whose greatness it has played a glorious part."

A very different note, though one by no means indicating any friendliness towards the Government, was struck by Mr. W. Redmond (*Clare, E.*), who said that if the bill went to a third reading in its present form he did not think he could vote for it, because, though he was anxious for a settlement, he thought no settlement could be found in the bill as drafted. But he would vote for the second reading in order to get the bill amended. Mr. Arnold Forster (*Belfast, W.*) condemned the language which members of the Government and their supporters had applied to Ulster, and was followed by Sir George Trevelyan (*Bridgeton, Glasgow*), who retorted by complaining of the imputations of the hon. member upon Irishmen out of Ulster. Sir George said, in reference to Mr. Chamberlain's computation of the Protestant minority, that according to the last census less than one-third of the population of Ireland were Protestants or members of other non-Catholic denominations. He reminded the House that Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Henry James had formerly advocated the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, on the ground that it was necessary to the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. This cardinal point had been conceded, yet the fact that Irish members were to sit at Westminster was now made an argument against the bill, and it was now contended that their

presence would destroy the imperial supremacy. After, at some length, contrasting the disturbed period in Ireland, prior to 1886, with the present time, Sir George briefly summed up the two positions thus: "That was so then; it is not so now." He went on to say: "There are many millions of men in this country who have learned that the Prime Minister was right when he said that those difficulties were in the situation more than in the men, and that when you treated Irishmen with confidence, when you gave them the hope of winning from the justice of Great Britain what could not be won from her fears, then they would be very different colleagues from what they were when their only hope of getting any concession for their country was by wearying and worrying Parliament into making that concession." The argument against Home Rule which was founded on distrust of Irishmen was a thing of the past. "For my own part," Sir George continued, "I can say that to be free from that distrust, and to have changed it for another sentiment, is to me not a matter of shame or of self-reproach, but of infinite satisfaction." Adverting to the state of business in Parliament he remarked that English and Scotch business would be impeded until the Irish difficulty had been solved, whereas if the present bill were passed Irish affairs would not take up more than one-tenth or one-twentieth of the time they occupied now. The financial criticisms on the bill Sir George Trevelyan lightly passed over as being destructive of each other, and coming next to the threats of resistance in Ulster he attached no importance to them also. "I am not afraid of civil war in the least," he said; "there will be no civil war." "These spouters in the north will not fight." But he expressed the fear that their utterances might lead to cruelty and violence towards Catholics employed in docks and factories when they happened to be in a small minority.

Before the debate was resumed on the fourth day (April 11) Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) made a personal explanation as to statements in his speech of the day before which had been challenged by the Prime Minister. He had spoken of Mr. Gladstone as having charged the Irish leaders with "preaching the gospel of plunder," and with "marching through rapine to the dismemberment of the empire," and Mr. Gladstone had interrupted him to declare that he used those words in reference only to Mr. Parnell. He now produced and read the quotations from Mr. Gladstone's speeches in 1881 on which he relied, and in which the Prime Minister had distinctly applied his language, not to one individual person, but to "a small body of men," to whom he referred as "them" and "they." After a preliminary display of warmth Mr. Gladstone replied that "in the main," and "so far as he referred to the followers of Mr. Parnell" in the extracts which had been quoted, he only referred to the Land League, and not even to all the mem-



of that league, for he expressly disavowed attributing doctrines he complained of to the whole of those members; he went on to say that he "entirely refused to identify individuals except Mr. Parnell." Therefore, if Mr. Chamberlain had quoted the truth, he had not quoted the whole truth, and this "entirely disposed of the substance of the accusation." The House laughed at this somewhat evasive logic, and it laughed again at Mr. Chamberlain's surrender, that he left Mr. Gladstone to "choose for himself" which of the Irish leaders he would apply his language. Thereupon—amid cries of "Oh, oh"—Mr. Gladstone roundly asserted that he had "never applied it to any of them," and that he "did not associate any of them with the doctrines he denounced." This incident over, the debate proceeded, and Sir E. Ashmead Bartlett (*Ecclesall, Sheffield*) ridiculed the Prime Minister's idea that the bill would bring about a "real and continuous" settlement of questions in dispute between Ireland and Great Britain. The Government proposed to give to the most ambitious and excitable people in the world the outward paraphernalia of a nation, and yet were going to deny them the real and essential attributes of nationality. Did the House suppose that a settlement of that kind was likely to be final? If the bill passed it meant ruin to Ireland; it meant placing the best part of the country under the control of the worst part, the loyal under the rebel, the honest under the dishonest, and the peaceful and industrious under the idle and thriftless; while for England it meant the stopping of the great work of consolidation and unity which had been going on for 1000 years.

The debate was continued, in a long and able maiden speech, delivered to a crowded House, by Mr. Michael Davitt (*Meath*). Mr. Davitt, replying to a point in Mr. Chamberlain's speech, denied that Mr. Parnell had demanded the protection of Irish industries in connection with the Home Rule Bill of 1886. Mr. Parnell's claim for Ireland of the right to pursue a policy of protection was made when the Liberals were not in power, and when there was "every reason to know" that the Conservatives, if they retained office, would have offered to Ireland "a statutory legislature, with the right to protect her own trade." The overwhelming majority of the Irish people at home and abroad accepted the bill of 1886 as a satisfactory settlement of the question, and would have acted loyally up to that acceptance if the bill had become law. "I assert the same," Mr. Davitt said, "of the bill now before the House." The 13,000,000 of the Irish race scattered round the world accepted the bill as a pact of peace between Ireland and the rest of the world, and were to be honourably upheld on both sides. That statement, Mr. Davitt added, was compatible with the intention of the Irish members who were active in committee to convince the judgment of the House that the measure was faulty in some of its clauses, and could

be amended to the mutual advantage of Ireland and the British people. Of course, the member for West Birmingham would discount the value of his assurance on the ground of words and acts of his in the past. He admitted frankly and fully to the House that Mr. Chamberlain had a stronger case in this respect against him than he had against the memory of Mr. Parnell. It was quite true that he had been not only an enemy, but a sworn enemy, of the empire for the greater part of his political career. He had not made that statement in the House for the first time. He had declared it over and over again in every part of Great Britain during the last twelve years, and the House would excuse him if he declined to make any apology to the member for West Birmingham, or to any of the opponents of the bill, for that part of his past political career. He had been right, or he had been wrong. If wrong he must be wrong still, and Ireland must be ruled by force and against her will by means of a centralised despotism without a parallel in any European country outside Russia—to quote the words of the member for West Birmingham when, a few years ago, he denounced that system of government against which he himself worked, conspired, and rebelled. If he was right—judging from the language of the leader of the Opposition at Belfast a few days ago, in which he implied, if he did not declare, that it was perfectly legitimate to rebel against a law passed by the Imperial Parliament—some one owed him a very handsome apology for his nine years and two months' experience in gaol. Perhaps his individual career gave the member for West Birmingham good grounds for doubting the sincerity of his assurances; but he ventured modestly to say, that in his belief the great majority of the British people would not call in doubt upon them. This bill was a compromise between two extreme and antagonistic principles, between absolute independence, such as he once dreamed could be won by Ireland, and government by force and unconstitutional means. The bill was the result of reform and not the consequence of revolution, and therefore the friends of peace in Ireland and Great Britain could accept it, and did accept it, as tending to the promotion and continuance of an honourable and lasting peace between the peoples of Ireland and Great Britain. It was with that sense that he accepted the bill, subject to humble effort on his part to try and convince the Government and the House that some of its clauses might be amended with advantage.

Mr. Davitt admitted that he did not like the financial proposals of the bill, and he contended that Ireland was paying 3,500,000*l.* a year more than she ought to pay towards the imperial revenue. As to the land question, he urged that Ireland should be allowed to settle it for herself, and he deprecated the fears which had been expressed on this head. He acknowledged that on the question of the retention of the Irish members in the Imperial Parliament his mind had undergone



age, and though he had formerly opposed it he now urged the retention, because Ireland would otherwise have eternal political status, and because British members would not have the power to interfere potentially with the affairs of Ireland. After dealing at some length with the case of Ireland—as to which he maintained that a majority of the population was really in favour of Home Rule—he proceeded to argue that Home Rule had produced happy results in the colonies, and that every part of the kingdom would insist on having it. They might as well try to stop Niagara as to stop the tide of revolutionary change.

It was in accordance with the fitness of things that Mr. Russell should be followed by Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*). Mr. Russell began his observations with the frank admission that the minority in Ireland were afraid to trust the majority. A lack of faith imputed to them was a lack they fully acknowledged. But half the difficulties would be got rid of if it were not for the Home Rulers. There was as much objection to the Home Rulers themselves as to Home Rule. By way of showing reason for the distrust felt by the minority he pointed to the Land League, and quoted from Mr. Gladstone and his Irish Attorney-General (Mr. Justice Johnson) language implying in strong terms the men who officered and manned the League. Four of "these gentlemen," he said, were in the United States. Against one of them the grand jury of the County of Dublin found a true bill for murder. He escaped. Another fled, no doubt for good cause, at the time of the Six Park murder. One was in his grave. The remainder sat on the Nationalist benches. That league and the men who officered and manned it, Mr. Russell continued, spared no age nor sex, and no cry that came from woman or child in their hour of desperate extremity ever wrung one word of remonstrance from one of these men, save and except from one member who had just spoken (Mr. Davitt). Why did the Loyalists trust such men? Mr. Russell next referred to the Plan of Campaign—"immoral in its essence," according to the Pope, and "vitiating with dishonesty," according to the *Daily News*—and to the practice of boycotting. The Plan, he said, was not "exclusive dealing," but was the tramp-out of all freedom on the part of the individual. No man in Ireland during thirteen years who dared to be honest was free from that terrible curse. He did not believe that the men who were responsible for these iniquities would be changed by placing them with the responsibility of ministers. Passing on to discuss some of Mr. Gladstone's Irish statistics and Home Rule analogies, he next examined various details in the bill, and showed what he regarded as the fallacies on which they rested. Coming finally to the position held by Ulster in the controversy—a position of unyielding hostility to the bill—he said what the Government were going to do with that pro-

vince. Were the men who had been travelling all over the country protesting against coercion, who stood by moonlight and knaves of every kind, who denounced the application of the law to those law-breakers, and who had made England ring with the cry of coercion—were they prepared to coerce Ulster not for crime, not for wrong-doing, but for passionate loyalty to this empire? They went about the country saying that a law was worth anything that was not founded upon the consent of the governed. How were they going to get the consent of the Ulster people? They knew they would not get it, and they would have to eat all their brave words and apply that coercion to men who had done no wrong and who were bone of the bone and flesh of their flesh. They would not carry peace into Ireland, but a sword, and they were not peacemakers, but war-chiefmakers in the truest sense of the word.

The only member of the Government, and the only prominent member of the Gladstonian Party, who took part in the debate on the fourth day (April 11) was the Solicitor-General (*Forfarshire*). His speech was so obviously that of a lawyer as to expose him to the charge of legal pedantry. He took the bill as he found it, and assumed, not only that it meant what it appeared to say, but that its powers and provisions were potential means to the ends they contemplated by the mere fact of their being in the bill. The Opposition cheered when he said that the change which the bill introduced would be one of the highest importance in the constitution; and they cheered again when, having premised this much, he naïvely asked how much of the present state of things would remain. He went on to maintain that Ulster, like the rest of Ireland, would remain a part of the United Kingdom just as it was then; and that the Parliament of the United Kingdom would remain the Parliament of the United Kingdom, for there could be no rival to it. The worst thing to which Ulstermen could be subjected was this—that under the provisions of the bill laws would be passed to which they would be bound to give obedience. But the bill provided against any attack on the rights, liberties, or property of any individual, and consequently the minority of Ulster would have no adequate motive for rising in rebellion.

On the fifth day (April 12)—a Wednesday sitting—the debate was continued by members of the rank and file on both sides of the House. Mr. W. Ambrose (*Harrow, Middlesex*) thought it would be criminal for the House to ignore the facts of the last ten years, when it was giving a paper constitution with paper safeguards to the people to whom those facts applied. Mr. Roundell (*Skipton, Yorkshire*), on the other hand, contended that the old policy of coercion had broken down, and that it was now imperative to try one of conciliation. Mr. A. C. Murray (*Buteshire*) said that perhaps the most obvious danger of the bill was the utter confusion and paralysis that would overtake the House of Commons under the proposed scheme.



the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. Mr. Storey (*Sunderland*) pointed to "Home Rule all round" as the cure to this state of things and the cure for it. The Prime Minister's proposal was, in fact, one to transform our whole political system from a unified Government into a federal Government. He frankly confessed that, as an Englishman, he had shrunk years ago from such a prospect, but he had gradually come to see that it was necessary to mould our political system in accordance with the needs and exigencies of the time.

Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincolnshire*), by whom the debate resumed on the next day (April 13), described the bill as the most impracticable and the most unworkable measure ever on the table of the House. The projected retention of eighty Irish representatives at Westminster opened up a vista of danger for us and of damnable intrigue in the time to come, if this proposal were carried he should absolutely despair of the future of our public life. He believed that when the eyes of the people realised the fact that the government of the country was to be placed under the control of these eighty members, they would raise a whirlwind of opposition, which would sweep the bill and its authors to destruction. He agreed with Mr. Storey that the adoption of the bill must ultimately lead to the adoption of Home Rule Parliaments in Ireland, Scotland and Wales, with one Imperial Parliament in England. Thus we should have five separate Parliaments in a united kingdom, and in this way the greatest nation in the world would fritter away the fruits of the victories it had won.

Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) spoke next, and produced a marked impression by a speech of considerable power. As the action of the Parnellites had been somewhat doubtful, a variation from their leader of the position he intended to take was naturally awaited with interest. It became evident from Mr. Redmond's opening observations that for the present the Government had nothing to apprehend at his hands. While he admitted that the bill did not concede all that Ireland asked for all that she was entitled to, he recognised that it was offered as a compromise, and as such it was accepted. England, he said, had no right to ask from the Irish members any guarantee of finality in its acceptance. He did not expect that the bill would be "an absolutely final and immutable settlement"—a statement received with ironical cheers by the Opposition—because he thought the final solution was to be found in the direction of federation. But he believed that the constitution framed for Ireland would be a success—that it would develop—and that the bounds of freedom would be made wider still for Ireland by the consent of all parties, as a practical result of the successful, moderate, and reasonable exercise of the powers conferred upon her. The financial proposals of the measure he frankly owned he did not like, and

he said that the more they were studied the more they were distrusted in Ireland. But he declined to commit himself to any expression of opinion as to the proper course to be adopted if they remained unchanged when the bill came on for third reading, and for the present contented himself with the emphatic declaration that the government of Ireland could not be successfully worked under them as they stood. The great feature of the measure was, however, that it conferred representative government upon Ireland, and Irish Nationalists would sooner be badly governed by their own countrymen than well governed by anybody else. If the bill were rejected, it would be the "darling hope" of the Irish people to find an opportunity of embarrassing Great Britain, and though he "did not wish to indulge in threats and menaces," he asked what were the consequences that would be likely to follow the hopes which had kept Ireland tranquil and crimeless for seven years were dashed to the ground? He said that if the bill passed there would be disturbances in Ulster, but what disturbances might not follow in other parts of Ireland if the bill were rejected? If the bill were thrown out, and coercion re-established, who would undertake the government of Ireland on any terms whatever? The alternative to this policy was not mere coercion, but the disfranchisement of Ireland and the establishment of a military despotism. He ridiculed the "Ulster question" as a mere manufactured agitation, and he pointed to the election of himself and the other Parnellite members in the teeth of the direct and open opposition of the Roman Catholic priests as a proof that the Protestants had nothing to fear from priestly domination. The spirit of independence against clerical interference in purely political matters offered ample guarantee for the future. Irish Catholics owed too much in the past to their Protestant fellow-countrymen to be "guilty of the baseness of betraying them."

If Mr. Redmond impressed the House, Mr. R. Wallace (*Edinburgh, E.*), who followed him, both impressed and amused it. He said that the threat of religious troubles did not alarm him, for Ireland had "too much sense to allow theology to spoil business." Nor did he think Ulster would fight. At the worst she might here and there refuse to pay her taxes, in the roundabout way of having execution put in against her furniture, but every sensible man knew that a battle of sideboard and tablespoons never lasted longer than half a campaign. She might, and possibly would, shed millions of cubic yards of parliamentary and platform gas, but she would not shed a single drop of human blood—especially her own. As to the proposed retention of the Irish members at Westminster Mr. Wallace was at issue with the Government. Irish members, he said, might discharge their functions admirably in Dublin but at Westminster they would be placed in an absolutely false position, and even a good man in a false position might



rong. It appeared to him that what an Irish representative at Westminster would do would be to endeavour to wring from the British Ministry some new Irish concession, and when the next question was raised there would be a fresh opportunity of wringing from them a fresh concession. In short, the plan which this bill proposed to carry out would simply strengthen ten- or twenty-fold the Irish vote in the House, and in that case the last state of the British Ministry would be worse than the first. Was it fair to the British majority that their interests should be sacrificed by the action of those who would really be the representatives of a foreign power? It was said that that was the case at present, but he denied altogether the accuracy of that assertion. At present Ireland, even as far as its domestic affairs were concerned, was not a foreign power, and its representatives were merely the representatives of a part of a great constituency which threw all its affairs into hodge-podge while Ireland had a finger in the pie. He did not know how the poking of foreign noses into British business would be taken in England, but in Scotland, as it gradually dawned on the apprehension of the people, they would not stand it. They were a slow and patient people, "taking a good many kicks for a very few concomitant ha'pence"; but there came a point when they took fire, and when they did "they blazed like pandemonium."

A serious air was restored to the debate by a solid argumentative speech from Mr. Courtney (*Bodmin*), who described the bill as the most important measure submitted to Parliament during the century. He maintained that the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament would be purely theoretical under the provisions of the bill, which must ultimately develop into something that would better satisfy Nationalist aspirations. After expressing serious doubts whether the transfer to a Dublin Parliament of the control over Irish legislation and administration would secure a greater amount of justice than was obtained under the Union, Mr. Courtney urged again those counsels of patience which the Prime Minister had rejected. He then passed on to indicate various dangers which might result from the establishment of the new legislature. Mr. Gladstone had always made the mistake of accepting the Irish representation as a final guide and absolute criterion as to the condition of Ireland. A more limited appreciation of the Irish problem he, Mr. Courtney, could not conceive. There was the same refusal to look below the surface in the singular contentment with which Mr. Gladstone proposed to set up his Irish Legislature. He seemed to think that after this event all would go on well. Yet, what was the outlook? At the end of three years the owners of land would be subject to whatever legislation the assembly representing the tenants, and a Government which included the promoters of the Plan of Campaign, might attempt. The three years' grace would not afford much con-

solation to the landlords. If the Government wished to prevent the possibility of injustice, why, while they were incorporating in their bill clauses from the United States Constitution that were often a dead letter in the States, did they not take two clauses from that Constitution that would have been operative? The first was a provision that there should be no *ex post facto* law. The other, which was observed from end to end of the Union, which was in the mind and conscience of every citizen of the Union, which the courts continually asserted, and against which all hostile attempts had been in vain, declared that no State should pass any law impairing the obligation of contract. The Government, Mr. Courtney went on to say, could scarcely have passed that clause over by inadvertence; it had been deliberately left out of the bill, and why? [Mr. J. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) here interposed to say that the clause was not left out by inadvertence but after full consideration of it, and good reason would be shown for its omission.] At any rate, Mr. Courtney continued, the point was conceded. The clause had been deliberately left out. He then proceeded to deal with the danger to arise from recourse by the Irish Legislature to protective duties or bounties, from strife between Catholics and Protestants, from oppressive taxation on trade and industry, and other causes. But the bill would not pass. Ireland must be treated by other methods, and it was always better to pursue a lofty ideal, even if it were not reached, than to succeed by acquiescence in an inferior one.

Before the resumption of the debate on the seventh day (April 14), Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) complained of the length to which it was being carried, and elicited a sympathetic reply from Mr. Gladstone. But Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) produced a long list of members of the Opposition who had not yet spoken, and who wished to address the House, and Ulster members claimed the right to express their views upon the bill. In the result the debate proceeded without any curtailment. It was resumed, in a distinctly able speech, by Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*), who declared his wish to meet the case which had been presented against the bill by argument and not by declamation. He refused to accept the notion, which he attributed to the Opposition, that the Irish people were incapable of exercising and enjoying free institutions, or that they wished to have self-government in order to oppress their fellow-countrymen, secure independence, or bring about the severance of imperial unity. If such a theory were true, it was a damning accusation against the Act of Union and against the statesmanship of the Opposition, who only a year ago proposed to plant in so demoralised an atmosphere a whole system of local institutions. But the Opposition, he asserted, did not believe in their own arguments, and he showed that though they accused the Government of trying to hand over Ireland to "



dy of unscrupulous and discredited leaders" Mr. Chamberlain had at one time proposed that Mr. Parnell himself should be Chief Secretary, while Mr. Courtney, only on the previous evening, had suggested that that office might well be filled by Mr. Sexton. Indeed the whole language of the Unionists was "transparently insincere." Mr. Asquith confessed that he could never concede Home Rule if it meant the destruction of imperial unity and a menace to the just rights of the minority; but he contended that the Opposition criticisms were actually destructive, for it was said in one breath that the bill would place England at the mercy of Ireland, and leave Ireland at the mercy of England. He bantered Lord Randolph Churchill on the strength of his language—"his adjectives always in the superlative degree; his verbs never in the conditional mood"—and likened him to the "over-conscientious artist who, when asked for the part of Othello, felt it necessary to black himself over the whole of his body." But what Lord Randolph Churchill had denounced as a measure full of terrible consequences to Great Britain, Mr. Balfour had described as so "beggarly and paltry" a step towards Irish nationality that it was unworthy of the acceptance of the Irish people. Clearly both these contradictions could not be true. So, again, the criticisms against the finance of the bill—that it was unjust to Great Britain and, at the same time, ungenerous to Ireland—were mutually destructive, as were two other favourite arguments—first, that the bill was imposed on the Liberal Party by "the iron domination and imperious will of Mr. Gladstone, dealing with a mass of subservient items," and next, that Mr. Gladstone was "reduced to the most degrading and corrupting expedients to purchase the allegiance of a mercenary body of followers."

Mr. Asquith went on to answer what he described as the three main controversies involved in the bill. They were comprised in three questions: Was the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament effectually maintained? Did the bill give to Ireland a real and genuine autonomy? Did it contain adequate safeguards for the protection of the Irish minority? In reference to the first question, he had been reminded of an observation in a speech of his own delivered some years before. He had said that no measure of Home Rule would be satisfactory which did not maintain unimpaired and unquestionable the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament over all persons and all matters whether local or imperial. To that proposition he still adhered, and if he had not thought that the bill gave effect to it he would have been no party to its introduction. Since the Act of Union there had been one Sovereign Parliament for the whole empire. The bill did not split that sovereignty into two, but delegated for specific purposes and in a particular manner certain powers, the exercise of which by a subordinate legislature was perfectly consistent with the retention of the same authority by the sovereign power which conferred it.

On his going on to state that the supremacy of Parliament was expressly declared in the bill, Sir Edward Clark (*Plymouth*) dissented, and Mr. Asquith admitted that what he treated as a declaration of supremacy in the preamble would have yielded to any express enactment inconsistent with it in the body of the statute. If the Opposition thought it necessary to make the reservation of the supremacy more explicit let them bring up a clause, and the Government would accept it. But he contended that the supremacy of Parliament did not rest only upon the preamble. It was involved in the retention of the Irish members, as to which question he remarked that practically the difference between their retention for imperial purposes and their retention for all purposes was "very slight." It was involved also in the continued and unimpaired power of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for Ireland, as for the whole empire, and in the veto of the Lord Lieutenant, to be exercised whenever necessary in accordance with the wishes of the Imperial Government. He quite admitted that this power was not to be lightly used—there should be no constant "meddling and peddling"—but the power was that to be used whenever it was necessary to override unjust legislation, or to correct oppression and wrong. This part of the bill had been honestly accepted both by Mr. Davitt and by Mr. John Redmond, and the only serious menace to it came from the leader of the Opposition, who threatened that when a Tory Government was in power they would continuously supervise and perpetually interfere in Irish affairs. He, however—Mr. Asquith—had more faith in the Tory Party than its leader seemed to possess, for that party had always loyally carried out even the legislation it had most bitterly opposed prior to its becoming law. Finally, Mr. Asquith held that the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was guaranteed by the powers conferred upon the Exchequer Judges, by all the powers resident in the Imperial Executive, and by the resources at the command of the Executive, and of Parliament for enforcing obedience. "It is taxing one's credulity," he said, "to ask one to believe that a power which has expressly reserved to it under this bill the executive authority, which has complete and absolute control of the whole of the military and naval forces of the Crown, which can call upon the officers of the Irish Executive to carry out its decrees, and, in case of default by them, can appoint officers of its own for the purpose—it is, I say, taxing one's credulity to ask us to believe that a power so endowed and equipped as that will not be able to enforce to the last extent every law which this Imperial Parliament may pass." Mingled with the Ministerial cheers with which this eloquent passage was received, was the ominous cry from the Opposition benches—"Civil War."

As to the reality of the autonomy given to Ireland, Mr. Asquith pointed out that the Irish did not themselves object



the restrictions imposed by the bill, and those restrictions only related to matters which, from her geographical position, was unnecessary and inconvenient for Ireland to deal with herself. He was quite content with the assurances given by the Irish Nationalists, and he was proceeding to speak in glowing terms of Mr. Davitt, as "an old rebel and conspirator against the British Crown, who has been won over," when a loud uproar broke out. Lord Cranborne was overheard by some of the Irish members to call Mr. Davitt a "murderer," and in a whirl of wild excitement half a dozen members sprang to their feet, gesticulated violently, and demanded the interference of the chair. Lord Cranborne admitted that the observation "escaped him in the heat of the moment," but he had said "nothing but what was true." The Speaker, however, called upon him to apologise to the House, and this he at once did, adding that the remark "was not meant for the ears of the House." Proceeding with his speech, Mr. Asquith then repeated his acceptance of the assurances of the Irish members. As to the question of Ulster and the protection of the minority, he admitted that the opposition of Ulster was "a very serious fact," and deprecated the "scoffing language" which had been used in regard to it—whereupon Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) reminded him that it had been used by his own colleagues on the Treasury Bench. But Mr. Asquith went on to protest against the "preposterous" notion that the Ulster minority was to control the rest of Ireland. Admitting that he had said, in the course of the late general election, that second chambers were undesirable institutions, he said that he was still of that opinion, and he had consented to the second chamber introduced by this bill with "considerable reluctance." But he regarded it as "a concession made to conciliate opposition," and he was prepared to "try it as an experiment." Finally, alluding to certain passages of Mr. Balfour's recent speech at Belfast, where he had "added to the flame of smouldering excitement," Mr. Asquith greatly amused the House by imagining them to have been uttered, not by the leader of the Opposition, but by Mr. John Morley, a year ago in Cork, in which case "no very long time would have elapsed between his academic utterances and his appearance before a couple of removable magistrates." A few eloquent sentences, which contained a touching allusion to the advanced age and long labours of the Prime Minister, then brought one of the most striking speeches in the debate to an end.

Among the speakers who followed Mr. Asquith were Lord George Hamilton (*Ealing, Middlesex*) and Mr. Blake (*Longford, S.*). The former condemned the bill because it surrendered the whole of the executive authority in Ireland in a way which would give the Irish people the impression that the imperial authority was on the wane. If the bill became law the English Government would soon not have a single friend left in Ireland,

because they would have betrayed their friends in that country and would have made every Ulsterman a separatist. In his judgment, however, it would be impossible to pass the bill, and the whole scheme tumbled to pieces the moment it was practically examined. The object of its acceptance by the Nationalist members was not to bury the past in oblivion, but to revolutionise the present and to reverse the settlement of centuries. Mr. Blake, on the other hand, contended that the fears of Ulster were groundless, and remarked that the Protestant minority in the Canadian province of Quebec had their fair share and generally more than their proportionate share in the government of their country. Only one part of a single province in Ireland objected to this great settlement, but it was a fundamental principle of representative institutions that the majority of the whole country should govern. If we were to give Ireland that local control which she asked for, and if we left her that share in our national concerns which she also not rightly demanded, we should obtain a settlement that would be substantially final. The essence of the controversy depended on the question whether we were going to adopt a policy of trust and belief or a policy of incredulity and despair.

Up to this point the debate was remarkable for the fact that with the exception of the first night of the debate, when Sir M. Hicks-Beach, who moved the rejection of the bill, necessarily followed Mr. Gladstone, only one politician of the first rank had spoken during each entire evening. The speeches were therefore in the nature of "set" speeches. They were replies, more or less, to previous speeches, but the interval of four-and-twenty hours or more that occurred between a speech and the reply to it, gave to the latter a quality of deliberateness that added to its value. On the eighth night of the debate (April 17) Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) replied to the speech of Mr. Asquith. He admitted that the Home Secretary was the first member of the Government who had made a serious effort to meet the objections urged against the bill. But even he had not fulfilled his promise to avoid declamation and confine himself to arguments, for his declamation was very fine, while his arguments were weak. He had thought he could dispose of the arguments of the Opposition by making them appear mutually destructive; for instance, he had taken the fact that the financial provisions of the bill were declared to be unjust to the British taxpayer, and had set against that the other fact that they were also declared to be ruinous to Ireland, and thus had cleverly slipped away without fairly considering either position. Now he—Mr. Goschen—maintained that neither position destroyed the other. Again, the Opposition justly claimed that the eighty Irish members who were to be retained in the House would become masters of British business, while the Government also held that, under the restrictions sought to be imposed on the Irish Parliament, Ireland would not be the mistress of



business. Neither of these arguments was really inconsistent with the other, but Mr. Asquith had adroitly left both them unanswered. Here, then, on the eighth night of the debate, were four strong objections to the bill which had not been met. Passing on to Mr. Asquith's general argument, based on the alleged distrust of the Irish people by the Unionist Party, Mr. Goschen remarked that the patentee of that theory was the Prime Minister. Mr. Gladstone's own confidence in the Irish people had its birth on the day when, having secured for a majority with which he could resist the demands of the Irish representatives, he found that he could not get that majority and therefore surrendered. Since that time Mr. Gladstone had never ceased to say that the Unionist Party ascribed a double dose of original sin to the Irish people. That charge rested on nothing more than a claim for safeguards, a claim made "because we consider ourselves to be trustees for vast interests in Ireland, and hold that we cannot abandon our duty simply because we are asked to place unlimited confidence in the Irish people." By way of illustration, Mr. Goschen asked the House to imagine what the result would be upon the interests of British commerce, and of the whole community, if the agricultural labourers and tenant farmers of England obtained the permanent control of the House of Commons; and then pointed his illustration by reference to the conflicting interests of Ulster and of the Nationalist agricultural population of Ireland. In further reference to the charge of distrust he said that he could not, like the Home Rule Party, treat the doctrines preached by the Nationalist Party as "utterances dropped on Irish platforms." They were not the sudden outbursts of anger, but the deliberate pronouncements of a body of cool and able men. "Action was taken upon their policy, and under that agrarian policy towns have been ruined in Ireland, and countrysides depopulated," said the Unionist Party, because it distrusted these men, to be that it maligned the Irish people? "We cannot," Mr. Goschen continued, "pass the sponge over everything that has been said and grasp the hands of hon. members in good fellowship. Hon. members opposite may do that, but our duty is not to do anything of the kind. It is our duty to take no such conciliation as would induce us to give up the powers given by this bill either to the electorate of Ireland, which is in the hands of hon. members below the gangway, or to the leaders themselves."

Mr. Goschen then went on to examine the safeguards in the bill and ridiculed the proposed legislative council as "ridiculous," "this gerrymandered" second chamber. He then asked the lawyers to deal with the question of the supremacy of the veto. He complained that Mr. Asquith had shirked the duty that belonged to the exercise of the veto by his protest against "meddling and peddling." Would it

be meddling and peddling, he asked, if the Imperial Government vetoed a law for the reduction of rents by 30 per cent. Would it be meddling and peddling to interfere with the sale of dynamitards? Were the Irish Legislature and Executive to be left to deal with crime unhampered? Mr. Asquith had spoken of finality, but there was no finality in the bill. The whole construction of it pointed to development in one direction or another, and that outlook, Mr. Goschen remarked, had an important bearing on the question of finance. Discussing that question first from the British or imperial point of view, he observed that there had been no reply to the argument that our financial freedom would be fettered by the provisions of the bill. It was clear that by the arrangements with regard to the customs the Imperial Budget would be handicapped in respect of all such great changes as had redounded to the credit of the Prime Minister in times past. He calculated that the amount for which Ireland would remain responsible to us, for which we were to have a first charge on the Irish Treasury, would be from 750,000*l.* to 800,000*l.* a year. Were we, he asked, to continue to advance money under the Land Acts, after we had parted with the elaborate system of safeguards which had been built up to insure the British taxpayer against loss? In that case the sum annually payable to us from Ireland might be 1,200,000*l.* or more. Turning to the Irish point of view, Mr. Goschen said that Mr. Gladstone was misinformed when he put the Irish contribution to the imperial revenue at 12 per cent. It was really 8 per cent. Mr. Gladstone dissented. Mr. Goschen gave the exact amount, which was shown by the Treasury return to be 8·31 per cent. In 1886, Mr. Goschen continued, Mr. Gladstone held one-fifteenth to be a fair contribution, but in a subsequent part of his speech he fixed the contribution of Ireland at one-twenty-sixth or one-twenty-fifth. All this had led to great confusion. It was said that Ireland was paying too much, but Ireland was receiving back too much, and those elements must be put together. After a satirical allusion to the effect which an increased consumption of whisky would have on Irish finances, Mr. Goschen exposed the fallacy of the idea that Ireland would have "a plethora of capital" or would be governed more cheaply under Home Rule. Gladstone's arguments for this view were based "on figures he has got in his head." He had put the cost of administration in England at 10*s.* per head, and that in Ireland at 1*l.*; whereas the cost in England was 17*s.*, and that in Ireland 22*s.* But no country could be prosperously governed with "a bankrupt exchequer," nor could an agricultural country hope to flourish when separated from an industrial country and left to subsist on its own resources. An Irish Executive under these circumstances might wish to replace lost advantages by a system of bounties, but the Government had perfunctorily ignored the question whether that was to be allowed



roducing statistics to show how greatly Ireland had progressed under the Union, Mr. Goschen passed on to the land question, in regard to which he complained of the reticence of the Government, from whom no information could be got as to the agrarian policy underlying the bill. The Home Secretary had asked whether the Unionist Party, in the event of the bill passing, would do their best to carry out its provisions. In reply to that question, and by way of counter-challenge, Mr. Goschen said he would ask whether, if the country rejected Home Rule, the present Government would accept the verdict and range themselves on the side of law and order.

Among the members who defended the bill at this sitting was Mr. Atherley Jones (*Durham, N.W.*), who said that he was struck with the unreality of the objections urged against it, though he was not prepared to say that no valid and strong objections could be taken to it. He argued that some measure of Home Rule would have to be conceded to Ireland, and he would not quarrel with the present bill because it contained some fantastical proposals. But he was entirely opposed to the retention of the Irish members. If Irish members came to Westminster after they had got Home Rule they would be able to say: "What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own." It was said that this was a step towards federation. Did the Government accept that position? Would they say that they regarded this as a step towards the concession of Home Rule to Scotland, to Wales, and to England? He had found that the only valid reason why some of his Scotch friends supported this bill was that they believed it would lead to a federation of the United Kingdom. He was bound to say that the time was not ripe for such a federation. If Scotland required a domestic legislature she would secure it, and it was possible that Wales also might secure it; but we had no right to take any step which might precipitate that result, or to do something which would render it absolutely inevitable that a system of Home Rule should be conceded to these different nationalities. In the first place, these countries did not desire it; and, secondly, it would be injurious to their interests, and it would be antipathetical to the spirit of democracy. When they were building up a great central authority in the metropolis, how could they say that it was inexpedient to have such an authority in the nation? Although they had their duties to Ireland, they had their duties to Great Britain. They had to see that the interests of the Imperial Parliament should not be impaired. It had not been shown how this extraordinary departure from precedent, and he would say, with all humility, from common-sense, could be reconciled with the exigencies of the empire. They had been told that Ireland had suffered injustice from England, but still greater injustice would be inflicted by Ireland upon England if foreign representatives were permitted to sit in the House, and,

whether directly or indirectly, to interfere with the progress of government in the United Kingdom.

Colonel Nolan (*Galway, N.*) said that Ireland was not about to leave her partnership with Great Britain. On the contrary, she was going to pay a large sum into the concern. An average of the various tests by which the wealth of the nation could be estimated showed that less than one-twenty-fifth ought to be the amount of the contribution of Ireland for imperial purposes. Ireland ought to make a fair contribution in accordance with her relative ability to pay, and he suggested that the proportion named in the bill should be somewhat reduced. He intended to vote for the preamble of the bill, which acknowledged the supreme authority of the House of Commons, but he should not consider that his vote bound him in the event of the bill's not passing into law. He only acknowledged the authority of the House of Commons provisionally. The debate was concluded for the evening by Sir John Lubbock (*London Univ.*), who contended that the financial clauses would operate injuriously to both Ireland and Great Britain. The amount advanced to Ireland, at low rates of interest, by the Public Works Loan Commissioners, was 52,000,000*l.*, that advanced to Scotland was 9,000,000*l.*, and 50,000,000*l.* had been lent to England and Wales. Moreover, to the 52,000,000*l.* must be added some 10,000,000*l.*, advanced to tenants under the Land Acts. What probability was there that Ireland would enjoy similar advantages if the bill were passed? One result of its being passed would be to drive manufacturers out of the country, and this must of course lead to a diminution in the wages of the labouring classes. The shadow of the bill, indeed, had already injured the industries of Ireland.

The proceedings on the ninth day were opened by Lord Randolph Churchill (*Paddington, S.*), who in a closely reasoned speech of two hours' duration subjected the bill to a searching critical examination. He retorted upon the Home Secretary, who had charged him with making "full-blooded" speeches, that Mr. Asquith's own rhetoric was "anæmic," and he bantered the Government over the fact that four of their supporters—Mr. William Saunders, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Atherley Jones, and Mr. Rathbone—were opposed to the measure in part, as none of them liked the retention of the Irish members, while some of them objected to other points. All this was "extremely encouraging" to the Opposition, for it showed that if they had not converted the entire House, they were at all events "making progress," and the British portion of the House of Commons was "so very representative" of Great Britain that the smallest change in the House itself probably represented a very large change elsewhere. Addressing himself to "the crucial proposition by which the bill must be tried"—the provision made for the unimpaired and unrestricted supremacy of the Imperial Parliament over Ireland as well as over all



portions of the British Empire—he showed that after the Home Rule passed any British member would be able to introduce in the Imperial Parliament any bill, resolution, or motion, relating not only to Irish affairs in general, but to the whole act of the Irish Executive and Legislature, so that the effect of the Bill instead of lightening the labour of Parliament would greatly increase its work. At the same time there was no supremacy for any practical purpose, for “a fatal weakness pervaded the whole structure,” and in geological language, “a various and immense fault ran through the whole thing.” Moreover, the setting up of two separate fiscal systems for the two countries would reduce the Imperial Government to a condition of great instability. Lord Randolph taunted Mr. Gladstone with trying to convert the Parliament which had followed him so faithfully for many years into “a philosophic absurdity—one body with two centres of gravity.” There was no constitution in the world in a position so questionable, and no Legislature whose laws would be in so much doubt as those of the Irish Parliament. Every law made by a Parliament ought to command instant obedience, but the Irish Parliament were forbidden to do so many things that every Irish court would be occupied in determining “whether any particular Act was legal or not,” and every officer who assisted to put the law into execution before a court of law would do so at his own risk, for he would be liable to prosecution if it should prove to be *ultra vires*. There was to be an appeal to the Privy Council, but the decision of the Privy Council to be binding upon all persons other than the parties to the particular suit? If not, the thought it would not be, the elaborate procedure proposed by the bill on this point would be altogether useless. He showed that there were many matters affecting all sorts of persons and their relations with each other, and matters of dispute as to the legality of an Irish Act of Parliament, or as to questions of revenue, which would have to be dealt with by the judges of Exchequer, with an appeal to the Privy Council, though subjects of the utmost importance might have to be decided by the two judges, or one of them, there was no provision whatever that the trial was to be by jury. In fact, the Government seemed to have “almost an aversion to the principle of trial by jury,” and he reminded the House of the fact that in 1849 Mr. Gladstone passed an Act to enable the Lord-Lieutenant to send a commission to try without a jury all cases of treason or treason-felony. It was an extraordinary thing that under the new procedure laid down in clause 19 any one might be tried for treason or treason-felony without a ghost of a jury being present within 100 miles of the court. Mr. Morley made a sign of dissent, upon which Lord Randolph declared that the authority which he made the statement was “as high, if not higher, than any the right hon. gentleman has at his command.” Mr. Morley thereupon asked him to name his authority, to which

Lord Randolph answered: "Certainly not" (though it was generally understood that the learned authority on whom he relied was Lord Fitzgibbon). If there was to be trial by jury in such cases, Lord Randolph repeated, it was not provided for in the bill. Mr. Morley here remarked that there was to be no difference in the procedure at all, but to this Lord Randolph retorted: "Nothing of the sort. The bill disentitles the procedure from that of the ordinary judges."

Lord Randolph proceeded to ask how the provision excluding matters of religion and denominational education from the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament was to be carried out, and to suggest various points on which it might be evaded. He complained that while religious and charitable institutions were to be protected from assault, some of the most important Irish institutions, such as Trinity College, the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, the London Companies, and the Bank of Ireland, would be left to the mercy of the Irish Parliament, who might diminish their property or take it away from them altogether. Then he asked how the Exchequer Judges were to enforce their decisions, and declared their powers in this respect to be absolutely *nil*; for, though the Home Secretary had asserted that every officer of the law in Ireland was bound, under pain of indictment, to aid them, there was not a word of the sort in the bill. If a decree had to be enforced against the Government of Ireland, who was to enforce it? Were the naval and military forces to be employed? Not very long ago the Limerick corporation, by its attitude of passive resistance, baffled all the machinery of the law and of the Government. If the British Government, with all its resources, could not deal with an Irish municipal corporation, how could two unfortunate Exchequer Judges expect to deal with the Irish Government? Finally, Lord Randolph attacked the proposed Legislative Council—that great safeguard of the minority in favour of which even the Home Secretary had abandoned his "ardent Radicalism" for a time, though if he wished to give up "the cherished principles and convictions of his Radical youth" in favour of some form of a second chamber, he might surely have taken up a better form than this. A legislative council elected by men who had been found unfit to serve on juries was the Home Secretary's ideal of a second chamber. Lord Randolph ridiculed the idea that the Unionists had ever regarded the Irish people as "less than human"; it was because they regarded them as "very human," and so certain to reap all the advantage they could get from the bill, and to try to get more, that the Unionists opposed the measure. No one was more prone than he to give the largest local liberty to the Irish, or to make every concession that was reasonable and just to the Roman Catholics, who, he felt sure, would in the end, as in a somewhat remote past, range themselves on the



c, law, morality and justice. He would not "screw the people down financially," as Mr. Gladstone had done in bill, for Ireland ought to have a fair start, and her treatment should be liberal and large. But between Mr. Gladstone's attitude and his own there was "a great gulf fixed," which he would "never pass." He knew that Great Britain would never give this Parliament, or if she did she would soon be forced to take it back again, in which case the last state of Ireland would probably be worse than the first.

The middle of the evening was occupied by some half-dozen members who supported and opposed the bill in equal proportions. Among those who spoke in opposition to it was Mr. Austen Chamberlain (*Worcestershire, E.*), whose maiden speech impressed the House by its brightness, and by some personal touches characteristic of the hon. member's father. Mr. Austen Chamberlain made an effective point by the remark that the House had still to hear—had not yet heard—a single speech from an independent member representing a British constituency who would frankly and fully defend the bill. It was obvious that the reply to Lord Randolph Churchill must come from Mr. John Morley, and that gentleman (*Newcastle-Tyne*), varying the rule of the debate, made his reply at the same sitting. Lord Randolph had asked whether there was any known constitution which exposed a Legislature to such doubts, exceptions, and restrictions as those to which the Irish Legislature was to be exposed. The answer, Mr. Morley said, was that every State in the American Union was subject to restrictions far more severe. With regard to the principal points which had been raised, the noble lord had been brought into a mare's nest, as the bill certainly did not override common law and common-sense. That it fully protected Trinity College, Dublin, and the other institutions which it was supposed to menace, Mr. Morley had no doubt, but if Lord Randolph Churchill was still not satisfied he should consult his legal authority again. Turning for a moment to a question put by Mr. Courtney, who had asked why the clause of the American constitution dealing with the obligation of contract had been omitted from the bill, the Chief Secretary said that the operation of the clause had been carefully examined by the Government. And what did they find? That questions of great difficulty and importance had arisen upon it, which, in spite of a flood of decisions, still remained to be settled. They found that it might fail to prevent objectionable legislative action, and might check legislative action that was not objectionable. They supposed that our experience would resemble the American experience, and they therefore "preferred to model the clause upon other parts of the American constitution." Passing to the broader subject of the veto, and replying to a question asked by Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Morley stated that the expression "her Majesty," in section 6, "speaking generally,

in most cases [he added that he could not then make any particular exception], means her Majesty advised by her imperial ministers." After a somewhat lukewarm defence of the Legislative Chamber—introduced by the admission that he had no more love for second chambers than the Home Secretary had—Mr. Morley proceeded to examine some of Mr. Goschen's criticisms. He admitted that the financial clauses would disturb the British Budget to some extent, but he retorted that Mr. Goschen himself started a new system, by which he had diverted from the free control of the Chancellor of the Exchequer 7,000,000*l.*, whereas the present bill would abstract and divert from his control only some 5,500,000*l.* It had been said that the Irish contribution to imperial expenditure was too small. This might be so if the contribution were judged by certain standards; but at any rate it was the same which Ireland paid now, and which Mr. Goschen and his colleagues were perfectly willing to accept.

After an allusion to the moneys outstanding under the Ashbourne Act, and the question of their repayment, Mr. Morley remarked that if they were to start with the proposition that the Irish Exchequer was going to be manned by a parcel of rogues there would be an end of the argument. But the late Chancellor of the Exchequer was too cunning for that. He trusted the Irish and their leaders when it suited his purpose, and he distrusted them when it suited his purpose. Adding "one word more as to the financial risk," Mr. Morley said the Opposition had forgotten the Land Purchase Act of 1891. If the Irish were a dishonest nation, and willing pupils of predatory teachers, it was to such a nation that they had arranged to lend 40,000,000*l.* of money.

Continuing, Mr. Morley observed that the objection which gentlemen opposite felt to their policy turned upon the character of the men to whom they were going to entrust the destinies of Ireland. They were told of the bad language which some of those gentlemen used towards each other, but to a fastidious standard of the kind they were asked to set up three-fourths of the Legislative Chambers of Europe and the United States would not conform. Great stress had been laid upon character by Mr. Chamberlain, but the former speeches of the right hon. gentleman were a most direct and violent contradiction to what he now maintained. "But, surely, the milk of human kindness runs so richly in his veins that it should make him a little more charitable to his brother-penitents, who, like him, have altered their opinions, and who have bidden good-bye to prairie value as he has bidden good-bye to ransom and to natural rights." Mr. Morley went on to contend that it was the Land League which brought about the passing of the Land Act of 1891, and added: "When we are told of the enormities of these men, and when their action is brought forward as an argument why Ireland should not have



tol over her own affairs, I say that these men who forced in this House to attend to Ireland are entitled to a little moderation of language and a little more leniency of ment." Proceeding to speak of the defects of the present native system in Ireland, Mr. Morley said that we had our best statesmen there and they had failed. "Why? Cause Irish members still count. They will always count, the question is whether you are going to have them on the side, aiding, co-operating, and associating with you in the work of government, or whether you are going to continue making your government subject not only to that exclusion, but also, which makes it much worse, to the ebb and flow of party victories in Great Britain. You make Ireland, this happy country, the cockpit of your party fights. Everything in Ireland is put under a microscope. Most unfair judgments are passed on small things and upon great, upon character upon motive, upon act, upon what takes place from day to day—the whole thing is put under the most pharisaic microscope that has ever been devised. And you not only do not associate the Irish representatives with you, but the judiciary, the magistrates, those in small posts and in great, are for the most part chosen from one side of political opinion and one side, I am afraid I must say, of religious belief. Because I tried the other day in a most trivial affair to redress the balance I was struck as sapping and undermining the foundations of law and order. Let us go to the heart of the matter. You say, I know, that the gentlemen below the gangway are not representative, that they know nothing of their constituents, and that the constituents know nothing of them; that they are the mere mechanical creatures of political conventions, no more in touch with their constituencies than the man at the centre of a web at Dublin Castle. Be it so if you please; but you are too much. What are we to say of our system of government which makes these mechanical creatures of political conventions—the wires pulled from headquarters—the connecting force between the two great English parties, as they were at the end of the Parliament of 1885, as they were at the opening of 1886 and in 1892?"

Mr. Morley went on to refer briefly to the resistance of the North, which, he said, he did not deride or make light of. He admitted the full force of the demonstrations that had taken place at Belfast, but he wondered that Conservative statesmen would use the language that had been uttered there. They pressed in that House that the policy of the Government had failed, and if they were really of that opinion, they ought to go back to Belfast and say: "The policy of the bill has no chance. Be of good cheer; England will support you." Concluding his speech shortly afterwards, he said: "Whatever you do with the bill in this House, whatever they may do with it in another place, whatever even the constituencies may do with

it, however all that may be, do not delude yourselves with the idea that the question is going to slumber. One thing only is certain: never before have Irishmen had an English political party standing by their side in their national demand. We will not now desert them. We will never betray them. Irishmen all over the world are looking to us. Their trust shall not be deceived. Though we may lose this particular measure, the question cannot be put back. Your trust shall not be betrayed or deceived. Whether younger men may have to take up the battle, I know not. But this I do know—the justice of the demand is established; it has sunk into the breasts of this generation. That conviction will never pass. (An hon. member: ‘Nor the bill.’) And those who first establish that alliance, who first build it up may rest assured that it cannot fail, and that sooner or later—and probably sooner rather than later—we shall see our idea realised, and Irishmen of all sections united to govern their own country, which we have so lamentably misgoverned.”

The debate on the next day (April 19), a Wednesday sitting was mainly continued by members of the rank and file on the respective sides of the House. Among these, Mr. Renton (*Down, E.*) protested against the keeping down of Ulster by British bayonets, and asked that a fair field should be given to her, in the event of the bill being passed, by the withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland. Mr. Scott-Montagu (*New Forest, Hampshire*), a Conservative member, declared that some form of Home Rule was bound to come, and though he regarded the present bill as premature and ill-advised, for he would have liked to see a Local Government Bill tried first, he owned that if it were passed he and some of his friends would try to “make it a success.” This was cheered with great vigour by the Ministerialists, but by them alone. The cheering, however, soon came from the other side, for Mr. William Saunders (*Newington, Walworth*), rising from the Gladstonian benches as Mr. Scott-Montagu resumed his seat, denounced the bill in strong terms, chiefly for its second chamber and property qualification, provisions which he condemned as absolutely fatal to good government. He declared that he could not show his face among his Radical friends again if he supported such a measure. The debate was closed for the day by a necessarily short speech by Mr. Jackson (*Leeds, N.*), who said that every clause of the bill and all its machinery would tend to produce friction in every department of government in Ireland. The bill would tend also to separate, more than they had been separated in the past, the people of Ireland from the people of Great Britain. There was no part of the bill that had not been condemned by members on both sides of the House. In fact there was nothing to show that it was acceptable in its present form to any section or party. He had himself given the best thought he could to this subject, and he had come to the conclusion that the direction which the measure



look was exactly opposite to that which ought to be taken. In his judgment the true remedy for any grievance that might exist was to put increased responsibility on Ireland, and to call upon Irishmen to take their share in the government of their country as part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Before the resumption of the debate on the eleventh day (April 20), an hon. member asked for information as to the petitions presented for and against the bill, and it transpired that only fifteen petitions in support of it, bearing in all thirty signatures, had been presented to the House, while against the bill there had been 1,864 petitions, with no fewer than 533,700 signatures. These figures were so startling that the House seemed at first incredulous, and a vigorous effort was made on the Ministerial benches to disparage the value of petitions. Doubts were thrown upon the authenticity of signatures to petitions against the bill, but the fact remained that the support given to it by petitions in its favour was singularly small. Mr. Wallace (*Edinburgh, E.*) tried to extract from Mr. Gladstone an answer to the question whether the retention of the Irish members at Westminster was to be regarded as "vital to the bill," and whether their exclusion from British business was also to be regarded as "vital." Mr. Gladstone, however, declined to answer the question, and reproachfully observed that there was "no class of questions more delicate or more difficult to reply to." The share taken by members of the Nationalist Party in the debate had been remarkable for its meagreness. Their silence was understood to be due to their desire not to hamper the Government or to cause delay. But they were known to be strongly opposed to the financial provisions of the bill, and the task of stating their objections, as well as of generally setting forth their position, was undertaken by Mr. Sexton (*Kerry, N.*). He remarked that the hopeless weakness of the case against the bill was shown by that weary debate, and by the "variety of by-play" by which the Unionist Party sought to eke out the performance. They had tried to make capital out of a fall in Irish stocks and a decline in trade—which was really not a decline, he said, but a transfer of their orders for the moment, by ardent politicians in Belfast, from one house to another. He ridiculed the fear of religious intolerance under Home Rule, and reminded the House that a petition was recently presented in favour of the bill by a Lord Mayor of Dublin who was both a Protestant and an Ulsterman and yet was chief magistrate of Ireland's Roman Catholic capital. When, he asked—amid Nationalist cheers—would Belfast have a Roman Catholic mayor? He described as "puerile and foolish" the demonstration which had recently taken place in Belfast, and declared that the Home Rulers could get up an equally imposing demonstration to-morrow if they chose. Dealing with the provisions of the bill, he dis-

cussed at some length the question of Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament. For three years, he pointed out, the Irish Parliament was not to deal with the land question, while for six years it was not to control the police or the appointment of judges. Under these circumstances, he contended, Ireland's interests for six years would centre in the Imperial Parliament and she ought, therefore, to be fully represented in that Parliament.

Passing on to the subject of finance, he vigorously protested against the views put forward by Mr. Chamberlain, and denounced the Unionists for their inequitable demand that the imperial Exchequer should be allowed to get even a larger profit out of Ireland than it obtained already. The revenue of Ireland was a precarious one, mainly depending on the income-tax paid by a diminishing population, and the 500,000*l.* surplus which it was proposed to hand over to Ireland would probably be swamped by the incidence of the charge for the police, which might reach 1,500,000*l.* instead of the 1,000,000*l.* set down for it. The Irish Government would have to develop primary education, to attend to the condition of the railroads, to foster the condition of the coast population, who were in a state of much distress, and to take up the imperial system of loans, which would of course cease under Home Rule. He therefore pleaded for an arrangement under which the Irish Government might in its earlier years be assured without doubt of such a moderate surplus as would enable it to initiate useful measures beyond the sphere of bare administration, and to take up the system of loans. It was inequitable that Ireland should be called upon to pay two-thirds of the charge for the police, and she ought only to pay what would be the normal cost, or 600,000*l.*, leaving the balance due to the special nature and character of the Irish constabulary to come out of the imperial Exchequer. That would be satisfactory to the people of Ireland, and would enable the Irish Government to be started with a fair prospect of success. Turning from finance to the principle of the bill, Mr. Sexton claimed that Ireland was a nation—there were nations, he pointed out, that were not sovereign States—and as such had a right to manage her own domestic concerns. They were told that the bill could not be carried because it was only the outcome of Mr. Gladstone's "sudden conversion" to Home Rule. But what about those who were converted in the summer of 1885, when Lord Carnarvon arranged a plan of Home Rule without waiting for it to be asked for, and a plan which was to have conceded to Ireland the power to make laws in protection of trade? As for the Land League and the Plan of Campaign, Parliament itself was responsible for them. Famine was the parent of the Land League, and the House of Lords its foster parent. The Tory Party refused to do their duty in 1886, and thereby forced the Plan of Campaign into existence. Speaking of those past times, he admitted that he



and himself used words of hatred against England, but his feeling was now changed; it was no longer one of hatred but was one of confidence and affection. There were speeches, however, not of twenty years ago, but of twenty days ago—speeches of privy councillors and ex-ministers, who were inciting people to rebellion in order that they might regain power. They had had one special commission, and the time appeared to have come for another, which might render it difficult for some right hon. gentlemen ever again to render service to the Crown. "Excited politicians" said that Ulster would fight, but she would never fight unless she had something to fight for, and the Irish Parliament would never give her any reason. To the argument that if Ireland got this bill she would agitate for more, Mr. Sexton replied that she would be too busy. No constitution, he said, was so perfect as never to require amendment, and the Irish people desired to use the powers in this bill with such good faith and discretion, that when in the future they demanded a final amendment, it would be granted.

Mr. Carson (*Dublin University*), who followed Mr. Sexton, refuted his statements as to the action of the late Lord Carson, by reference to the same evidence with which similar statements had often been refuted before, and proceeded to argue the case against the bill with great force and ability. He maintained that the policy supported by the Government was nurtured and matured by crime, and if the bill were thrown out an attempt would be made to sustain it by crime. Even if the bill were passed, the controversy would not be diminished by one iota; on the contrary, the Irish difficulty would be increased and intensified by the creation of a state of things in which the Imperial Parliament would have no exclusive control over Irish affairs.

After a short speech from Mr. Butcher (*York*), who emphasised some of the objections to the bill, the debate was continued by Col. Saunderson (*Armagh, N.*) in a characteristic speech which was serious and amusing by turns. It was not a question, he said, whether they could trust the Irish people, but whether they could trust the Irish priests. The people had no power to make their real wishes known. The Ballot Act had not made them masters of their own votes. That was clearly shown by the results of the late general election, at which seventy-one of the Irish members were returned through the action of the Roman Catholic priests. They had to decide whether they could trust the Roman Catholic clergy on the one hand, or the Parnellites, the hillside men, and the Fenians on the other. The safeguards in the bill were worthless. To the loyal minority it was an enactment of penal laws. It would place them under the heel of their ancient foes, whose policy and practices had not changed. They would resist, however, to the bitter end every attempt to place their liberties and lives in the hands of men who had proved their fitness to

rule by the way in which they had conducted the Land League agitation and manipulated the funds of the Plan of Campaign.

A crowded House assembled for the last night of the debate (April 21). The twelve o'clock rule was suspended for the night and the debate was resumed by Sir Henry James (*Bury*), who spoke for a couple of hours, and was followed with close attention while he poured out a weighty constitutional argument against the bill. He insisted that Ireland had now no wrong which could not be remedied by a democratic Parliament, and he disposed of one of Mr. Gladstone's Irish grievances—that no Irishman ever got into the Cabinet—by pointing out that even now there was one there, for Mr. Bryce was not only an Irishman but an Ulsterman, though few would think so from the language he used against his native province. Sir Henry went on to show that Grattan's Parliament, which had been so much bepraised, never did any good. Even Grattan himself admitted how little it had done, while Wolfe Tone denounced it as a hot bed of corruption. Passing at once to an examination of the bill he remarked that the first question to be considered was "To whom under this bill are you about to confide the government of Ireland?" The Government declared their trust in the Irish members as politicians, and it was therefore surely worth while to ask what their conduct had been in the past. For eleven or twelve years they had been the *de facto* rulers of Ireland, with the result that some of them had to "abscond from justice." After alluding to certain former speeches of Sir George Trevelyan, for the facts about the Land League brought out in them, Sir Henry said he declined to follow Sir George Trevelyan or Mr. Gladstone in trusting Irish leaders who were once the avowed enemies of Great Britain, and who were more likely to change their natures than the leopard his spot or the Ethiopian his skin. Mr. Gladstone had said that if a repeal of the Union was attempted by the bill, but the third article of the Union was that there should be one Parliament and if that were abrogated the Union would disappear. As for the words in the preamble of the bill, recognising the supremacy of Parliament, they were but "the writing upon a tombstone—the epitaph of supremacy." What was the meaning of saying that the supremacy of Parliament was to be maintained, when they were making declarations from the Government bench that it was never, in fact, to be carried into effect, and that the Irish members need not fear that this supremacy would ever be enforced?

Sir Henry vigorously protested against Mr. Haldane's view that the bill was to be regarded as "elastic," and that "the common law of Parliament" was to be read into it; and he then astonished the House by an entirely new point—that if the executive for Ireland was to be appointed by the Crown there was nothing to prevent a British Executive from being appointed for Ireland, and Lord Salisbury, for instance, could



hardly be expected to choose his ministry from the same sources as Mr. Gladstone. As to the suggestion that, if things went wrong in Ireland, there were the armed forces of the Crown to fall back upon, he described this, amid cheers, as a strange doctrine to come from a Liberal Government in support of what was called "a measure of peace," but which in such circumstances ought to be called "a measure of armed peace." "It means a condition of things," Sir Henry went on to say, "that you never ought by legislation to bring into existence. Deplorable circumstances may cause such a state of things within a well-ordered country, but you never by contemplation, until this bill was proposed, could have desired that there should be a creation of such a power, and certainly no true Liberal could look upon it except with the deepest and sincerest regret. This will be the only power in Ireland by which the laws of England and of this Parliament can be enforced. There is not one of us, doing our duty here as representatives of the people, who would not shrink from ever passing a law affecting Ireland, even if it was required by the default of the Irish Parliament, because we should have no power to defeat the errors of the Irish Parliament and the defaults of the Irish Executive, except by force of arms. Every statute we passed would mean an order to the military to take possession of Ireland. That is no supremacy of Parliament; it is the disgrace of Parliament." Of the Exchequer Judges to be appointed under the bill, Sir Henry found himself obliged to speak "in terms of abject pity." Mr. Gladstone had described the law of the United Kingdom administered in Ireland as "a foreign law," and these judges, appointed by England, and representing England, would have to administer "an intensified foreign law" in restraint of an Irish Parliament and its actions. In reference to the ninth clause, and the proposed representation of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament, Sir Henry declared that this matter had not been considered by the British people, and that if the constituencies had been told that eighty Irish members were to interfere in British affairs, while no British member was to interfere in Irish affairs, there would have been no majority for the bill. Finally, alluding to the position taken by Ulster, and the charge that the Opposition were promoting rebellion, Sir Henry complained of the provocations that were being given to loyal and earnest men, and concluded thus: "I say to the Government what I have said behind their backs, that if, after this provocation, civil war shall occur and blood shall be shed—if you do not contemplate the possibility you err; if you do contemplate it, take heed to yourselves how you may have caused it. I tell you that the responsibility for every drop of blood that shall be shed shall fall more upon you than upon the men who shed it, and you will be blamed more than they for the civil war you can avert and will not."

The debate was continued for some hours by less important

speakers, and it was ultimately wound up on the Unionist side by the leader of the Opposition, who was followed by the Prime Minister. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) said that so gigantic a change as this had never been submitted to any assembly with so small an array of arguments in its favour. Some of those arguments were bad and sentimental, while others were bad *simpliciter*. As an illustration of the latter, he took two examples—the first as to the failure of coercion, and the second as to the failure of the Union. With regard to the first he showed that agrarian crime was far more extensive before the Union than it had been since, and that the exceptional laws passed for its repression since the Union were much milder in their character than those enacted in the last century. The treatment of coercion, when it was firmly and courageously applied, had not proved ineffective, and we might look forward to a time when no further legislation on the subject would be necessary. With respect to the argument that the Union had failed to produce material prosperity, he admitted that great improvement was still required in the condition of the tenant farmers and labourers, but he altogether denied that the existing state of things was due to the Union. Before the Union the tenant farmers were half-clad, less than half-fed, and not educated at all; and it was manifest that their position had been enormously improved since the commencement of this century. One of the arguments, and one which was both sentimental and bad, was that England was responsible for all the woes of Ireland, and that this bill was a sort of set-off to the wrongs inflicted by England upon that country. He admitted that in the history of Ireland England had often played a sorry part, but he did not believe that during all these centuries England had always been the villain of the piece. Indeed he was disgusted at the “creeping hypocrisy,” when it was not ignorance, which threw upon this country alone all the responsibility, or more than half the responsibility, for Irish ills. The Prime Minister often appealed to the opinion of the civilised world, but the civilised world took its views from English politicians, and if the latter went about abusing England, it was no wonder that foreign writers, unaccustomed to our peculiar methods of political warfare, should take English politicians at their word. The truth was that before the English power went to Ireland that country was a mere collection of tribes who were constantly waging internecine warfare. All law and civilisation was the work of England; the imperfect unity which Ireland enjoyed was the work of England; and the Parliament which Ireland desired to have restored to her was also the work of England. On the latter point, however, he observed that the nation which now demanded a Parliament was not the nation which once had one. Those who formerly had a Parliament in Ireland desired to have a Parliament no longer.

Mr. Balfour went on to say that if this pernicious measur



ed there would be two Committees of Supply, two Appropriation Bills, and two Chancellors of the Exchequer; and that they would not be able to touch the customs or else without altering all their relations with Ireland in a manner most unjust to the British taxpayers. As to the alleged supremacy, no doubt the Imperial Parliament would continue legally to be supreme, but what he wanted to know was where the real power lay, and who would be the *de facto* rulers of Ireland. Was the power to be vested in this Parliament or in that Parliament? As it was the duty of the Home Secretary to reassure the trembling flock behind him, Mr. Balfour told them that the supremacy would be a very real thing, and that it was to be supported by a body of imperial officials for whom no provision whatever was made in the bill. It was clear enough that under the provisions of the bill the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was illusory. In his satisfactory answer, he maintained, had been given on the question of finality. When people built a house they did not expect it to tumble about their heads a month afterwards. By the very nature of the case this was a compromise, which could not last, inasmuch as the Irish had always maintained that their interests were far in excess of this bill. The Nationalist members refused to accept it as a compromise, but they had no mandate to carry away what were regarded as the hereditary rights of the nation. Dealing with the financial clauses, he said it was his belief that, according to the judgment of the Prime Minister, the treatment of Ireland was generous, while, by the universal consensus of the Irish members who had spoken, the financial arrangement would lead Ireland, within a brief and miserable period, to absolute bankruptcy. Then the position of the members of the civil service and the constabulary would be affected under the bill, as the terms proposed in the schedule were utterly inadequate to meet the necessities of the case. In repelling the attacks made upon him on account of his speech at Belfast, Mr. Balfour referred to the character of the politicians who would probably compose the majority in the new Parliament, and said it was often forgotten that these men had long been occupied in a steady propaganda of doctrines in regard to land, property, and government which were wholly inconsistent with any government at all. If we gave them tomorrow an Irish Legislature they would endeavour to carry out the doctrines which, without variation, they had preached to the peasantry of Ireland for the last twelve years. Although the bill was calculated to inflict untold injuries on all the minorities in Ireland, yet it might be possible that of all the classes those who expected to benefit from it would be the poorest. The Celtic race would lose more than any other class. "I do not wish to lose them," Mr. Balfour added, in his concluding sentences of his speech; "hon. gentlemen may laugh, but I am speaking simply the truth. I think they

are a most valuable and important element in the great nation to which we belong, and if you pass this bill Great Britain loses these men for ever. I do not mean that separation would necessarily ensue. I think it will. That is not my argument. My argument is, if in the name of nationality you concede this boon to the Celtic portion of the population, it is to the assembly you create that every member of that Celtic majority will look. It is round that centre that his affections and hopes will concentrate. It will embody all the traditions of his race. It will be the centre of all his associations. They will look at us—the great Imperial Parliament, which ought to be the Parliament for all these islands—as a foreign and a defeated body. They will look at us as an assembly which only exists for the purpose of wringing from us, by means legitimate or illegitimate, the terms they propose—concessions even greater than this bill proposes. You will compel them to drink from the narrow, bitter, and polluted streams of purely Irish history—that unhappy history—and you will forbid them practically and effectively to touch that broader stream, and purer stream of national life which I think they may partake of if only you will permit them.”

Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*) rose to conclude the debate a few minutes before midnight. With some warmth he accused the Opposition of using, as their favourite weapons, “bold assertion, persistent exaggeration, constant misconstruction and copious, arbitrary, and baseless prophecy.” As an example of bold assertion he referred to some of Mr. Balfour’s strictures on the financial provisions in the bill. The same right honourable gentleman’s estimate of the number of Protestants in Ireland was an instance of persistent exaggeration. His description of the supremacy established by the bill as “a paper supremacy” furnished an example of “most daring misconstruction.” “Well,” Mr. Gladstone remarked, “that our supremacy is to be for the first time in the history of the last ninety years, supremacy founded upon right as well as backed up by power. Passing on to his fourth point, the Prime Minister said: “With regard to the arbitrary, wilful, copious, baseless prophecy by hon. members opposite, I will not detain the House with any particular illustration. My illustration is in the whole stock-in-trade of the party opposite.” In a brief allusion to the Land question, Mr. Gladstone observed that the Government had redeemed their pledges by giving Parliament ample time to deal with this matter. At so late an hour he would not refer to the safeguards for the minority, or to foreign opinion, nor would he then touch on the Land League. “But when I do proceed,” he added, “to touch upon the Land League, and to censure it, I must in honesty and honour make the admission that without the Land League the Act of 1881 would not at this moment have stood upon the pages of the Statute-book. And without that Act I should be glad to know what, upon



the estimate of the most sanguine gentleman sitting opposite, would have been at this moment the condition of Ireland." The issue now to be decided was this: How was Ireland to be governed? Lord Salisbury had admitted that in the past we had failed to win the affections of the Irish people, and his ideal was twenty years of firm government, which was a euphuism for coercion. But even he did not contemplate permanent coercion, and the experiment he had been enabled to try for six years had completely failed. "A new charter of policy was laid down. Twenty years were demanded for its application. The application of it was begun with a strong hand, and with a vast majority behind the Government, and in six years the whole fabric was overthrown." The Opposition had no other policy to propose, and the only alternative policy was that of the Government.

Mr. Gladstone went on to contend that the bill had been cordially and fully accepted by the Irish members. Mr. Sexton had said of it: "This is a bill that will end the feud of ages," and that was exactly what they wanted it to do. He continued: "It is not given to us to see so far into futurity as to pronounce dogmatically what law will stand or what will not stand, without further change or development, the pressure of time and of vicissitude. What we mean by this bill is to close and bury a controversy of 700 years. Foul and polluted as the stream of Irish history has been, the whole of this is now washed away in the waters of oblivion. We start anew upon another course. Old grudges are effaced, painful recollections are effaced, hope has taken their place, and we hope with reasonable confidence." Why then, he asked, should the bill be rejected? The reason given was that the Nationalist representatives were men who could not be trusted and whose declarations could not be accepted. He did not share this feeling. "I am aware it may be truly said there was a time when the grievous recollections and traditions of Ireland, the dreadful sufferings and the apparent hopelessness of obtaining from Parliament any consideration for the capital desires of Ireland, did sway some men off the precise line of absolute wisdom, and led some of them to use from time to time expressions which I for one have never thought it necessary to treat as involving moral delinquency, for which I have found ample explanation in the conditions and the circumstances under which they spoke, and which stand in most favourable comparison with the means which had been habitually employed by the overpowering might of England and by the ascendancy party in Ireland." Moreover, no language of disaffection towards this country had been used since the door of free trade was opened. We had given free institutions to people of every race all over the world, freely and without repentance, and these institutions had succeeded. To Irishmen alone had we refused the same privileges. But the Liberal Party had

taken the matter in hand, and would never relax its efforts until the success that had crowned every enterprise which it had seriously undertaken had been achieved in this instance also.

The division followed immediately after Mr. Gladstone had spoken, and resulted in a majority for the second reading of 43, the number being 347 for the second reading and 304 against it. Notwithstanding some threatened defections, the Government were thus able to keep their normal majority intact. The Nationalists gave Mr. Gladstone an ovation when he returned from the division lobby, but to Mr. William Redmond's cry of "Three cheers for Parnell" there was no response but laughter.

#### CHAPTER IV.

The Budget—Sir W. Harcourt's Proposals and Mr. Goschen's Criticisms—Employers' Liability Bill—Registration of Electors' Bill—The Income Tax—Miners' Eight Hours Bill—The Radical Party and the County Magistracy—Debate on Egypt—House of Lords' Debates on Evicted Tenants' Commission and the State of the Navy—Anti-Home Rule Petitions and Resolutions—Speeches of Unionist Leaders—Duke of Devonshire at Edinburgh—Lord Salisbury at Covent Garden—Visit of Irish Delegates to London—Anti-Home Rule Demonstration at Albert Hall—Strong Feeling against Home Rule Bill in the City—Public Burning of the Bill—Mr. Balfour on Unionist Action in Committee—Duke of Argyll on Mr. Gladstone—Opposition to the Welsh Sanitary Bill—Home Rule Demonstration in Hyde Park—Lord Salisbury's Visit to Ulster.

THE second-reading debate on the Home Rule Bill fully occupied the House of Commons from the time of its re-assembling after Easter until the second reading had been carried. Between that event and the going into committee on the bill, time was found for the introduction of the Budget and for making some nominal progress with one or two other measures. It was to an unusually thin House (April 24) that the Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Derby*) made his financial statement and expounded his Budget proposals. He showed that the revenue rose from 1886 to 1890, but then began to descend and observed that the late Chancellor of the Exchequer found himself on a descending wave when he framed his last estimates. The Budget estimate of expenditure for the past year—90,253,000*l.*—was exceeded in actual expenditure by 122,000*l.*, mainly in consequence of the cost of education and the post office service. In addition to the expenditure out of revenue, more than 2,000,000*l.* was borrowed for defence, for telephones, and under the Barracks Act, making the real expenditure 92,431,000*l.* The cost of replacing the light gold coinage had been 298,419*l.*, and would be 355,110*l.* more, making a total of 653,530*l.* for the replacement of 53,000,000*l.* in gold.



The estimate of revenue for the past year was 90,453,000*l.*, but the amount actually received was less by 58,000*l.* Proceeding to deal with the various items, Sir William Harcourt said that there had been a falling off in spirits, but the "influenza year" had increased the stamp duties on probate and succession. The income-tax yield exceeded the estimate by 70,000*l.* He remarked on the extraordinary strength and growth of that tax, and produced some interesting statistics as to the growth per penny of tax under each separate schedule. When the tax was first imposed by Sir Robert Peel in 1842 it yielded 770,000*l.* per penny, but now it realised 2,261,000*l.* for every penny. The growth of the income-tax was the best answer to pessimists, and showed the great advance in the wealth, income, and accumulated capital of the nation. He complained of the post office and telegraph revenue as being bad in comparison with the expenditure, and in concluding this portion of his review he showed that while last year's revenue was 90,335,000*l.*, the expenditure was 90,375,000*l.*, so that there was only a "miserable mouse of a surplus," amounting to 20,000*l.*, which was "a pretty tight fit." Dealing with debt, he showed that 7,000,000*l.* had been redeemed during the past year, and explained an arrangement under which 35,700,000*l.* of unfunded debt had been reduced to 20,700,000*l.*, 13,000,000*l.* of the difference having been added to the funded debt.

Turning then to the coming year, Sir William estimated the expenditure at 91,464,000*l.*, the excess over the previous year being mainly due to increased charges of 310,000*l.* for education, and 635,000*l.* for the post office. But in addition to "this gigantic total," 7,250,000*l.* went to the local taxation funds, and this increased the total expenditure to 98,500,000*l.* Examining the growth of expenditure during the last seven years he explained that between 1887-8 and 1893-4 the cost of the naval and military services had increased by 2,600,000*l.*, education by 3,400,000*l.*, grants to local authorities by 4,200,000*l.*, and other civil charges by more than 400,000*l.*, so that the normal expenditure on these heads had increased by 10,600,000*l.*; but, on the other side, there was a reduction of debt charge, which left a balance of about 7,000,000*l.* The estimate of revenue for the coming year he found difficult to frame, in the face of a falling revenue; and the "formidable fact" that the fall was largest in the latest quarters; but, taking it on the basis of the present taxation, he put it at 89,890,000*l.*, or 505,000*l.* less than the *tranche* receipts for 1892-3. He gave the various items, which produced 590,000*l.* less on the tax revenue, and 85,000*l.* more on the non-tax revenue, and said that he allowed for 10,000*l.* less on spirits, and 30,000*l.* less on beer, but he expected a slight increase on tea and tobacco. The result at which he arrived was that the expenditure would be 91,464,000*l.*, while the revenue would only be 89,890,000*l.*, so that there was a deficit of 1,574,000*l.* to make good.

The totals producing this result, with the exchequer receipts and issues for the previous year, are shown in the following tables :—

REVENUE.			EXPENDITURE.		
	Estimate, 1893-94.	Exchequer Receipts, 1892-93.		Estimate, 1893-94.	Exc Iss 18
	£	£		£	
Customs.....	19,650,000	19,715,000	Consolidated Fund		
Excise.....	25,100,000	25,360,000	Charges.....	23,320,000	23,
Stamps.....	13,600,000	13,805,000	Army.....	17,803,000	17,
Land Tax.....			Navy.....	14,240,000	14,
House Duty.....	2,460,000	2,450,000	Civil Services.....	13,130,000	17,
Property and In-			Customs and Inland		
come Tax.....	13,400,000	13,470,000	Revenue.....	2,706,000	2,
Post Office.....	10,600,000	10,400,000	Post Office.....	6,791,000	6,
Telegraph Service..	2,480,000	2,480,000	Telegraph Service..	2,739,000	2,
Crown Lands.....	430,000	430,000	Packet Service.....	735,000	
Interest on Pur-					
chase Money of					
Suez Canal Shares,					
Sardinian Loan,					
&c.....	220,000	220,000			
Miscellaneous.....	1,950,000	2,065,000			
Total.....	89,890,000	90,395,000	Total.....	91,464,000	90,

Sir William Harcourt went on to say that this was “a serious state of things, for which the public mind was not prepared”; but it had to be met. He attributed it to “progressive growth of expenditure,” for which he blamed no particular party and no particular Government. He declined to recommend any further borrowing, or encroachment on the funds set apart for the liquidation of debt, and contended that the only policy worthy of a solvent and wealthy nation was to increase taxation. The old objection to the taxing of capital was no longer held good. In regard to the death duties there were two main objects to be aimed at—first, that all property, whether real or personal, should be brought into account, and valued and taxed upon an equal footing; and, secondly, that properties of great value should pay at a higher rate than those of less considerable value. The Government would have been prepared to accept of the committee proposals to this effect, but they were excluded from doing so by two reasons—the first being the question of time, and the second that the proceeds of taxation of this character could not be immediately realised. Under these circumstances he proposed to put another penny on the income tax, which was the only course he found open to him, for the death duties could not be effectively increased in the face of a declining revenue, an increase on the tea duty was out of the question, and an addition to the tobacco duty had already proved a failure. The penny added to the income-tax would produce during the year 1,750,000*l.*, and would therefore cover the deficit and leave a margin of 176,000*l.* for contingencies—not very much when the revenue was falling. One other change which he proposed to



was a small one—it was to abolish the tax imposed on foreign and colonial certificates for the transfer of bonds, which had proved to be troublesome, unpopular, and ineffective for revenue purposes, and to replace it by increasing the stamp duty on contract notes from sixpence to a shilling.

As finally completed, the balance sheet of the year 1892-3 stood as follows:—

REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£		£
Customs .....	19,650,000	Consolidated Fund Charges.....	28,320,000
Excise .....	25,100,000	Army .....	17,808,000
Stamp .....	13,600,000	Navy .....	14,240,000
Land Tax .....	2,400,000	Civil Services .....	18,130,000
House Duty .....	15,150,000	Customs and Inland Revenue....	2,706,000
Property and Income Tax.....	10,600,000	Post Office .....	6,721,000
Post Office .....	2,480,000	Telegraph Service .....	2,739,000
Telegraph Service.....	430,000	Packet Service.....	735,000
Down Lands .....			
Interest, &c., of Purchase Money of Suez Canal Shares, Sardinian Loan, &c. ....	220,000		
Miscellaneous .....	1,950,000		
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>91,640,000</b>	<b>Total .....</b>	<b>91,464,000</b>
Balance for Contingencies.....			£176,000

A brief discussion followed Sir William Harcourt's exposition of his Budget proposals, and the resolutions for the renewal of the tea and stamp duties were passed, but the main debate was taken a few days later (April 27), on the resolution for raising the income-tax. On the latter occasion Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) made a spirited attack on his successor's proposals. He congratulated the supporters of the Government on the fact that the Home Rule Bill had not yet passed, because it was obvious that if they were discussing the Budget in a "small House of Commons, uncheered by the presence and uncontrolled by the votes of the Irish members," the doom of the Ministry might have been sealed that night. He confessed that he felt "much friendly pity" for Sir William Harcourt, who had been obliged to "inflict a great disappointment on his followers." At the general election they were promised financial reform, reduced naval and military expenditure, the tackling of democratic finance, and the setting up of a new era generally, but all these promises had ended in an additional penny on the income-tax and a licence duty on the dealers in foreign game. In all sincerity he condoled with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on his "battered ambitions and blighted financial hopes." Sir William Harcourt had jeered at his predecessors for borrowing money, but he had been obliged to borrow himself. He had made much of the increased cost of education and of the post office, as contributing to his deficit, but he had not mentioned an important item of 170,000*l.*, due to increased military expenditure.

Notwithstanding all his influence in the Cabinet the Chancellor of the Exchequer had had to consent to high military and naval estimates, which showed that all the loose talk indulged in against the late Government for their expenditure on bloated armaments was "absolutely baseless." In reference to Sir William Harcourt's plea that there was "no time" to deal with the death duties, Mr. Goschen observed that the lack of time was caused by the waste of it on Home Rule and on bills that could never pass. The Government preferred "destruction of the constitution to financial reform." He greatly amused the House by remarking that Sir William Harcourt, in order to meet his deficit, had "adopted the latest modern automatic invention," and had made up the money by the simple expedient of "putting a penny in the slot." Sir William had said that the addition to the income-tax was only to be made for one year. But where would he be when the year was up? Most probably "addressing his constituents after a dissolution of the third edition of the Home Rule Bill."

Sir John Lubbock (*London University*) moved an amendment to the effect that the income-tax should remain at its present amount—sixpence—because, under the Home Rule Bill, all income-tax in the future was to be devoted to purely Irish purposes, and it was therefore inexpedient to provide for imperial charges by taxation to which Ireland was to contribute nothing. But Sir William Harcourt declined to import the Home Rule Bill into the Budget, with which he declared he had nothing whatever to do. In the course of the subsequent discussion, Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincolnshire*) and other members complained of the absence of any relief to agriculture. Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*) answered that the Government could not attempt to deal with the agricultural question in slight and imperfect manner, and eventually the amendment was withdrawn, and the remaining Budget resolutions were passed.

Almost the only bill, ultimately passed, which made any progress in the sittings between Easter and Whitsuntide was the Railway Servants (Hours of Labour) Bill. The second reading debate on the Employers' Liability Bill was suspended from the last sitting of the House of Commons before Easter for several weeks. On its being resumed (April 25) the discussion of Mr. Chamberlain's amendment was proceeded with and the necessity for providing some means of compensation for all kinds of accidents was urged by several members. Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) said that his amendment was not intended to be hostile to the bill. He had only put down, indeed, in order to raise a discussion on an alternative method of obtaining the object which they all had in view. Mr. Burt (*Morpeth*) said that the Government would adhere to the clause prohibiting contracting out of the Act, but he hoped some arrangement might be made whereby the valuable assistance rendered by insurance societies would be retained. N



Matthews (*Birmingham, E.*) observed that the Home Secretary had swallowed the two favourite nostrums of the trade unions—the abolition of the doctrine of common employment and the prohibition of contracting out of the Act. The Government were taking a very great responsibility in destroying the voluntary associations which had so effectually provided for all descriptions of accidents in several great industries. The amendment was withdrawn, and the bill read a second time. A discussion arose, however, on the question whether the bill should be referred, as the Government proposed, to the Standing Committee on Law, or, as was urged by Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Balfour, and others, to a select committee. Eventually (May 5) the bill was referred to the standing committee, by whom it was afterwards reported, with amendments (June 22), but the report was not considered until the autumn sittings.

Another second-reading debate begun before Easter and concluded afterwards was that upon the Registration of Electors' Bill. The bill was read a second time (April 26) after a discussion in which the qualifying period of three months was declared to be too short, and in which exception was taken to the increased cost of registration that would be occasioned. No further progress was made with the bill during the session. Both on the second reading of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill (May 2), and when the bill was in committee (May 4), attempts were unsuccessfully made to modify the income-tax. In committee, Dr. Clark (*Caithness-shire*) moved to reduce the tax from 7*d.* to 4*d.* on incomes under 500*l.* a year, and Mr. Bartley (*Islington, N.*) proposed to extend the abatement of 12*N.* to incomes amounting to 500*l.* Both amendments were negatived by considerable majorities, and the bill passed unaltered, except by the striking out of the clause rendering illegal the attaching a receipt to a cheque without a receipt stamp. The Miners' Eight Hours Bill passed a second reading (May 3), but was then carried no further. In moving the second reading Mr. S. Woods (*Ince, Lancashire*) explained that it was sought to limit work in mines to eight hours a day from bank to bank, or in other words during the time the miner was actually in the pit. Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*) supported the second reading, but in a carefully balanced speech, from which it was apparent that he would prefer an optional to a compulsory measure, and that he objected to apply the principle of coercion to any large minority of miners who might be averse to it. Lord R. Churchill (*Paddington, S.*), on the other hand, warmly supported the bill. An amendment for the rejection of the bill was negatived by 279 votes to 201.

The growing practice of inviting the House of Commons to express its views upon a subject by resolution was seen in several examples at this period. Resolutions were moved in favour of an imperial penny postage (April 28), in reference to

the county magistracy (May 5), and against compulsory vaccination (May 12). The second only of these resolutions was adopted, and this, which was moved by Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucester*), was in the following terms: "That it is expedient that the appointment of county magistrates should no longer be made by the Lord-Chancellors of Great Britain and Ireland, for the time being, only on the recommendation of the Lords-Lieutenant." The resolution was the outcome of Lord Herschell's observations to a deputation of Liberal members of the House of Commons, whom he received at the end of March. The deputation urged him to dispense with the intervention of the Lords-Lieutenant in appointments to the county bench, and he declined to make so serious a departure from the established practice. The deputation then asked whether, if the request were supported by a resolution of the House of Commons, the Lord-Chancellor would act upon it, and he replied that he should in that case consider himself bound by the vote of the House of Commons. Hence Sir Charles Dilke's motion, to which Mr. Asquith (*Fife, E.*) assented on the part of the Government. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) protested that if the resolution were adopted these appointments would always in future be made on political grounds. Nevertheless it was adopted by 295 votes to 240. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had fewer scruples in the matter of magisterial appointments than were felt by the Lord-Chancellor, and his action in appointing magistrates to the Lancashire bench without reference to the Lord-Lieutenant was discussed on a motion for the adjournment of the House (April 25).

The only other business in the House of Commons at this time to which reference should be made now, was a motion in supply (May 1) by Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean, Gloucester*), affirming that the time had come "when effect should be given to the declaration of successive Administrations as to the government of Egypt." Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*) replied that the occupation of Egypt, viewed in reference to the interests of this country, was in the nature of a burden and difficulty, and, in given circumstances, a risk. The permanence of that occupation would not be agreeable to our traditional policy, nor consistent with good faith towards the suzerain Power, nor in accordance with the declarations we had made to Europe. Nor would he contend that the enormous benefit which the occupation had conferred upon Egypt would warrant our setting aside the pledges we had given. But the events of January last made it the exclusive duty of the British Government to consider the means of maintaining, not only from infraction, but from risk and suspicion, the security of the peace of Egypt. The motion was negatived after a discussion in which Radical members urged a speedy evacuation, while other members pointed out that such a course would be calamitous to Egypt.



While the House of Commons was busy to no purpose, the House of Lords was left with practically nothing to do. Such labours as it undertook were for the most part rendered fruitless by the inability of the House of Commons to give effect to them. Thus the Church Patronage Bill, which passed its third reading at this time in the Upper House (May 2), and the Elementary Education (Religious Instruction) Bill, which made some progress now, and ultimately passed this House, were both lost because the House of Commons did not proceed with them. A debate of some importance was raised by Lord Camperdown (April 28), upon the Evicted Tenants' Commission. Lord Camperdown adversely criticised the object, composition, and proceedings of the commission; and asked whether the Government intended to introduce a bill for giving effect to the recommendations of the commissioners. After Lord Selborne had said that he could find no parallel to the unconstitutional action of the Government in appointing such a commission since the reign of James II., Lord Acton stated that the Government did not propose to bring in a bill framed on the lines of the commissioners' report. The debate was continued at another sitting (May 1), when Lord Londonderry complained of the reticence of the Government on the subject. Lord Spencer maintained that, in endeavouring to find a means of arranging outstanding disputes, the Government had simply followed the precedent set by their predecessors in the Act of 1891. Lord Salisbury declared that the commission was appointed to investigate a quarrel between two private individuals on a matter which had no public bearing whatever.

A naval debate which anticipated a subsequent public movement occurred on a resolution moved by Lord Hood of Avalon (May 6). The resolution was to the effect that, in view of the rapidly approaching completion of the vessels building under the Naval Defence Act, and of the fact that, since the passing of that Act, foreign Powers had largely increased their navies, a further progressive scheme extending over a term of years ought to be prepared for strengthening the British navy. Lord Spencer admitted that there had been a considerable increase of naval construction in both France and Russia, but he said that that fact had been taken into account by the present Admiralty in fixing the standard of the navy. On coming into office they had been content to continue the work begun by their predecessors, and they would hereafter have to consider whether any larger programme might be necessary. He could not allow that it was necessary to pass a new Naval Defence Act. Lord Salisbury urged the importance of keeping the Admiralty up to its work, and expressed the hope that Lord Spencer would not be deterred by any absurd scruples from following the precedent of the Naval Defence Act. The motion was then withdrawn.

The debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill

was accompanied outside Parliament by a remarkable movement antagonistic to the bill. The expressions of adverse opinion were especially marked in Scotland, where the Presbyteries of the Established Church and the Free Church, and the United Presbyterians, all adopted petitions or resolutions against the bill. The Chambers of Commerce at Edinburgh and Glasgow also denounced the bill. A meeting of Congregationalists, Wesleyans, and members of the Society of Friends at Hull, declared by resolution that the bill would "of necessity be extremely injurious to the moral and material prosperity of Ireland. There were no similar manifestations of favourable opinion in any quarter; and while the extra-Parliamentary speeches of public men against the bill were numerous, no prominent Gladstonian ventured to say a word in its favour outside Parliament.

In the week following Easter week three leaders of the Opposition—the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Goschen—continued their vigorous efforts to direct the attention of the country to the question which for the time being overshadowed every other. Mr. Goschen, at Manchester (April 12), declared that there were two Irelands, and he was not prepared to sacrifice the nationalism of Protestant Ulster on the shrine of the nationalism of other parts of Ireland. They were asked to confide in the justice and moderation of the Irish people, but their standard of moderation would not commend itself to British approval. The Government were extremely courageous in exposing other people's property, and imperilling the interests in which they themselves had no concern. But all classes believed that the prosperity of Ireland must and would suffer by the bill. Moreover, under Home Rule, there was the danger that the Imperial Parliament would be rendered unequal to its duties and responsibilities. The pioneers of disruption were already busy elsewhere at the sapping work. In India they were raising difficulties among the natives. The empire could not exist as it had existed in the past if the unity of Parliament, the power of the Executive, and the responsibility which now rested on both, were dispersed.

Speaking the same evening at Birmingham, Mr. Chamberlain described the Home Rule Bill as "a bill to substitute anarchy in Ireland for peace and order, and to alter in material ways the Government of England." "It was forged," he said, "in the lower regions, and sprung upon the country." Mr. Gladstone's "patent plan" had been concealed so long because it was "so extravagant, so inconsistent, so unworkable, so crazy that it would not bear the light." The reason why it had been kept in the background was also known. Mr. Dillon had said not long ago—in one of those candid speeches which Irish members were accustomed to make in Ireland, and absolutely to deny when confronted with them in the House



nons—"had we yielded to all this clamour, and been silly wicked enough to make this foolish and ridiculous demand of Mr. Gladstone"—that was, to ask him what his bill was to be—"before the election took place, the verdict of the country would probably be given not for Home Rule but against it." Mr. Chamberlain went on to say that the bill was offered to the enemies of the country more than would be given up even if we had been defeated in a great war and forced to sue for peace. No one was enthusiastic about the bill. The Nationalists would not accept it as a final settlement. They would accept it in the language of the Gael of the Clan-na-Gael, the murder society of the United States of America, because it would give them the plant of an armed revolution, and because they would be able to use it in order to extort further concessions. And when all these sacrifices had been made, when Ulster had been betrayed, when Great Britain weakened, when the nation had been humiliated and dishonoured and heavily fined, even then the Irish question would not have been disposed of. New Irish questions would continually crop up, and new chapters of this national controversy would be opened. The Irish members themselves admitted that this bill would land them in bankruptcy. It was certain that the Irish people, unless they took a great deal more whisky than was good for them, would be able to pay their debts. The effect would be that they would have to raise fresh taxation, they would frighten the propertied classes out of Ireland, and capital would leave the country. When capital went employment would cease, and there would be a larger immigration of Irish labour into England to increase competition, to lower wages, and to diminish the chance of employment. The bill would weaken our defence and our credit and lessen our material resources.

Unwearying in his personal efforts to defeat Mr. Gladstone's policy, the Duke of Devonshire gave his valuable aid to the Unionist movement in Scotland. At a great public meeting in Edinburgh (April 14) he traced the various developments of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy, and argued from them that he was an unsafe guide in Irish politics. He was especially unworthy upon the question of Home Rule, for, though he himself declared that it would not be safe for any political party dependent on the Irish vote to deal with the subject of a new government for Ireland, he had obtained his majority by the Irish vote, and relied exclusively upon it for the carrying of his policy.

The statesman who was proposing this new, unprecedented, and revolutionary change in the constitution was not at all what his followers believed him to be, a victorious chief. He was a defeated and discredited statesman. If he was victorious, it was only because he had not hesitated to place himself under the banner of the man whom he denounced, and whom he undertook to combat by all the resources of civilisation, and

because he had not hesitated not only to place himself, but lead his followers to march with the army of the man whom he had undertaken to oppose and to defeat.

Addressing a Unionist demonstration on the following day (April 15) at Dalkeith, the Duke of Devonshire remarked on the logically strong position of the minority in Ireland. The people of Ulster had resolved not to submit to the form of government which it was proposed to thrust upon them, and it was a serious mistake to treat the opposition of Ulster as mere bluster. The loyalist minority had a right, if they thought fit, to resist the imposition of a government put upon them by force, and, though the measure were passed by Parliament, it was doubtful whether it could ever be put in practical operation.

Lord Salisbury made a very effective criticism on the Home Rule Bill in a Primrose League speech at Coverly Garden (April 19). He said that Mr. Gladstone had been looking about for a brick to make up the fantastic pile he was bent upon finishing, and had knocked out the keystone from the arch of the British Constitution. Referring to the position still to be occupied by Irish members in the Imperial Parliament, he said that these men would be in the House of Commons without any responsibility whatever. No vote that they could give would directly affect the Irish constituencies, and the Irish member would be absolutely free. He would secure that freedom not for his own personal advantage, but for the good of the community to which he belonged. That was not finality. No country in the world could go on under a system of the kind. It meant revision at an early date, and revision in a state of things in which the Irish would be absolute, and might demand almost any terms they pleased. Irish questions in the House of Commons would not be got rid of, but would be multiplied infinitely.

For the purpose of emphasising the determination of the loyalist minority in Ireland not to submit to Home Rule, some 1,200 delegates from Irish loyal societies, accompanied by about 800 "volunteer" Irish Unionists, came to England to take part in Unionist demonstrations while the debate on the second reading of the bill was proceeding. A deputation from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland—part of this large contingent—had an interview with Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Henry James (April 18) to explain to them the position of the Irish Presbyterians in regard to the question. Professor Pettigrew, a member of the deputation, stated that out of the 621 ministers of the Irish Presbyterian Church, about twenty had always been Conservatives, and the remaining 600 had been earnest Liberals and warm supporters of Mr. Gladstone down to 1886. Not one of them would now follow him, and 590 were distinctly ranked as Liberal Unionists. In his reply to these and other observa-



s, Mr. Balfour claimed a special interest in the cause of the Irish Presbyterians, "as I am myself a Scotchman by birth, residence, and training; have lived with Presbyterians all my life; and have worshipped all my life in a Presbyterian church." He was convinced, he said, that there were many Nonconformists throughout the country whose consciences were at that moment uneasy about Mr. Gladstone's proposals.

A great demonstration against the Home Rule Bill, attended by the Irish delegates, and by about 9,000 other persons, was held in the Albert Hall, under the presidency of the Duke of Abercorn (April 22). In the course of his speech in opening proceedings, the Duke of Abercorn eloquently characterised the bill as follows: "By one Ireland, the Ireland of industry and progress, it is received with abhorrence. By the other Ireland, that owns the sway of the ecclesiastic and the agitator, it is received with little more than apathy. It pronounces on the first Ireland a sentence of perpetual poverty, that poverty only alleviated by the amount of taxation received for alcoholic stimulants. It proclaims a truceless war. A war of races, a war of classes, a war of creeds. It is an unexampled confession of national impotence that will shake to its foundation the great empire of your empire. It ruins trade—it stops commercial enterprise—it makes over to their declared enemies that splendid officialdom—the constabulary force—whose services in Ireland have been attended with the best results, and whose duty it is to have upheld peace and order. It destroys the prospects of a most valuable body of civil servants—men who have devoted their lives to the service of their country, and who are to be treated as members of a foreign legion, and to be regarded with but scanty regard for their future existence. It is a bill to establish the supremacy of bad men and the servitude of good men; it satisfies no real want; it gratifies no sincere aspiration. It creates distrust in the hitherto accepted belief of the power of the British nation to govern, and to regard as true citizens those men who have for generations past supported the throne, the crown, and the constitution." The Duke then went on to express in equally eloquent terms his fixed determination of the loyalists in Ireland in regard to the bill. "Whatever our destiny may be," he said, "we are in the capital of this empire to announce our unalterable determination to remain free citizens of that empire, and that we will acknowledge no intermediate authority. We have fought our citizenship by great services and great sacrifices in the past, and there is no sacrifice we will not gladly make to possess it in the future, and to hand it down to our children. It is our determination, and against that determination there is no political power that can ultimately prevail." Resolutions in support of the bill were moved and supported by the Bishop of Down, the Earl of Fingall (speaking as a Roman Catholic), and

the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Irish Presbyterian Church.

Banquets and festive receptions were held in honour of the delegates. The Liberal Union Club entertained some of their number at dinner (April 22). The Duke of Devonshire, who presided, assured them that "whatever might be the temporary result of a gerrymandered election, at which a false issue was put forward to obscure the real issue," the majority of the people of this country were not indifferent to the appeals made to them from Ireland. He believed that in the end the deliberate opinion of the 30,000,000 on this side of the channel would prevail over the will of the Nationalist majority on the other side, "although it might be reinforced by the temporary alliance of every fanatic and crotchet-monger who had his own proposals to advocate." Lord Randolph Churchill presided at a dinner on the same evening at the Constitutional Club, at which another section of the delegates were entertained. In a thoroughly characteristic speech Lord Randolph said that Ministers were pretending to be constructing a constitution for Ireland, but "behaved themselves like little children making sand-castles on the sea-shore—like gutter-boys who made mud pies in the streets." According to Mr. Gladstone, he said Ireland would be so strong in itself, and so peaceable, that it would require no armed force such as inferior nations had to put up with. More than that, it would be able to exist without any trade. Money would be an abominable degradation, insolvency would be the nearest approach to paradise, and the possession of other people's land, which they hoped to obtain, would give to the people of Ireland all and more than the present or any dream of future bliss could offer.

The delegates were also entertained by Lord Salisbury at a garden-party at Hatfield (April 24), at which the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, and Mr. Goschen were present. There were no set speeches, but Lord Salisbury and the other Unionist leaders each addressed a few observations to the guests from Ireland. Mr. Chamberlain remarked on the fact that Mr. Gladstone, in his concluding speech in the debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill, made no allusion whatever to the case of Ulster, or to the objections of the loyal population of Ireland. This, he declared, was an advance on which the Prime Minister was to be congratulated, because silence was better than insult. When the Government did take any notice of the opposition of Ulster, their attitude was that of the Scotch minister who was expounding a difficult text with small success, and who at last paused and said: "My brethren, this is a very knotty point. Let us look it straight in the face, and pass on." It was still possible that once more in her history Ulster might be called upon to save Ireland for the British Crown and the British nation.

The intensity of the feeling against Home Rule was shown



a remarkable demonstration in the city of London (May 3). Preparatory to the holding of a meeting at the Guildhall, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, "to consider the Home Rule Bill," the members of the Stock Exchange assembled in three detachments and marched to the square in front of the Guildhall. Arrived there, they publicly burnt the Home Rule Bill to the singing of the National Anthem. The scene outside the Guildhall was one of the greatest enthusiasm. Mr. Chamberlain, who was to be the principal speaker, and the Lord Mayor were received with shouts of welcome, only checked in their vigour by the hooting visited upon the name of Mr. Gladstone. In the course of his very spirited speech Mr. Chamberlain said that the men who had promoted Home Rule had made promises and had created expectations, and a hundredth part of them were to be satisfied Ireland would have a bottomless purse, yet all Ireland would have would have a purse with a hole in the bottom of it. The finance, the budget, and the power of this country over her own taxation would, under this monstrous and insane bill, be absolutely at the mercy of the Irish Government. It was proposed, in fact, to burn a magazine with combustible material, to spread disorder along the ground, and then to trust for the continued existence of this great empire to the hope and faith that in the end no Irish agitator would ever be found willing to provoke an explosion.

In an important speech at a Primrose League celebration at the Metropolitan Music Hall (May 6), Mr. Balfour described the course which he thought the Opposition ought to adopt in committee upon the bill. He said it had been urged that any attempt by the Opposition to amend the bill would be equivalent to the acceptance of its main principle. But he could not see that view, and to act upon it would simply be to play into the hands of the Government. He held that "the full education of public opinion can only be carried out by discussing in detail one absurdity after another as they arise, and showing how absolutely impossible it is to frame any bill on any lines which shall at once give Home Rule to Ireland, and maintain the very elements and foundation of the British constitution." Mr. Balfour went on to say: "I do not think it is possible that the Unionist Party could contrive so to alter the bill as to make it tolerable. I not only have no such hope, but I am certain that such a task is impossible. I am certain that until you have torn every clause to tatters—until you have excluded every operative proposal in it—you cannot make it anything which we should under any circumstances be content to accept. But though that is true, it is our duty, at all events as members of the House of Commons, to vote for everything which would approve the bill, and above all to vote for everything which would destroy the bill. *And that is the course that I individually, as a member of the House of Commons, mean to pursue.*

I know and I admit that if we cannot destroy it no improvements that we can introduce into it will make it tolerable. I know that if we amended it, if we had a free hand in amending it, we should only be applying a feeble palliative to the disease which, if it were once introduced into the constitution, would inevitably kill that constitution. But it is our duty to apply palliatives, even if we know that they be only palliatives, and therefore it is that I shall give my support to every amendment which is proposed which shall mitigate, in however feeble an unsatisfactory a manner, the proposal which the Government desire to pass through the House."

The Duke of Argyll was one of the most prominent, as we of course, as one of the ablest, opponents of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy who joined in the campaign of the platform against it. Speaking at the annual meeting of the Women's Liberal Unionist Association (May 11), he said that "it was a serious matter for the affairs of this country to be managed by a man who talked such transcendental nonsense as did Mr. Gladstone. "Mr. Gladstone was sincere," he admitted, "fanatically sincere. They might just as well talk with a dervish on the Nile. But all his followers were not sincere." He felt and recognised the strength of party allegiance, but that allegiance to a leader ought never, he maintained, to induce a man to sacrifice principles, to tamper with the constitution, and to interfere with the fundamental rights on which the lives, liberties, and properties of their fellow-subjects depended.

But Home Rule was not the only subject on which feelings of strong antagonism were entertained towards the Government. A crowded meeting assembled in the Albert Hall (May 16) to protest against the Welsh Suspensory Bill. Many distinguished ecclesiastics and laymen were present, and the great hall was full to the roof. The Archbishop of Canterbury who presided, said he would rather live as nonconforming to the Nonconformist establishment than live under no establishment at all. He assured Wales of the absolute unanimity of the Church in defence of the establishment in Wales as in England, and concluded a remarkable address with a prophecy of victory. Lord Selborne discussed the legal aspects of the question, while the Duke of Argyll showed that there was no parallel between the Irish Church and the Church in Wales. The Bishop of Durham urged the doctrine of corporate national personality; the Bishop of London contended that the robbery of the Church meant chiefly the robbery of the poor; and Professor Jebb insisted that the Church had shown itself to be tractable, and that it had adapted itself more and more with every generation to the needs and wants of the people.

Unionist speeches were almost as numerous on the eve of Whitsuntide as during the Easter recess. Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, and Lord Randolph Churchill addressed great meetings in Manchester, Birmingham, and Reading on the last



liamentary half-holiday before the Whitsuntide adjournment (May 17). Mr. Balfour ascribed the silence of Gladstonians upon the platform to a genuine fear on the part of the Gladstonian wirepullers as to what their followers might say. Gladstonian members were prepared to vote for anything Mr. Gladstone might propose, but Mr. Gladstone's real intention remained concealed. "I ask you to consider," Mr. Balfour said, "the embarrassment of the present Government, if they held meetings all round the country for the defence of their policy, and one Gladstonian member after another had got up to read financial clauses on which, it turns out, the Government have not made up their mind, and clauses about the rejection of the Irish members, upon which they have made up their mind, I believe, in a sense absolutely contrary to the bill which they have laid on the table of the House." After discussing various aspects of the bill, and more particularly those which made it inimical to imperial and English interests, Mr. Balfour concluded his speech with the following powerful peroration: "I cannot promise you who have followed the Unionist cause any immediate solution of the Irish question. I do not hold out any illusory hopes of any Parliamentary action with regard to Ireland. I do not think, I never have said, and I never have said, that the final rejection of the Home Rule Bill would mean the settlement of the Irish controversy. Time, firmness, justice, and generosity—these, and these alone, may be trusted in the course of years to heal the wounds which have been inflicted—I will not say by England upon Ireland—but by circumstances upon the population of that country. But, though I do not promise you peace without from the Irish question, should you succeed in maintaining the Unionist policy, let no man delude himself with the idea that, if the opposite policy be accepted, a peace bought on such terms will be an enduring peace. You will have paid for it by your life's blood. You will have paid for it in blood, though that is the smallest consideration; but you will have paid for it in things for which no money will pay—in the destruction of the constitution which has come down to you from your fathers, the constitution which has been the model and the envy of mankind. But, though you will have paid for peace with a price, believe me, you will not obtain it. This compromise of the Government, as the last seven days have shown, will necessarily be the prelude to political storms more violent, more passionate, more perennial than any that we have known; therefore, though I am no quack to promise you a specific cure for this long-standing disease, I do most honestly assure you, with the inmost conviction of my heart, that in this case, as in every other, the path of consistency, the path of courage, the path of principle is also the path of peace." At Birmingham, Mr. Chamberlain, always vigorous and independent, spoke with enthusiasm of the Unionist prospects and

the gloomy outlook before the Gladstonian party. He decided that the tide had turned, and was flowing with the opposition of the Government. In Scotland, there was a great reactionary opinion, and "Mr. Gladstone himself has, at this moment not the slightest chance of being returned again for Lothian." Everywhere there were signs that the country was at last awakening to the iniquity of Mr. Gladstone's proposals. The Gladstonians knew the facts as well as their opponents did, and were "fighting like pirates with ropes round their necks." The obstruction of business was due to the Government alone, who were slaves not only to the Irish but to the factions whom they tried to pacify with many bills which were like goods exposed in a shop window advertisement, not for sale. Mr. Chamberlain went on to denounce the Employers' Liability Bill, for the proper discussion of which the Government had afforded no opportunity, and the Local Veto Bill, which was not directed against drinking against publicans, and which fell heavily on the poor and wholly exempting the rich. As for the Home Rule Bill he repeated that it was dead, and the Gladstonians were "waking" the corpse, after the Irish manner, "with howls of disorder, and even violence." He promised the most strenuous resistance to the "monstrous proposal" that while the Irish were to have a practically co-ordinate Parliament of their own we should place in their hands "the power of interfering in our affairs, of hampering our business, of controlling our Government, of electing our Ministry, and of settling our taxation all so many weapons to extort from us further concessions." "Let us then," he said in a spirited concluding sentence, "face like courageous men the difficulty of governing Ireland and let us teach a lesson to this pusillanimous Government which has placed the honour and the interests of Great Britain at the feet of a crew of adventurers and conspirators, who have been the bane of their own country, but who shall not be the ruin of ours."

Lord Randolph Churchill's contributions to the public discussion of Home Rule were highly characteristic. At Reading he produced storms of laughter by comparing the Government policy to the confidence-trick, the Government asking that the Irish should be trusted with power just to show the English confidence in their character. At Bolton (May 22) he described the Irish leaders as "political brigands" and "nihilists," and at Bradford (May 26) he said that the Government had been as capricious as a woman, and as impulsive and passionate as a horde of barbarians.

Almost the only demonstration in favour of Home Rule which occurred at this period took the form of a procession through Hyde Park, and a meeting there, addressed by Mr. Davitt, John Dillon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and other Nationalist leaders. A resolution was unanimously carried pledging the support



meeting to Mr. Gladstone in his efforts "to close the long conflict between the people of England and Ireland," condemning "the shameless obstruction by the Tory Party," and hailing with satisfaction, in case this obstruction is imitated in the use of Lords, a conflict between the power of the people and House of hereditary legislators." In reference to this demonstration, Lord Randolph Churchill pointed out, in a letter to the *Times*, that whereas the Home Rule procession occupied only thirty-five minutes in passing the Carlton Club, the Belfast procession occupied more than four hours in passing the platform on which Mr. Balfour was placed.

The visit of Lord Salisbury to Ulster at Whitsuntide was brilliant a success as that of Mr. Balfour at Easter. The great meeting in Belfast (May 24) was perhaps even more impressive in its *personnel* and its enthusiasm than that which was so splendid a reception to Mr. Balfour. In the opening sentences of his speech at this meeting Lord Salisbury remarked that the magnificent reception given to him had deeply impressed upon him the heavy responsibility which every statesman would incur who tried to force a "crazy" Home Rule scheme upon Ulster. The people of Ulster did not imagine that the adversary of centuries could be converted by the magic words of two or three months into a fast, benevolent, and trusty friend. They knew that those who commanded the moonlighters, who directed the campaign of outrage, and who maintained the battle with constant discipline and resolution, were not the people who would throw aside their prey when once it had been flung into their hands. Those Irishmen who were commanded by Archbishop Walsh and Mr. Healy presented the enemy with which England had contended for centuries. As to the treatment which the bill should receive in committee in the House of Commons, Lord Salisbury's opinion agreed with Mr. Balfour's. They were hoping, he said, to point out to the British people the real nature of the evils and absurdities involved in the bill. After referring to the effect which the bill would have upon Ulster, he declared that he was upon their side, and that the Unionists were certain to win. The Home Rule movement did not start with a great wave of public opinion in its favour; it came like a thunderbolt from a blue sky. No doubt the present House of Commons would pass anything, for the supporters of the Government stood with halters round their necks. Their obedience was absolute, because they wanted to put off the next election. Mr. Gladstone would, therefore, be assured of a majority in that House to the last. Proceeding then to discuss the attitude of the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury admitted that the peers would not successfully oppose the will of the people. But in this matter the House of Lords represented the overwhelming opinion of England, and almost the unanimous opinion of the nationalists of Ireland. It thus held an impregnable position.

In the country, too, while Scotchmen and Englishmen kept well informed, the position would remain impregnable, and this "accursed bill"—which in another part of his speech Lord Salisbury alluded to as this "intolerable and imbecile bill"—would never find its way into the statute book. And the British people thoroughly understood the consequences of this "insane eccentricity on the part of a single statesman; they would cast him aside with scorn and indignation.

In a second speech at Belfast (May 25), Lord Salisbury spoke of the generality of the feeling against Home Rule, owed its origin to no special social condition, to no special condition, and to the discipline of no association; but it came from wide and deep from the hearts of men who knew their interests. So strong a feeling could not be beaten down by the forces of the Government now ranged against it. He repudiated with great energy the Gladstonian theory that if the present bill were defeated the Unionists would have to propose some measure of their own upon similar lines. He repudiated also the notion that "the game of law and order was up," and pointed to the administration of Irish affairs by Mr. Balfour and Lord Londonderry as proof to the contrary. Mr. Gladstone had said that his, Lord Salisbury's, recipe of resolute government had failed. But the most sanguine physician in the world would never expect prescriptions to cure a patient if they were deliberately thrown out of the window. Lord Salisbury also energetically declared that the Union had failed. The fact that Ireland could stand through the economical trials she had endured was a proof only of the recuperative force of the population, but also of the soundness of the institutions under which they were living.

Speaking on the following day (May 26), at Londonderry, Lord Salisbury said that Ireland had been invited to meet her match on the terms on which a Turkish bridegroom was invited to meet his bride—that he should not know her features till the day on which the ceremony was to be performed. After referring upon the difficulties incident to the retention of the Irish members at Westminster, he passed on to speak of the financial provisions of the Home Rule Bill, as to which he said that the first effect of them would be to land the Irish exchequer in bankruptcy. If Ireland was to be a nation, of course she must raise new taxes. But if the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, finding Mr. Gladstone's provision for Irish expenditure wholly inadequate, proposed say to raise the income-tax from 6d. to 10d., the obvious result would be that every man who could do so would go away to England, where he would only have to pay 6d., and that difficulty would extend to the whole taxation. Moreover, such a state of things would utterly prevent the existence of Irish credit. If Mr. Sexton, as the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, wanted to get money to carry out the operations of the Purchase Acts, he would only be able to offer the resources and credit of a bankrupt exchequer, and



possibility of levying taxes which would never be paid. The consequence would be that none of the salutary operations for the sale of land to the occupying tenants would be possible under the new *régime*. Beyond this, too, the Irish cattle trade might be very seriously interfered with. England now shut her ports to every foreign country against the importation of live cattle for fear of spreading disease. The importation of Irish cattle was free, but if the political connection of the two countries were practically severed, was it to be imagined that that liberty would continue? "Semi-detached houses were possible, but not comfortable; but semi-detached empires were the mere dream of the theoretical politician." If by the wrath of heaven Great Britain and Ireland were ever semi-detached, the detachment in a few years would be complete.

## CHAPTER V.

The Home Rule Bill in Committee—The Debate on the Report—The Third Reading—Miscellaneous Business in Parliament—Discussion on Agricultural Holdings Act, 1883—Resolution in favour of International Arbitration—Home Rule for Scotland—Appointment of County Magistrates—The Gothenburg Licensing System—The Loss of the *Victoria*—Indian Opium Question—Siam—Irish Questions in the House of Lords—Agricultural Depression—Proposed Veto on the House of Lords—Linlithgow and Pontefract Bye-Elections—Speeches by Lord Salisbury and the Duke of Devonshire—Lord Randolph Churchill's Vigorous Campaign—Correspondence between Mr. Gladstone and the Duke of Devonshire—Mr. Balfour at Stockport—Lord Salisbury at Junior Constitutional Club—Mr. Gladstone's Optimism—Mr. Labouchere's Misgivings—Mr. Balfour at the United Club—Mr. Gladstone's Defence of the Ninth Clause—The Hereford Bye-Election—Sir Henry James at Sheffield—Important Speech by the Duke of Devonshire at Otley—Scottish Disestablishment.

An unusually large House assembled (May 8) to open the committee stage of the Home Rule Bill, and it soon became evident that the proceedings in committee would be of the nature of a conflict, in which the Government would get no quarter from the Opposition, and the latter no consideration from the Government. Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*) declined to say, on the invitation of Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham*, IV.), whether the Government would adhere to, or vary, the present form of clause 9, as the proper time for making any statement on the subject would be when the clause was reached. Mr. Chamberlain thereupon moved the postponement of the first eight clauses, in order that the ninth clause, which so materially affected the whole scheme of the bill, might be taken first. This motion was rejected after an acrimonious discussion, and the consideration of clause 1 was then entered upon. A debate on the supremacy question, extending over several nights, was made lively by frequent "scenes." The Government could not be induced to say how far the supremacy of the Imperial Executive would be put in force, or to what extent they wished it to lie dormant. Mr. Gladstone would

not accept an amendment declaring the Irish Legislature to be a "subordinate" one, because the term would convey a stigma; nor would he accept a Parnellite amendment, giving it a co-ordinate authority by calling it a Parliament. Before the carrying of the first clause, on the fifth day of the debate (May 12), two Gladstonian members—Sir E. Reed (*Cardiff*) and Mr. T. H. Bolton (*St. Pancras, N.*)—appealed to the Government to make the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament as clear as possible. Their appeal was interrupted by angry expressions from the Irish members, but it bore fruit a few days later, in the debate on Sir Henry James's (*Bury*) amendment to clause 2. That amendment was a proviso "That, notwithstanding anything in this Act contained, the supreme power and authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters and things within the Queen's dominions." Mr. Gladstone accepted this amendment in the abstract, as a "hallowed principle," but argued strongly for its postponement and its removal to a later part of the bill. The Opposition, however, were firm. They admitted that they wanted to follow up the accepted proviso with consequential amendments, by which practical effect would be given to it, Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) remarking that the Government treated the supremacy like other "hallowed things," and wished it to have exceedingly little influence on those who worshipped it. Eventually Sir Henry James's amendment was agreed to (May 16).

On an amendment to clause 3, moved by Lord Wolmer (*Edinburgh, W.*), the Government majority fell to 21 (May 30). The amendment provided that the new Legislature should have no power to discuss or pass resolutions on those subjects on which it was not empowered to legislate. The debate was an important one. Lord Wolmer showed how much the Irish Legislature might do by mere resolution. It might embarrass the central Government, or render the position of the judges of appeal unpleasant by passing a vote of censure upon them. Or it might despatch envoys to a hostile power to show that England had a foe in her own house. Mr. Gladstone admitted all this in his reply, but he urged that practically there was no means of preventing the Irish Legislature from expressing its opinion on any subject; that it ought to have a right to petition Parliament, just as all local corporations possess such a right; and that the expenses of envoys to foreign countries could not be legally paid out of Irish funds, nor could the envoys receive regular credentials. Mr. Balfour (*Manchester E.*) pointed out that the non-existence of any means for preventing the Irish Legislature from breaking its contract with the Imperial Parliament was a blot which affected almost every disqualification imposed by the bill. In the further discussion Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) reminded M



distone that he had himself despatched an embassy to the  
pe without credentials, and had rewarded his envoy with a  
onety.

Frequent applications of the closure began to irritate the  
position, and Radical supporters of the Government grew  
tave under what they regarded as a needless length of debate.

Add to the general condition of heat, there were simmerings  
Irish dissatisfaction with the Government, which occasion-  
y boiled over. The occasion of the first display of Irish

ath was a speech of the Solicitor-General (*Forfarshire*) on  
amendment forbidding the Irish Legislature to legislate for  
e carrying or using of arms, or in favour of associations for

ll or practice in the use of arms (June 2). Sir John Rigby  
ected to the amendment, but expressed the willingness of  
e Government to introduce into the bill words that would

ep the organisation of any semi-military force in the hands of  
rliament and of the Imperial Executive. Thereupon Colonel

lan (*Galway, N.*) asked if the Government wished to  
emasculate" the Irish people, and Mr. Sexton (*Kerry, N.*)  
cribed the concession of the Government as the complement

the Ulster "Plan of Campaign." He complained that he  
ed risen three times on the previous day and twice on that  
ening without attracting the notice of the chairman, and Mr.

ellor humbly apologised for not having seen him. In the  
sae vein of apology the Prime Minister assured the Irish  
embers that the Government were always anxious to hear

em before deciding on their own course. At the next sitting  
the committee, however, the Government accepted another  
endment from Sir Henry James (*Bury*), excluding negotia-

is for the extradition of criminals from the functions of the  
ish Legislature, and they also agreed to withdraw, not only  
e power to make treaties, but all other relations with foreign

untries, from the sphere of Irish law-making (June 5). All this  
as very unpleasant to Mr. Timothy Healy (*Louth, N.*), who was  
viduous in his interruptions and objections to all concessions.

Another conflict with the Irish members occurred on the  
endment of Mr. Brodrick (*Guildford, Surrey*) declaring that  
e Irish Legislature should not make laws on the subject of

ions. Mr. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) agreed with the object  
the amendment, and on its being withdrawn, he moved to  
ed the word "aliens" after the word "alienage," already in

the bill (June 7). The Irish members warmly resented the  
ction, and in the division they voted against the Government,  
did also the Labour members and a good number of Radicals.

Ultimately, on the motion of Mr. Sexton (*Kerry, N.*), the addi-  
on to the clause was made to read "aliens as such"—an  
iteration which appeared to make no difference. The next

ay (June 8) the Government agreed to the introduction of  
ords making it clear that the Irish Legislature should have  
power over the laws regulating merchant shipping.

A Parliamentary paper, having reference to the contribution of Ireland to the spirit duty, was made the subject of questions to Mr. Gladstone on the day of its publication (June 13). The paper explained that an error had been made in computing Ireland's contribution, which had been overstated by 364,649*l*. Mr. Gladstone, in reply to several questions, said that though this was the true amount of the error, it would not be correct to take it as the amount by which the basis of the financial proposals in the bill would be disturbed. The Government proposed to submit in a few days a revised scheme relating to the finances of Ireland. Clause 3 was passed at this sitting, and on an amendment to clause 4, moved by Mr. Butcher (*York*), declaring that the powers of the Irish Legislature should not extend to the making of any law appropriating or diverting the property of any religious body, Mr. Morley undertook to insert in the clause words that would meet the object of the amendment. A discussion, extending over the greater part of two sittings, had reference to a sub-section of clause 4, prohibiting legislation whereby any person might be deprived of life, liberty, or property "without due process of law." The Government were urged to define the meaning of the quoted words, which, as they stood, were declared by Sir Henry James (*Bury*) to be devoid of meaning, but the law-officers of the Crown answered that the words must be left to judicial interpretation. Eventually, however (June 16), the Attorney-General (*Hackney, S.*) accepted part of an amendment moved by Mr. G. W. Balfour (*Leeds, Central*), with the result that to the phrase "without due process of law" were added the words "in accordance with settled principles and precedents." Mr. Sexton (*Kerry, N.*) divided against the concession of the Government, all the Irish members and a few Radicals following him, but the amendment was carried by a majority of 180. In the discussion on the question that the words agreed to by the Government should form part of the clause, Mr. Clancy (*Dublin, N.*) asserted that the bill as drawn was the very least that the Irish people could accept, and Mr. Sexton commented with still greater severity on "the unaccountable fatuity of the course of concession lately pursued by the Government."

The effect of this Irish revolt was soon felt. An amendment excluding the right to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act (June 19), and one restraining the Irish Legislature from passing *ex post facto* laws (June 20), were both rejected, notwithstanding that the practice of the United States was shown to be in favour of each amendment. At the latter sitting the majority also rejected an amendment embodying the United States principle that no law should be made impairing the obligation of contracts. In these and other divisions it was clear that the Government were deterred from giving way by the protests of the Irish Party.



in making his promised statement as to the new financial provisions, rendered necessary by the error which had been covered (June 22), Mr. Gladstone said that the changes in balance-sheet of Irish finance were not large; but in order to simplify the character of the financial question the clauses dealing with it had been remodelled. The term for which it was proposed that the financial arrangements should endure would be reduced from fifteen to six years, and during that period there would be no change in the fixing, management, or collection of any of the taxes comprised in the present system. Ireland would meanwhile be empowered to impose new taxes, her contribution to the imperial revenue would be one-third of her ascertained income, in addition to the yield of any special tax levied for the express purpose of war or special defence. At the end of six years the financial relations of Great Britain and Ireland would be revised, and Ireland would then collect and manage her own taxes, with the exception of those connected with the customs, the excise, and the post office. Mr. Gladstone's statement was received with no marked demonstration of approval or disapproval, except on the part of the Parnellites, whose leader intimated that he should resist the proposal to deprive Ireland for six years of the power of financial control.

On the motion that clause 4 should stand part of the bill (clause 23), Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) asked Mr. Gladstone (*Edinburgh*) how far the clause would prevent the Irish Legislature from establishing a Roman Catholic college, and assisting the extension of admittedly Roman Catholic schools in Ireland. Mr. Gladstone replied with some hesitation that he did not think denominational education would be excluded under the clause—an answer which greatly alarmed Unionist members, who contended that it was now clear that the “so-called protections” for Protestants were worthless. But a stage in the proceedings had been reached, at which conciliation and concession were both to disappear from the action of the Government. The Irish Party had already made an effective stand, and it was now the turn of the Radical Party to impose their will upon the Prime Minister and his colleagues. Up to that time Mr. Gladstone had resisted the pressure brought to bear upon him in favour of the compulsory shortening of debate. He had recognised the importance of the questions at issue, and the right of members to discuss them at sufficient length, but the Radical Party were eager to get through the bill, in order that time might be found for British business, and they at length carried their point.

The expectation that some statement would be made to the House in reference to the intentions of the Government, brought together an unusually large number of members at a Wednesday evening (June 28). When Mr. Gladstone appeared, one or two pre-arranged questions, leading up to his intended statement,

were put to him, in reply to which he expressed his belief that there had been "avoidable delays" in the taking of divisions, and announced that on the following day he would move a resolution, the terms of which he hoped to read out before the then present sitting came to an end. A few hours later, Mr. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) read the terms of the resolution, which, in brief, amounted to this—that at ten o'clock P.M. on Thursday, July 6, all the clauses from clause 5 to the end of clause 8 were to be closed, and no further discussion permitted on them; at the same hour on Thursday, July 13, all the clauses up to the end of clause 26 were to be similarly disposed of; the rest of the bill, to the end of clause 40, was to be got out of the way at ten o'clock on Thursday, July 20; and at the same hour on Thursday, July 27, all new clauses, schedules, and the preamble, were to be subjected to the same peremptory process. On each of the nights of summary execution the twelve o'clock rule was to be suspended. The melodramatic fashion in which Mr. Morley read the intended resolution, and the cheering with which each separate clause of it was received by the supporters of the Government, produced a comic effect, at which the Opposition laughed uproariously. There was more laughter when Mr. Balfour spoke of the resolution as "an interesting motion," and the incident ended with the much-cheered notice of an amendment, to be moved by Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*).

At the beginning and the end of the sitting just noticed there was a crowded attendance, but after Mr. Gladstone's opening statement, and pending the reading of the terms of the resolution, the attendance rapidly thinned. This gave Mr. Hayes Fisher (*Fulham*) an unexpected advantage. He moved an amendment of no great importance in reference to the exercise of the powers of the Lord Lieutenant, and the Government declined to accept it. But they soon found that they had not enough men in the House to warrant them in going to a division, and after a hurried communication from their principal Whip they accepted the amendment amid ironical cheering and laughter. On the next amendment Mr. Bryce (*Aberdeen, S.*) talked against time until the Ministerial ranks had been sufficiently reinforced.

There was again a large attendance for the debate on Mr. Gladstone's resolution (June 29). He spoke for five-and-twenty minutes only, and seemed to be by no means happy in the task he had undertaken. He set out with two propositions, namely, that Parliament ought not to be prorogued or even adjourned until the supplies of the year had been voted and the Home Rule Bill passed, and that the Government were bound to press on to the best of their ability during the year the most important and weighty of the British measures before the House. Expressing regret that it should be his duty in any way to abridge the liberty of speech, he pleaded



it had now become necessary to take some steps to that end. At the existing rate of progress a twelvemonth's sitting did not suffice for the work of a single session of Parliament, unless some remedy were found the result would be either entire confusion of the Parliamentary system, or the abandonment of the duties which the majority had undertaken, in which case they would return as "a disgraced majority" to their constituents. He was very angry when some members of the Opposition laughed sarcastically at his assertion that the majority had "freely, voluntarily, heartily, and enthusiastically" devoted themselves to a measure of Home Rule; but, coming from that point, he based his resolution upon the "precedent of 1887," and spent some time in the endeavour to make an analogy between the two cases. He showed that not only so much time had been spent over the Crimes Bill, when it was forcibly closed, as had now been spent over the Home Rule; and he further showed that neither the Reform Bill of 1831 nor the Irish Land Bill of 1881 had consumed so much time. The Opposition were trying to destroy the bill, and the real question was whether the majority should or should not prevail. If the will of the majority was not allowed to prevail Parliamentary institutions would be "a mockery and a pretence."

Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) in a speech of considerable length exposed the weak points of the Government case. He claimed that there was any necessity for the course proposed, and that Mr. Gladstone had himself admitted as much, and that the proposal was avowedly made, not alone to secure Home Rule, but to obtain some part of the Newcastle programme as well. It was not necessity, but expediency, that dictated the Government, and not Parliamentary, but party, expediency. The bill could be compared with no other measure, for no such bill had ever been known in Parliamentary history before. A whole session should have been given up to it, but the Government had wasted time at the beginning of the year over the preliminary stages of five other gigantic measures. Passing on to the so-called precedent of 1887, Mr. Balfour asserted that the action taken upon the Crimes Bill bore no analogy to the present case. In 1881 Mr. Gladstone introduced drastic closure resolutions under which he "closed everybody who differed from him," and suspended the Irish Bill by wholesale, passing all his clauses in their absence. That was a precedent, no doubt, but while it might be all very well to conduct business in that fashion when the minority consisted only of thirty or forty, it was a very different thing when the minority could hardly be distinguished numerically from the majority. The Crimes Act, if justifiable at all, was seriously urgent, for its object was to put down a state of lawlessness under which innocent men and women were subjected to a tyranny from which the law was powerless to deliver them;

but the present bill was not urgent. It had already been waiting for seven years, and it would, he thought, have to wait a good many years more before it came to anything. He denied that there had been any obstruction to the bill, except in the speeches as that delivered on the previous day by the Chancellor of the Duchy, who wasted the time of the House to prevent division before the full strength of his party had arrived. Mr. Balfour went on to point out that while Coercion Bills could be easily revoked, "nothing short of the bayonets of the British army" could ever revoke Home Rule, if once it were passed. A week or two more of discussion should not have been grudged, and it was "the height of Parliamentary lunacy" to refuse. The course now proposed was not founded upon any precedent; it was creating an entirely new one which might do incalculable injury to the future fortunes of the House. Proceed to examine each of the "four compartments" into which the clauses of the bill were to be divided for guillotining purposes. Mr. Balfour remarked that each separate section contained matters of tremendous importance, and pointed out that the changes in the financial proposals were "new from top to bottom, and from side to side, and with hardly a plank of the old fabric left." Yet they were to be disposed of in the remnant of a week, as were the provisions relating to the retention of the Irish members at Westminster. He commented on the fact that "the British taxpayer was to be robbed for the pleasure of being governed by Irishmen," and yet no time was to be allowed for the consideration of that fact. Finally he showed that the great majority of the divisions which had taken place in the committee there had been a British majority against the bill, but that furnished a motive for the resolution, which was "an attempt to closure the voice of Great Britain." The majority of the British members were to sit dumb while the ancient institutions of the country were being destroyed.

Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) then moved his amendment which declared the unwillingness of the House to sanction any proposal interfering with the free discussion of the bill. No Minister, and not a single member of the Gladstonian rank and file, rose to answer the weighty speech of the leader of the Opposition, or to contest the issue raised by the amendment. Mr. T. H. Bolton (*St. Pancras, N.*) spoke from the Government benches, but only to denounce the resolution of the Government with great heartiness. This conspiracy of silence was turned to excellent use by Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) who compassionated the Prime Minister on the way in which he had been deserted by his colleagues. Mr. Gladstone's reputation of isolation reminded him, he said, of Addison's description of "a good man struggling with adversity." Nobody but that he was willingly doing his present work. Pointing to the Irish members, Mr. Chamberlain went on to say, amid cheering: "There sit the men who pull the strings



time Minister of England. Under the threats of his Irish masters, under the pressure of his least experienced supporters, he comes down here to move a resolution which is in contradiction to all the principles of his political life." The resolution was one more surrender to revolt. Declaring that the time had gone by for mincing words, Mr. Chamberlain accused the Government of "taking advantage of the brief tenure of office, and of their casual majority, to betray the interests of the country, sacrificing them to men who have been convicted of conspiracy against those interests." The details of the bill had been concealed from the public, and the concealment was most fraudulent. The fact was that the Government did not dare to submit the details to the people. Their tactics were not those of statesmen, but "the tactics of Tammany Hall." But he did not regret the course now taken; he was glad the Government had played their last card. The British Empire was being sold by private treaty, and it was natural that the Irish Party, on completing their "underhand bargain," should say, "Why debate any more? We are satisfied—*pro tanto*."

The Government and their supporters still remained dumb, and other effective speeches were delivered from the Opposition benches. Eventually a division was taken on the amendment, when it was found that the Government had obtained a majority of 27 only. Two motions for the adjournment of the debate were successively negatived on division by small majorities, and at three o'clock in the morning (June 30) Mr. Conybeare (*Cambridge, Cornwall*) moved the closure. The Speaker's emphatic declaration—"I shall certainly not put that question"—made it clear that the resolution could not be carried at a single sitting, and the Government, after a little further wrangling, consented to an adjournment. On the resumption of the debate, the proceedings were dull. The Government resisted all attempts to modify the resolution, but the majorities by which they were upheld were small. The resolution was ultimately carried by a majority of 32. In the course of the debate, Mr. Gladstone stated that clause 9, which had reference to Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament, would be proposed in the shape in which it stood in the bill, but that as the Government had not professed to be able to frame "a perfect plan" for the retention of the Irish members, they were willing to accept from Parliament any modifications of the clause.

During the next sitting in committee (July 3) a warm discussion arose as to Mr. Dillon's threats of revenge against the Irish minority, and in reference to one of these threats Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*) explained that it had been uttered under the invocation of the "massacre" at Mitchelstown. Thereupon Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) pointed out that the so-called "massacre" took place in September, 1887, whereas Mr. Dillon's speech was delivered in December, 1886. As this new statement appeared to admit of no explanation, an attempt was made

by another Irish member, Mr. Harrington (*Dublin Harbour*), to turn the tables on Mr. Chamberlain. He charged him with having held private communications with the men whom he now denounced, and referred especially to a private letter from Mr. Chamberlain to a correspondent who visited the Irish members in Kilmainham, alleging that in this letter Mr. Chamberlain expressed his concurrence in Home Rule. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Derby*) joined in the attack on the member for West Birmingham, with some allusions to the "Round Table" negotiations. To the charge of Mr. Harrington and the suggestions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer Mr. Chamberlain gave an absolute contradiction, in which—referring to Mr. Harrington's statements—he was fully upheld by the subsequent publication of the private letter on which the charge was based.

Other "scenes" in which the Irish members were the chief actors were frequent, but no special point attached to them. They served, however, to relieve the monotony with which amendment after amendment was negatived on division. The process went on until the day and hour were reached when the closure, under Mr. Gladstone's resolution, was to come into operation (July 6). An amendment to clause 5 was under discussion, and Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) was speaking upon it, when the Chairman abruptly stopped the proceedings, and the question that clause 5 stand part of the bill was put. The scene was one of passionate excitement, and for some time it seemed impossible that the business could proceed; but the mechanical putting of the clauses up to and including clause 5 was eventually got through. On clause 6, establishing the Legislative Council, the Government obtained a majority of 15 only, but on the other clauses they were able to command the adhesion of most of their supporters.

The discussion of the ninth clause occupied the whole week allotted under the closure resolution to the second block of clauses, and was still proceeding when the closure was again applied. The first amendment to the clause of any importance was that of Mr. J. Redmond (*Waterford*), who proposed (July 10) the omission of sub-sections 1 and 2. Mr. Redmond's object was to prevent the reduction of the number of Irish members from 103 to 80, and Mr. Gladstone, after pointing out that the over-representation of Ireland would be unjust to Great Britain, announced that if the amendment were carried the Government would accept it as the decision of the House that the representation of Ireland was to be continued at its present strength. This view was warmly resented by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain, who declared that they supported the amendment, not because they approved of the retention of the Irish members, but because they disapproved of the whole plan of the Government. It seemed probable, while the discussion was in progress, that the whole Irish Party would join the



opposition in voting for the amendment, but Mr. Sexton (Kerry, N.) took umbrage at some strong observations made by Mr. Chamberlain, and to the great relief of the Government denounced the "dishonest combination" into which the Opposition had entered to defeat the clause. The amendment was therefore defeated, though by a majority of 14 only.

On the following evening (July 11) Mr. Sexton's sensitiveness to criticism—in this instance not personal criticism—was the occasion of a scene, in which he was the central figure. Mr. Brodrick (*Guildford, Surrey*) had remarked that the Irish race was "impecunious and garrulous," and the member for North Kerry characterised the remark as "grossly impertinent." For this expression he was called to order, but he refused to withdraw it, and the Chairman, "with great pain," directed him to leave the House. A wrangle then ensued as to the procedure adopted by the Chairman, Mr. Sexton himself asking why he had been held guilty of disorderly conduct without the matter having been submitted to the judgment of the House, and adding: "Do you think you are entitled to take a course which has never been taken before?" A great uproar followed, caused by the fact that the Chairman conferred with the Clerk at the table. There were cries of, "Who is the Chairman?" and, "Milman (the Clerk Assistant) is always governing." In the midst of this turmoil, Mr. Sexton shouted: "Am I to be made the victim of the malicious intrusion of the Clerk at the table?" "Am I to swallow an insult to my countrymen at the dictation of an English clerk?" Mr. Sexton afterwards withdrew from the House in deference to an appeal from the Prime Minister, but the Chairman's ruling was again contested, and referred to the Speaker, by whom it was upheld.

After a debate on an amendment against the disfranchisement of Dublin University (July 12), which was negatived by a majority of 32, Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*) announced the decision of the Government in regard to sub-sections 3 and 4 of clause 9. He reminded the committee that in introducing the bill he set forth the considerable difficulties and inconveniences that might be reasonably thought to attend the continuance of Irish representation at Westminster under the system of Home Rule. His endeavour was to be strictly impartial in regard to those inconveniences. The rival plan to that of the Government was the plan of empowering or leaving members representing Ireland to vote on all subjects. His main objection to that plan was that it might lead to transgressions of an illegitimate character, on particular occasions and particular combinations of parties, as between Irish members or groups of Irish members, and the Government or the opposition of the day. He had, however, never presumed to state on the part of the Government, as a whole, any strong inflexible preference for either of these two modes of proceeding. On the contrary, they submitted themselves to the

guidance of the prevailing and deliberate opinion of the House. Mr. Gladstone then went on to say: "Now we have reached a certain point. Until we came near that point it was not easy to elicit or obtain sufficient evidence on this question, but very naturally as we came nearer to the point, it has become easier to detect and to obtain those indications. In the first place, it appears to us that although there are individual and partial preferences in respect of the method we have proposed, yet the general sentiment is decidedly inclined to the adoption of the other alternative. Undoubtedly, so far as regards our friends and supporters of the bill, there is a very large preponderance indeed of preference for the method of retention which makes no limitation of powers, over the other plan which is at meeting any jealousy which may be felt in England at the interference of the Irish members by an attempt to discriminate between Irish and imperial subjects, in which attempt to discriminate we laboured hard and faithfully. But we were compelled to admit—although I think we have achieved considerable success—that it was impossible, or, to use my own old expression, it passed the wit of man, to frame any distinct, thoroughgoing, universal severance between the one class of subjects and the other. But what we feel is this—and I think the House will perhaps appreciate the sentiment—that it was a doubtful thing for us, as a Government, to propose to the British people or their representatives what would appear, *primâ facie*, as an invasion of the rights and claims that, if so disposed, they might justly urge. If the members of this House and the people of this country were so inclined, it is conceivable, we cannot say it would be unjust, that they should take exception to a system under which members coming from Ireland are at once, either in their own persons or through their constituents, to have a complete control over their own domestic affairs, and, at the same time, I will not say to enjoy—the enjoyment perhaps might not be very great—but, at any rate, possess a power of controlling the domestic affairs of Great Britain equal to that of those representing Great Britain. On the other hand, though it would be very difficult for us to take into our hands, even if we had a clear, unequivocal, strong preference that way—it would be very difficult for us to take upon ourselves, while we were ignorant of the state of opinion, the responsibility of making a proposal of that kind, yet it is perfectly clear to our minds that the representatives of Great Britain here assembled are under no such limitations and that they are perfectly competent, if they think fit, to adopt the plan of retention of the Irish members with unlimited powers in preference to the plan of retention of the Irish members with limited powers. The question is: Which way the preference lie?"

Proceeding to discuss this question, and the various objections which had been expressed upon it, Mr. Gladstone ex-



saying that the evidence as it stood was to the effect that the plan proposed in sub-sections 3 and 4 was a plan the Government could not carry. "In these circumstances there remains but one alternative open to us. The plan of unlimited voting power is the only other method of proceeding that has not, or can possibly be, suggested; and we think that it is a plan to which the nation and the House of Commons are decidedly inclined. We think it our duty to adopt this method in spite of its inconveniences, which, however, are unworthy of consideration in comparison with the great purpose we have in view."

Gladstone then moved the omission of the third and fourth sections of the clause.

In the short time that remained before the close of the (Wednesday) sitting, Mr. Rathbone (*Arfon, Carnarvonshire*)

Mr. R. Wallace (*Edinburgh, E.*), two Gladstonian members, strongly protested against the course which the Prime Minister had announced, and Mr. Rathbone declared that it would demoralise the whole political life of the country and be unacceptable to the people. Mr. Wallace was speaking when the time for reporting progress arrived, and the greater part of his speech was delivered at the next sitting (July 13). It was one of the most brilliant speeches of the session—"one of the best brilliant of its kind," said Mr. Balfour in characterising it later on the same evening, "in my whole political recollection." Mr. Wallace was quoting Mr. Gladstone as having himself declared that he would "be no party to any arrangement by which, after Ireland had a domestic Legislature of her own, Irishmen should sit down to manage British affairs." Mr. Wallace proceeded: "I am something like the disciple of a venerated master who has been guided by him over a famous historic bridge, crowded with numerous but disappointed transmigrants, to acquire at the end of our journey an enlightened principle that the angles at the base of a notorious geometrical figure are equal. I am delighted and shout 'Eureka,' and vow eternal gratitude to my venerated master. But when, in a few days, he says he is gone round about among his friends, and that he finds there is a general feeling that those angles ought not to be equal, and accordingly he is going to bow to that general feeling, and to go forth to maintain their inequality, I ask you, Mr. Mellor, what am I to do? Not being possessed of the flexibility, or the fluidity, of intelligence of so many of my co-disciples, which makes them not only 'equal to one another,' but equal to anything, I feel that, having got to a conviction, I do not know how I am to unget it." The House enjoyed both the wit and the sarcasm of this effective passage, and laughed heartily at many other sallies of wit in the speech.

After Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*) and Sir Joseph Pease (*Cardinal Castle*), from different points of view, had defended the capitulation of the Government, Mr. Balfour (*Manchester*) made a forcible attack upon the new proposal of the Prime

Minister. He was unable to comprehend, he said, how any man could seriously come down to a House of Commons, five-sixths of whose members were British, and deliberately tell those British members that henceforth British affairs were to be controlled, and in most contingencies absolutely controlled not by those who represented the constituencies of Great Britain, but by those who did not represent them. Parliament was now a Legislative Assembly for the three kingdoms. Everybody sat there by equal right and had an equal duty. That was what representative government meant. "What it does not mean is to bring here a set of gentlemen who are called upon to vote for things which do not concern them, and who are given the absolute control of their own affairs without any intervention from any other part of the United Kingdom. Do you call that representative government?" Not only was it proposed to call in gentlemen from outside to control the affairs of the British people, but an extraordinary selection had been made. What was the history of the present Irish members? They had shown great patriotism, public spirit, energy, ability, and eloquence, but these qualities in them had not been devoted to British causes. They had not been useful in furthering the honour and supporting the interest of the British House of Commons. Mr. Balfour went on to say that he had deliberately abstained from attacking the Government. "To tell the truth, I think the Government are hardly worth attacking." It had previously been supposed that, at all events upon bills of their own creation and on questions of vital importance, it was the duty of the Government to lead the House, to place a policy before it, and to press its acceptance. That tradition had been finally swept away. They had plied the Government with questions month after month as to the course they were going to take on that clause, and the answer had been that the clause as it stood would be adhered to. "And now they propose a change of front on no better ground, so far as I can discover, than that their whips told them it would pay in the division lobby. A Government which roams about from side to side, which has no convictions, or, at any rate, which does not act upon any convictions, which rather prides itself on obscurely indicating that its own convictions are precisely opposed to its avowed policy—a Government of that kind is not worth attacking."

Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*) replied in a speech of considerable warmth, in which he assured the leader of the Opposition that the Government were perfectly indifferent whether he attacked them or not. Throughout the contest of the last seven years, they had confessed that the question of the retention of Irish members, and the mode of their retention was beset with difficulty. As, however, it did not involve the main issue of Home Rule for Ireland, they felt it to be a question upon which "the judgment of the country" ought to



avail. Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) traversed the assertion that this question had ever been submitted to the judgment of the country, which he challenged the Government to obtain by an immediate dissolution. If they declined to do that, the proper course was to take the opinion of the representatives of the country. The Prime Minister had promised that on this question the British people were to have a determining voice. [Mr. Gladstone, interposing, said that Great Britain had a determining voice because its representatives formed the majority of the House.] Replying to Mr. Gladstone's interposed remark, Mr. Chamberlain showed that in vital divisions upon the bill the British vote was antagonistic to the Government, and said that the issue was whether the interests of Great Britain were "to be controlled by delegates from Ireland nominated by priests, elected by literates, and subsidised by the enemies of their country." The debate proceeded until ten o'clock was reached, when Mr. Gladstone's amendment for the striking out of sub-sections 3 and 4 was carried by a majority of 27. Clauses 9 to 26, both inclusive, were then disposed of under the closure resolution, seventeen out of the whole number of eighteen not having been discussed or made the subject of a single word of explanation.

The House was put in possession of the main details of the new financial proposals of the Government on the discussion of a formal motion, authorising payments to be made out of the Consolidated Fund in connection with the Government of Ireland Bill (July 14). The Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Derby*) explained that the Government had sought to ascertain, not the exact quota which should be paid by Ireland, but Ireland's present actual contribution to the imperial revenue. They took the gross revenue derived from Ireland, and put against it the expenditure incurred for Ireland, and the difference between the two amounts represented the actual contribution to imperial revenue. He estimated the total revenue of Ireland at 6,922,000*l.*, and the expenditure on Irish objects at 4,634,000*l.* This left practically 2,300,000*l.*, or one-third of the total revenue, as a contribution to imperial revenue. That amount would be temporarily reduced by a grant of 500,000*l.* on account of the Irish police, and while that grant continued the Irish contribution would be 1,800,000*l.*, which was about the amount contributed by Ireland in the last year of the late Administration. The discussion of these proposals was not intended to be entered upon until the new financial clause was considered in committee, but Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*) pointed out that the 500,000*l.* was a gift taken from the pockets of the British taxpayers, and that the cost of collection—an item of 227,000*l.*—had not been deducted from the gross revenue.

The discussions on the third of the "water-tight compartments" of the bill were wholly confined to clauses and amend-

ments dealing with civil servants and police, and when the guillotine made its weekly descent (July 20), the remainder of the original clauses in the bill were summarily disposed of, some ten of them without having been discussed at all.

The last week of the proceedings, regulated by the closure resolution, was opened (July 21) by Mr. Gladstone's formal introduction of a new clause, to follow clause 9, embodying the substituted financial arrangements to take effect in Ireland and between Ireland and Great Britain. The debate upon these new financial proposals occupied the whole week, and left no time for the discussion of the other new clauses and the schedules. It was opened in a powerful speech by Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*), who pointed out that, in his three entirely separate financial proposals for Irish Home Rule, Mr. Gladstone had adhered to one principle only, if principle it could be called, and that was to find a surplus of 500,000*l.* for Ireland by hook or by crook. In 1886, he held that "taxable capacity" was the true criterion of what each section of the United Kingdom should pay to the common fund. And he then measured taxable capacity by the amount of property assessed to the death duties, and deduced that the taxable capacity of Ireland was one-fourteenth of that of the whole United Kingdom. But instead of proposing that Ireland should contribute one-fourteenth or one-fifteenth of the whole, he introduced a perfectly irrelevant discussion on the difference between duties collected in one country, but paid on goods consumed in the other, which he made the excuse for reducing the Irish contribution from one-fifteenth to one-twenty-fifth, and thus brought out a surplus of 500,000*l.* for Ireland. In February of this year, he took the product of a particular tax as representing what Ireland should pay, and this made the Irish contribution one-twenty-sixth of the whole, but then he proposed an arbitrary gift to Ireland of 500,000*l.* towards the expense of the constabulary, which changed the initial contribution from one-twenty-sixth to one-thirtieth. Then he changed his mind again, and in his latest scheme proposed to take the contribution actually paid at the present time as the best practical guide, and this he stated at one-third of the Irish revenue, which he said made one-twenty-seventh or one-twenty-eighth of the whole imperial contribution to common expenditure; but as that did not give the 500,000*l.* surplus, he deducted the cost of collection, and one-third of the cost of the constabulary, and so reduced Ireland's contribution from one-twenty-eighth of the whole to one-fortieth. If a similarly beneficent arrangement could be made for Great Britain, we should have an initial surplus of 7,000,000*l.*

This one settled principle, to start Ireland with a surplus of 500,000*l.*, looked, said Mr. Chamberlain, as if Irish Home Rule were a plant of such sickly growth that it required to be watered with British gold. He did not see why the British taxpayer should lose because the Irish people might happen to



swear whisky. It seemed to him that, on the whole, if there were to be Home Rule, taxable capacity was the fairest measure of the right quota of contribution, and that would show Ireland's present quota to be about one-eighteenth of the total; whereas under the present scheme she was to be required to pay less than half of the sum which one-eighteenth would give us. We were asked to hand over to Ireland about 1,800,000*l.*, which she ought to pay, as a sort of equivalent for making the Nationalist Party omnipotent in Ireland, and giving them a controlling voice in British legislation as well.

Three replies were made to Mr. Chamberlain's speech, the first by Mr. Fowler (*Wolverhampton*), who followed him, the second by Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*), and the third by Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*). Mr. Fowler practically admitted that the 500,000*l.* surplus was a gift, but only a temporary one, to Ireland, in order to secure for her Legislature a fair start. Sir William Harcourt (July 24) said that the contribution of Ireland—put by the Prime Minister at one-twenty-seventh—was to be a little more than the average of her contributions during the last three years. The contribution was the difference between the revenue and the expenditure, and the cause of its smallness was the exorbitant and wanton expenditure that had been forced upon Ireland. As for the contribution of 500,000*l.* from this country, that had been from the first a part of the proposal of the Government. They did not allow Ireland to release herself from the enormous expenses of the constabulary all at once, and therefore this contribution was made to enable her to set her house in order.

Mr. Goschen (*St. George's, Hanover Square*), in a speech full of important detail (July 24), declared his belief that the result of diminished taxation in Ireland would be bankruptcy to the Irish Exchequer. As for the half-million surplus, he was inclined to think that the Irish members had laid it down as a cardinal principle that they could not "run the show for us." The contribution voted by the Unionist Government, under the most urgent circumstances of public need, was called a "dole" and a "sop" by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but when eighty Nationalist votes inflicted additional taxation to the extent of 500,000*l.* on the British taxpayers, this coerced and eleemosynary contribution was called a generous and spontaneous act on the part of the British electors. The idea was that Ireland could not do without this help. He was not at all sure that she could; but this was a confession that Ireland was too poor to be able to stand alone.

Mr. Gladstone's reply to Mr. Chamberlain was not made until after the latter had moved an amendment, for the purpose of doing away with the transitional period of six years which formed part of the new financial proposals (July 25). He now taunted Mr. Chamberlain with assuming the part of "Devil's Advocate." In canvassing the details of the measure he had

"used language of habitual, gross and enormous exaggeration. Indeed he "constantly and deliberately, and with the utmost confidence and infallibility, ascribed to men who had a right to stand on a level with him, and who were at one time his colleagues and supposed to be his friends, motives for their action the direct contrary of that which they stated themselves, and motives which they indignantly disclaimed." On the following day (July 26) Mr. Chamberlain said "a few words with reference to the ferocious speech" of the Prime Minister, and the debate proceeded, to be renewed on the last day permitted by the closure resolution (July 27).

At a quarter to ten on the evening of that day—the fourteenth sitting in committee—Mr. Chamberlain rose with evident intention of giving emphasis to the closing scene. He had remarked in the course of his short speech that the supporters of the Government regarded the bill as perfect and unimprovable, when a member exclaimed: "Under the circumstances." Taking up the interjected words, Mr. Chamberlain went on to say: "They think every scheme, as it successively proceeds from the fertile brain of the Prime Minister, is perfect and cannot be improved—'under the circumstances.' That has been their attitude with regard to the whole bill, notwithstanding the fact that the measure has been changed again and again in the course of the last few weeks." After making good this point, Mr. Chamberlain proceeded: "I say this bill has been changed in its most vital features, and yet it has always been found perfect by the hon. members behind the Treasury bench. The Prime Minister calls 'black' and they say 'white'; the Prime Minister calls 'white' and they say 'black'; the Prime Minister calls 'better' and they say 'worse.' It is always the voice of a god! Never since the time of Herod has there been such slavish adulation." It wanted about two minutes to ten o'clock, but not another syllable was the speaker allowed to utter. As soon as he pronounced the name of Herod, a storm of exclamations burst from the Ministerial and Irish benches, and above all other sounds were heard cries of "Judas!"

Amid this scene ten o'clock was reached, and the Chairman rose to put the closure in force; but he in vain tried to make himself heard. A point of order had been raised in respect to the cry of "Judas!" but the House was in so excited a condition that it could neither give attention to the point of order nor proceed with the closure divisions. What was afterwards explained to be a comparatively harmless incident sufficed to turn the general disorder into tumult and uproar. Mr. Logan (*Harborough, Leicestershire*) crossed from the Ministerial benches to the Opposition side of the House, and made some strong observations to Mr. Carson (*Dublin University*). After an altercation between these two gentlemen Mr. Logan seated himself in an abrupt and, as it appeared, offensive manner on the side of Mr. Carson. Mr. Hayes Fisher (*Fulham*), who



ed immediately behind the place taken by Mr. Logan, entered this novel and threatening intrusion. Seizing the intruder from behind, he pushed him with great force from his seat to the open floor. In an instant a violent conflict sprang up between the Conservative and the Nationalist benches. There seemed to be three separate groups of combatants, striking and receiving blows in a perfect delirium of anger. Colonel Anderson (*Armagh, N.*) was the centre of one group, Mr. T. Healy (*Louth, N.*) of another, and Mr. W. O'Brien (*Cork*) of a third. It was afterwards said that many gentlemen who had been taking part in a general *mêlée* were really trying to make peace between the few actual combatants. For two or three minutes the House of Commons was a pandemonium, and the Chairman was utterly powerless to control it. Members who had not lost their heads called for the Speaker, and after a short interval the Speaker appeared. The effect of his presence was magical. Where a minute before there had been a scene of utter riot, there was now undisturbed peace. Explanations were given, followed a few days later by fuller personal explanations, and the incident ended. But it has left a mark upon Parliamentary history, and it will be remembered as the least significant outcome of the suppression of debate. The divisions were at length proceeded with. The new financial measure was carried by a majority of 21. The schedule fixing the number of the Irish constituencies obtained a majority of only 1. The bill had now passed through committee, but more than ten clauses out of a measure originally consisting of forty clauses and seven schedules had been discussed at and of those four were dealt with in part only. Twenty-four clauses and all the schedules were passed without even the form of debate.

In the debate on the report stage of the bill Mr. Macartney (*Strim, S.*) moved as a substitute for clause 9 a new clause excluding Irish representative peers from the House of Lords, and Irish members from the House of Commons, except for the purpose of altering the Government of Ireland Bill (August 8). The motion was identical with one of which Mr. Balfour had given notice, but which he did not move. Mr. Macartney's speech was mainly an attack upon Mr. Gladstone's changes of policy and purpose, and Mr. Gladstone made an immediate reply to it, which contained the following unusually explicit passage: "Undoubtedly I did speak strongly against what appeared to me to be a most formidable difficulty attending the retention of the Irish members. And then I am reproached with having deviated so much from my original purpose. I have deviated from it to this extent alone. Nothing could have induced me to endeavour to force upon the British people and the Imperial Parliament the retention of the Irish members with an unlimited vote. We accepted that from the House of Commons as we accepted the retention of the Irish

members from the country." But the Prime Minister was not allowed to ride off scatheless after this latest attempted vindication of his most recent change of position. Sir Edward Clarke (*Plymouth*) made a good hit by quoting against him three lines from the *Bab Ballads* :—

These lads did not presume to flout him ;  
He argued high, he argued low,  
And likewise argued round about him.

Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) and Mr. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) also returned to the attack (Aug. 9). To the former Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) made a *tu quoque* reply, which Mr. Balfour met with a skilful rejoinder. He bantered the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the remarkable power he possessed of denouncing as absurd, "without turning a hair," proposals which he had himself advocated, and for which on other occasions he had constantly voted. But the new clause was of course rejected.

On the following day Mr. Gladstone accepted from Sir Henry James (*Bury*) a new clause taking from the Lord Lieutenant the power of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act by proclamation. The debate proceeded from day to day, until, on August 18, Mr. Gladstone gave notice that on the following Monday he should move a resolution for the peremptory closing of the debate on Friday, August 25. Mr. Chamberlain at once gave notice of an amendment, the terms of which were afterwards modified to make them quite in order, but which in its original form declared that the proposal of the Government to curtail debate was calculated to degrade the House of Commons to the position of a voting machine, and to deprive the British majority in the House of its constitutional right to discuss a policy by which British interests would be seriously and injuriously affected. The amendment also called upon the Government to dissolve Parliament at the earliest opportunity, in order that the country might express its opinion upon the merits of a bill the details of which were studiously concealed at the general election.

Mr. Gladstone's new closure motion was made (August 22) in a speech of not more than ten minutes, in which he merely claimed that it was the necessary and logical corollary of the previous closure resolutions which the House had carried, and that it was necessary to maintain the right of the majority to give effect to its proposals, even in the face of a large and powerful minority.

Mr. Chamberlain then moved his amendment, and spoke for nearly an hour in support of it. He declared that the necessity of the Government was not the one they alleged. Their real necessity lay in this, that they dare not stand on Home Rule Bill alone. They knew that there was no enthusiasm for their bill, and that nobody except the Prime Minister



and perhaps the Chief Secretary, believed in it, so they wished to hustle this *damnosa hæreditas* out of the way in order that they might patch up their damaged reputation by parish councils and other matters of that sort. Even with an autumn session, they would never get their bills through, but they must make a great show of doing something, or their heterogeneous majority would fall to pieces. The Government talked about the mandate of the country and the rights of the majority, but they had no mandate from the country to destroy Parliamentary institutions, to make the supremacy of Parliament a mere sham, and its weapon, as the Chief Secretary had confessed, a sword of lath. As for the majority, Mr. Chamberlain continued, it was made up of Irish votes, purchased by the surrender of the best interests of Great Britain, and largely returned to Parliament by priests, illiterates, and moonlighters, convicted by a judicial tribunal of a conspiracy to destroy the kingdom. He did not believe there was any true majority for any single item in the Government programme. The Government was the creation of a system, carried to a greater length than had ever been known before, of "political log-rolling." The Welsh members voted for Home Rule because they wanted disestablishment; the teetotalers voted for disestablishment because they wanted local veto; and the labour party voted for everything because they wanted an eight hours day. Under all these circumstances, the Government, knowing their bill to be unpopular, and finding that discussion made it more unpopular, trampled on the liberties of the House, and gagged the opponents they were unable to answer. To destroy an empire, to punish England for not having given him a majority, to break up a party to which, after all, even his fame and reputation owed a great deal—all this was not enough for the Prime Minister, who must also stifle discussion and flout the House of Commons, which had always honoured him as one of its greatest men. But the Opposition appealed against him to what was greater and more powerful than he—they appealed to the country against a political dictatorship—against a policy in which the interests of Great Britain had been surrendered and betrayed, and against tactics by which the House of Commons had been insulted and degraded.

Mr. Whitbread (*Bedford*) defended the action of the Government, and the debate proceeded through a long sitting. On the Ministerial side the last speaker was Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*), who said that the Tories had used the gag for coercion, whereas the Liberals only used it for conciliation. The Government, he declared, were quite ready to take the opinion of the House of Commons upon their resolution then, and the opinion of the country afterwards, but he named no date for the appeal to the constituencies. Mr. Balfour, who wound up the debate on the Opposition side, in a speech full of pleasant railery, repudiated for his party the charge of obstructing the bill.

The real obstacle to progress, he said, was the fact that the whole bill bristled with the most important principles. "At every step you take you kick up a new principle. You tumble over them every moment. You cannot move through a clause, a sentence, almost a word, without finding questions of the greatest magnitude raised, each of them equal to half a dozen of the usual questions raised by any ordinary piece of humdrum legislation." But the resolution, Mr. Balfour said in conclusion, would not hurt the Opposition, it would only hurt the House. The Government carried the resolution by a majority of 38. It is unnecessary to refer particularly to any subsequent incidents in the debate, which was brought to an end in the manner contemplated by the resolution, at eleven o'clock on the night of Friday, August 25, when the bill was ordered to be reported to the House.

A large House assembled (August 30) for the third-reading debate. Mr. Gladstone spoke for upwards of an hour in moving the third reading. He remarked that he should confine his observations to points that had arisen since the second reading, and then he spent some time on an argument intended to show that the constitutional crisis which had been going on in Sweden and Norway was no fair argument against Home Rule. Then, dealing with the bill itself, and with the proceedings of the House upon it, he admitted that there had been a great "mass of debate," which, however, he did not think would add to the fame of the House as a deliberative assembly, as it had been distinguished by a great and signal development of "small qualities." The bill had certainly been got through, and time obtained for the consideration of much-needed British legislation, but this result had only been arrived at by means of the free use of "the time closure," which he regarded as an evil in itself, and only justifiable for the avoidance of some much greater evil. But he extolled the self-sacrifices of many members, especially upon the Ministerial side, and he even complimented the Opposition on "the old English boldness and fortitude" they had shown in the fight, and which had really been "worthy of a better cause." Then he examined the debates statistically, pointing out that the bill, when read a third time, would have occupied no fewer than eighty-two days, or very much more than had ever been consumed by any bill before. But the opposition to the measure had differed from all former opposition, for there had been to a great extent a deliberate and persistent attempt to destroy the bill by the mass and volume of amendments. It was an attempt also to undo and take back in morsels the boon already in principle conferred. The number of speeches delivered in committee for the bill was 459, consuming  $57\frac{1}{2}$  hours, while the number of speeches against it had been 938, consuming no fewer than  $152\frac{3}{4}$  hours. This justified the belief that it was intended to prevent the bill from passing, or to drive



Government to use the closure, and to prevent any other from being done. He hoped the country would take note of that, and would see that the important and vital part of the bill had been to defeat that great purpose of the Opposition. He admitted that a great part of the bill had had to remain undiscussed—a fact the whole blame for which he laid upon the opponents of the measure—he insisted that the great cardinal principles of the bill had all been discussed. The bill was complex, it was because of its moderation—it was due to the fact that Irish Nationalism had adopted the means of moderation in principle, and had sustained them in detail. As for the various pleas urged against the bill by its opponents, which he enumerated at considerable length, he feared that if they were true it would go hard with Home Rule, but in point of fact they were not true, but were “enormous, monstrous, and hideous falsehoods.” If they were true they recoiled upon the British people, for it would mean that the result of their treatment of Ireland was that they had brought her into a state in which she could not undertake without danger and ruin the very responsibility which in every other country had been found within the capacity of the people to bear, fraught with the richest results.

Mr. Courtney (*Bodmin, Cornwall*), who moved the rejection of the bill, denied that the situation in Sweden and Norway had any bearing on the case. As to the contention that no such bill had ever before been presented to Parliament, the Opposition had been bound to use the powers of debate to elucidate the issues raised, and to instruct the electorate. The bill was not only complex, and full of new principles, but it came to the House with only “the doubtful sanction of the nation.” When the will of the nation was properly ascertained, they would be ready to bow to it, even though he might regret it. After reviewing various features of the measure, Mr. Courtney said that there were at least six vital points that had not been discussed at all. The bill was ill-conceived, had been worse elaborated, and some parts of it were rudimentary and could not be trusted. It was not deserving of respect, and no Legislature with any self-respect would pass it. It would, no doubt, meet its fate elsewhere—a fate which few would lament, and no one would regret, and which, on the whole, would be considered ill-deserved—but he looked beyond the peers to the people. The Opposition wanted to go to the people, and to obtain the national judgment, and the whole defence of their treatment of the bill was that it was a preparation for that appeal. The “doubtful and uncertain verdict” given by the country at the last general election was nothing more than a determination to give the Prime Minister another chance”; but now the bill had been fully exposed, and it was for the people to decide on it.

Mr. John Redmond (*Waterford*) made a discomfiting and disquieting speech for the Government and the supporters of the bill, many of whom expressed their indignation afterwards in the lobby over the line he took. He complained that the Parnellite members had not been allowed to amend the bill at all, for all their efforts in that direction had been rejected by the Government, and by overwhelming majorities of the House, while such changes as had been made were changes for the worse, and almost all of them had emanated from men who were opposed to Home Rule. As it now stood, no man in his senses could possibly regard the bill as a full, final, and satisfactory settlement. The word "provisional was stamped in red ink across every page" of it, and if he were asked to accept it as a final settlement, he should feel bound to vote against the third reading. The financial portion was so faulty that he could not allow the third reading to pass without uttering a protest, and making it perfectly clear that his vote was not a vote which sanctioned that part of the bill. But he rejoiced over the fact that, even though the bill was to be rejected elsewhere, Ireland, after nearly a century of struggle, after wasting innumerable lives and enduring much misery, had obtained from the House the "reversal of the policy of the Act of Union," and the solemn affirmation of the principle of Irish self-government.

A vigorous speech against the bill from Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincolnshire*) was the last important contribution to the first night's debate, and a somewhat rhetorical speech in its favour from the Attorney-General (*Hackney, S.*) opened the debate on the second day (Aug. 31). Sir Charles Russell had much to say about past misgovernment in Ireland, and the necessity for reform which still remained. He contended that under Home Rule the position of England and Scotland would be improved, for the motives for Irish interference in British affairs would cease to exist, and any such interference would be unwise, because it would provoke retaliation. The only alternative to Home Rule, in the opinion of the Attorney-General, was resolute coercion. Another, and a widely different view of what was called coercion, was presented by Mr. Plunket (*Dublin University*), who drew a roseate picture of the condition in which Mr. Balfour left Ireland—he had established the law, defeated terrorism, and enabled honest men to go about their work openly and freely. The gaols were empty and the banks were full, peace was everywhere to be found, and all the anticipations on which the Prime Minister founded his Home Rule demand in 1886 had been utterly upset.

Mr. Dillon (*Mayo, E.*), by way of counterblast to the speech of Mr. Redmond on the previous day, said that the Irish Party and the Irish people accepted the bill as the great charter of liberty to Ireland. If finality meant that the people of Ireland, viewing the measure as a whole, could pass it into law in good



faith as a settlement of the national claims, he believed they would do so. There were, indeed, some differences of opinion, but they were slight and unimportant. Even the financial provisions were largely a matter of calculation, and he firmly believed justice would be done in that respect. After Mr. T. W. Russell (*Tyrone, S.*) had made the position of Ulster clear, Sir Henry James (*Bury*) raised the debate to a high level by a powerful speech against the bill. He pointed out that the revolution which it represented was not in any sense a popular revolution. It was a revolution made by one man, and his supporters had to avail themselves of all the resources of the Newcastle Programme in order to palm it off upon the English people. Instead of, "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill," the popular cry in England would have been, "The bill, the new bill, and nothing of the bill." Sir Henry concluded a statesmanlike and comprehensive argument with the following eloquent passage: "Now, sir, this bill goes to its death, and we scarcely know whether we can ask even a decent sepulture for it, for we are sending up only the mangled remains of a bill. It is not even a body that can be recognised. We send it to another power, and at any rate we should endeavour to see that it is interred with some pretence to decency. Whatever may happen we shall have nothing to blame ourselves for. We have done our best to prevent this insufficient and uncertain legislation, and if we fail we have done our best as members of Parliament to prevent the undoing of our country, and we believe we shall succeed, not by our individual efforts, but by the wise judgment and common-sense of our fellow-countrymen."

On the last night of the debate (Sept. 1) Mr. Justin McCarthy (*Longford, N.*) bestowed his blessing and that of his friends upon the bill, in very much the same terms that Mr. Dillon had employed on the previous evening. No measure could be said to be absolutely final, but this measure established the principle that Ireland was to look after her own domestic affairs, under the supreme control of the Imperial Parliament, and with certain limitations and restrictions which they all most cordially accepted. In that principle they found finality in its true sense, and from it no deviation could ever be allowed. Mr. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) accepted Mr. McCarthy's assurance as far as the honourable member spoke for himself. But he reminded the House that Mr. Parnell accepted the first Home Rule Bill as a complete settlement, and subsequently declared that that statement was made after a meeting of his party at which it was resolved to accept the bill *pro tanto*, for what it was worth. Home Rule, Mr. Chamberlain went on to argue, had never been a British policy. It had been borrowed by Mr. Gladstone from Mr. Parnell, and if it had been proposed by any other Englishman or Scotchman it would have been laughed out of the House.

Mr. Gladstone would that day gain a great personal victory but it would be one of which some of his greatest admirers might thereafter have reason to complain. He believed that the Prime Minister's policy had struck a deadly blow to the honour and the interests of the country. The supporters of the Prime Minister had sacrificed the right of private judgment in regard to all the details of the bill. They had no reason to fear the gag, for they wore that instrument permanently as an honour and an ornament. Consequently the whole duty of a deliberative assembly had been thrown upon the Opposition, who were compelled to look after the interests of the minority in Ireland, and of their own majority at home, and in doing this they were undeterred by the insults which had been flung at them from the Nationalist benches, with the tacit encouragement of the Government. Mr. Chamberlain went on to say that when he joined the Ministry in 1886 he had no idea that the Government, or its head, was committed to the policy of Home Rule; nor, in 1892, when that policy, far as the principle was concerned, was before the country, did anybody know that a bill like the present would be submitted to Parliament. For instance, what candidate said then that he was going to vote for the interference of Irish members in all our affairs? "Ireland for the Irish" was a very plausible cry, but "England for the English" was a better one. The Liberal Party had treated the vital interests of the country as though they were mere incidents in the Newcastle Programme or the Plan of Campaign, and these things would neither be forgotten nor forgiven by the British democracy.

After speeches in support of the bill from Sir Edward Grey (*Berwick, Northumberland*) and Mr. T. P. O'Connor (*Scotland, Liverpool*), the debate was wound up on the Opposition side by Mr. Balfour, and for the Government by Mr. Morley. The former (*Manchester, E.*) justified the attempt of the Opposition to destroy the bill, and said it was mere cant to deny that it was the obvious duty of an Opposition to try to destroy a bill which they believed to be a bad one. He traversed the statement that the Irish people would accept the measure as a final settlement, and declared his belief that the British people were becoming more and more adverse to it. There was not a member of the House of Commons, conscious of the force of Parliamentary tradition, who would not look back on this session with regret, as a period when decadence began, and when it became clear for the first time that the House was not to be in the future what it had been in the past. There was indeed, only one body of men in the country who had reason to congratulate themselves on the part which the House of Commons compelled them to play—and that was the House of Lords. By their insane action, the Ministerial Party had done more than a hundred Tory Governments to demonstrate the necessity for a House of Lords. They might pass the thin



reading, but everybody who voted for it must know that he was endeavouring to put life into what was already dead. The bill had at last brought its supporters into the open; every elector now knew what the grant of Home Rule involved; and he felt confident that the projected dissolution between Great Britain and Ireland would never take place.

Mr. Morley (*Newcastle-on-Tyne*) professed to be equally confident as to the decision of the country on the issue. If, passing the third reading, that popular representative and virtually supreme branch of the legislature resolved to grant autonomy to Ireland, it would have made a solemn declaration which could never be cancelled nor recalled. Whatever might be the immediate fate of the bill, he looked forward to the future of the cause of Home Rule "with hope invincible, and a confidence which could not be quenched."

The division was taken shortly before one o'clock, and resulted in a majority for the third reading of 34; the numbers being, for the third reading 301 and against 267. There was a majority against the bill among British representatives of 23, and among representatives of England and Wales of 48.

It was perhaps desirable not to interrupt the story of the Home Rule Bill by any reference to other business in Parliament while that measure remained before the House of Commons. But it was only in a few short intervals that other business received attention in that House. A discussion on the prevalence of crime in Kerry, Clare, and Limerick (June 3), arising on a motion by Mr. Arnold-Forster (*Belfast, W.*) for the adjournment of the House, seemed almost to form part of the proceedings on the Home Rule Bill. Whether by accident or by design, a similar discussion occurred on the same evening in the House of Lords, but in neither House was any reassuring Ministerial statement elicited. In supply, Mr. Logan (*Harborough, Leicestershire*) called attention to the working of the Agricultural Holdings Act, 1883, and moved a resolution declaring that some amendment of the law was required to enable tenants to obtain adequate compensation for improvements. Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincolnshire*) demurred to the passing of an abstract resolution that would do no good and have no effect, but the President of the Board of Agriculture (*Saffron Walden, Essex*) supported the motion, which was carried without a division.

A resolution to which the cordial assent of the House was given (June 16) was that of Mr. Cremer (*Haggerston, Shoreditch*), in favour of the negotiation of a treaty of arbitration with the United States. It expressed the satisfaction with which the House had learnt "that both Houses of the United States Congress have authorised the President to invite from time to time, as fit occasions may arise, negotiations with any Government with which the United States has, or may have, any diplomatic relations, to the end that any differences or

disputes arising between the two Governments, which cannot be adjusted by diplomatic agencies, may be referred to arbitration, and peaceably adjusted by such means," and concluded—as modified in form at the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*)—with the hope "that her Majesty's Government will lend their ready co-operation to the Government of the United States upon the basis of the foregoing resolution." The resolution was seconded by Sir John Lubbock (*London Univ.*) in a speech containing some striking statistics as to the burden imposed upon Europe by an armed peace. Sir John showed that in 1870 the Government debts of the world amounted together to 4,000,000,000*l.*, and that they were now 6,000,000,000*l.*, and were still increasing.

A week later (June 23) the House of Commons gave an evening sitting to the discussion of a resolution on which there was the widest possible difference of opinion. This was the motion of Dr. Clark (*Caithness-shire*), in favour of Home Rule for Scotland. The motion had the warm approval of the Secretary for Scotland (*Bridgeton, Glasgow*), who, however, would not commit the Government generally to it. On a division, it was rejected by a majority of 18, amid much cheering, accompanied by some amusing cries of "Resign!"

The House of Lords returned (June 5) to a subject which had previously formed a matter of discussion in both Houses—that of the appointment of county magistrates. The Duke of Richmond and Gordon moved a resolution declaring it to be inexpedient to disturb the long-established usage of appointing justices of the peace on the recommendation of lords-lieutenant, for the purpose of placing on the bench justices whose political opinions were in consonance with those of the Government of the day. Lord Sefton, as Lord-Lieutenant of the county palatine, complained of the arbitrary proceedings of the Chancellor of the Duchy (Mr. Bryce). He had always, he said, made his nominations to the bench on grounds entirely unconnected with party politics, yet his functions in recommending magistrates had now been practically superseded, because he had resisted Mr. Bryce's demand that he should at one stroke place forty new magistrates upon the bench, entirely on account of their political views. The Duke of Devonshire declared that if this sort of thing was to go on it would be for the lords-lieutenant to say whether they would take any further part in magisterial appointments at all. The Government did not resist the motion, which was agreed to, and when Lord Salisbury quietly asked if it was to be *nemine contradicente* the Lord Chancellor replied, "Oh, certainly," and the result was so recorded. On the following day (June 6) the House of Lords discussed, on the motion for its second reading, the Bishop of Chester's bill "for establishing a system of retail sale of intoxicating liquor by an authorised company"—the Gothenburg system in a modified form. Lord Kimberley and Lord Salisbury, representing both



sides of the House, agreed that no satisfactory opinion could be formed as to the applicability of the Gothenburg system to English conditions, and the motion for the second reading was negatived.

The loss of the *Victoria* was the subject of questions and sympathetic observations in each House of Parliament (June 23) a few hours after the news of the disaster had been received. A high personal tribute was paid in each House to the memory of Admiral Tryon, and Lord Spencer in the House of Lords, and Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, expressed the sympathy of Parliament with the bereaved relatives of the officers and men whose services had been so tragically lost to the country. A discussion on the Indian opium question was raised in the House of Commons (June 30) on a resolution moved by Mr. Webb (*Waterford, W.*) against the traffic in opium, and urging the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire as to how the expenditure of the Indian Government could be so reduced as to render the opium revenue unnecessary. Mr. Gladstone (*Midlothian*) declined to accept the resolution as it stood, because it would commit the House to the abolition of the growth of opium and the traffic in opium, before the Government had considered the obstacles in their way, and the mode in which they were to be surmounted. He moved an amendment to the effect that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the whole subject of the manufacture, sale, and consumption of opium in India. On a division Mr. Webb's resolution was negatived by 184 to 105, and the amendment was then agreed to.

Opportunity was found at intervals for making a little progress with supply, but some of the more contentious votes were not taken until after the Home Rule Bill had been got out of the way. Affairs in Siam were the occasion of numerous questions to Ministers, and statements were made from time to time in the House of Lords by Lord Rosebery, and in the House of Commons by Sir Edward Grey, in reference to the demands of France, the position of the Siamese Government, and the action of the British Government. Assurances were given by Lord Rosebery (July 17 and 27) that the British Government would not permit British interests or the independence of Siam to be affected, and he subsequently (August 1) announced that an agreement had been concluded between the British and French Governments, providing for the establishment of a neutral zone between British and French territories in Indo-China. Irish questions were the subject of several more or less informal debates in the House of Lords, while the discussions in committee on the Home Rule Bill were proceeding in the House of Commons. The Duke of Argyll (July 21) made an ineffectual attempt, on a question to the Government, to raise a discussion on Home Rule, in anticipation of the arrival of the bill from the Lower House. Lord Cadogan (July

24) asked the Government on what principle the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland had acted with reference to the acceptance or refusal of addresses. Lord Houghton was absent "through indisposition," a circumstance which Lord Cadogan regretted the more because the Government were too much "behind hand and foot by a section of their supporters in the House, by whose authority and by whose support they live and move and have their being," to be able to give a proper answer. The Lord-Lieutenant had refused the addresses of Loyalists but accepted those of Nationalists, although in both cases the addresses contained controversial political matter. Mr. Spencer explained that in the cases of the addresses which had been refused the Lord-Lieutenant had had the opportunity of considering their contents, whereas the other addresses were presented hurriedly and nearly all at railway stations. Mr. Salisbury made some caustic comments on the explanation and on the "policy of reticence" observed by the Government as to which he said: "It is suitable and congenial to the Majesty's Government, and especially to their distinguished chief. He has great qualification and inclination to adopt the position of a despot, and we know that there is no agriculturalist which a despot likes better than a well-drilled company of musketeers."

By the small majority of 24, the House of Commons (28) negatived a resolution moved by Mr. Lopes (*Grants*) expressing regret that in spite of the depression in agriculture the Government had "not thought it their duty" to take action "to lessen the difficulties and improve the condition of agricultural interest." Mr. Lopes said that prices had fallen so much in the last eight years that the wheat, barley, and other grain sold in England and Wales in 1892 realised 8,000,000*l.* less than was obtained for the quantity sold in 1885. Since 1890 the value of live stock had depreciated by some 70,000,000*l.* The motion was seconded by Mr. Everett (*Woodbridge, Suffolk*) a supporter of the Government, who declared that the agricultural produce of Great Britain was now 35,000,000*l.* a year less than the mean value in the years 1865 to 1875. Mr. Glyn (*Saffron Walden, Essex*) administered such comfort as he could but Sir William Harcourt (*Derby*) complained that no desirable proposals had been made by the supporters of the resolution and Mr. Chaplin (*Sleaford, Lincolnshire*) retorted that the agricultural interest, like every other interest in the country, was over-ridden by the Irish vote.

An attempt at radical legislation against the House of Lords, though by resolution only, failed somewhat ignominiously (August 4). The anticipation that the House of Lords would reject the Home Rule Bill if it were passed by the House of Commons had led to many threatening demonstrations against the Peers on party platforms, and Mr. Storey (*Sunderland*) sought to give point to these demonstrations by a vote of



ouse of Commons. He accordingly moved a resolution in  
pply, declaring that it was desirable in the public interest,  
d for the promotion of necessary legislation, that any bill  
hich had twice passed the House of Commons, but had failed  
pass the House of Lords, should become law, if, with the  
sent of the Government of the day, it again passed through  
e House of Commons, and received the assent of the Crown.  
r. Storey no doubt expected that his resolution would have  
e active support of all those members of the Gladstonian  
arty who were loud in their denunciations of the House of  
ords out of doors. But only a handful of these bolder politi-  
cians came to his assistance, and the House was counted out  
an early hour of the evening.

The close and prolonged strain occasioned by the proceed-  
ings in committee on the Home Rule Bill naturally had a deter-  
rent effect on extra-Parliamentary speeches. These were few  
er Whitsuntide, but it is remarkable that from that time up  
to the end of August there were absolutely no platform speeches  
from members of the Government, or from any of their promi-  
nent supporters, except in connection with the few bye-elections  
that occurred during this period. The same Ministerial silence  
that was maintained in the House of Commons was assiduously  
maintained in the country. The reason suggested by members  
of the Opposition for this reticence was the obvious one that  
Ministers did not wish to disclose their plans on certain vital  
points until the disclosure could be no longer delayed, while it  
was clearly undesirable that supporters of the Government,  
who did not know what shape was finally to be given to parti-  
cular clauses of the Home Rule Bill, should commit neither  
themselves nor the Government to plans that might not be  
adopted. If the Linlithgow election (June 15) had resulted in  
the defeat of the Government, a somewhat bolder course might  
perhaps have been followed, but the loss of this Gladstonian  
victory with the significant warning to be inferred from Captain  
Stewart's success, that Mr. Gladstone's seat for Midlothian would  
be lost, was dispiriting to the Gladstonian Party. The re-  
versal of Pontefract by a majority of 32—after the unseating  
of Reckitt on petition—afforded them some little consol-  
ation, but this was not a victory which possessed any signi-

ficance. Salisbury's contributions to the oratory of the Whit-  
e recess were last in point of time and first in point of  
importance, and he was again the first and most important  
speaker in the few weeks after Whitsuntide. Addressing a  
Social Union meeting in the Surrey Theatre (June 12) he  
alluded to the paralysis of English and Scotch business in  
Parliament. There had been a happy period before Mr. Glad-  
stone meddled with Ireland, when Parliament was master of  
its own time. But then suddenly some evil genius suggested  
to Mr. Gladstone that he should mend Ireland, and since that

day there had been no peace. In allusion to the financial proposals of the Home Rule Bill he remarked that "this game of customs duties" had been played before. There was one occasion in history in which England quarrelled with a great dependency. She quarrelled fatally, and the result was the disruption of the empire. Another curious provision of the bill would be recorded as the most remarkable eccentricity ever perpetrated. This was the provision enabling Irish members to sit in the British Parliament practically without constituencies. Of course, everybody had given up the "in-and-out" theory. That absurdity was too much even for the Government of Mr. Gladstone. But Irishmen were said to be men with a passion for agreement. Their great tendency was to love England, and in fact to be "bubbling over with the milk of human kindness, and with all the angelic passions which Mr. Gladstone's conduct was calculated to arouse." How was it, then, that they were not able to agree among themselves?

Speaking at a Unionist meeting at Hanley (June 19) the Duke of Devonshire remarked on the improved position of affairs for the Unionist Party. The bye-elections had gone in their favour, and signs of independence were beginning to show in the ranks of their opponents. Home Rulers were flattering themselves that the only resources upon which the Unionists relied were delay, and, as a last resort, the House of Lords. They were absolutely wrong. The House of Lords knew very well the limits of its power. All that the House of Lords could be in this question was the instrument by which the stronger forces would have full play and full effect. There was a time when Mr. Gladstone asked the electors of this country to give him a majority to settle the Irish question which should not be dependent upon the support of the Irish Party. But Mr. Gladstone was now content that the clearly expressed will of England should be over-ruled by the vote of a majority of the Irish representatives. There were signs that the Irish members dare not if they would concede or relax one letter of the bond which they were exacting from the Gladstonian Party. Sooner or later this antagonism must come to a head; and when the moment arrived when on some critical point this alliance broke down, the whole enterprise, the whole imposture, would have to be abandoned.

Lord Randolph Churchill undertook the largest share of the political oratory of the summer months. Week after week he was the principal speaker at Unionist meetings in various parts of England, and his vigorous criticisms of the Home Rule Bill—though they were sometimes marred by personalities—no doubt had a considerable effect in the enlightenment of public opinion. At Leicester (June 21) he declared that the Irish Party were never united except to threaten the Government, and the weakness of the Government was shown by the



strength of the Opposition. All the old phrases which Mr. Gladstone was so fond of using were now mere puppets and automata, which his followers moved in a mechanical way with an increasing sense of weariness and despair. What he called the "union of hearts" everybody with any common-sense now saw could not exist without the "divorce of peoples." At Pontefract (June 24) Lord Randolph pointed to the concealment practised by the Government. By means of one of the most extraordinary methods of procedure ever adopted by a responsible Minister, Mr. Gladstone had got the second reading of the Home Rule Bill carried, and the bill well into committee, before he hinted at the nature of his financial proposals. All at once he "sprang upon the committee the most insane, delirious, financial proposals that were ever brought before any Parliament by any Government in the history of Europe." A few days later (June 28), at Birmingham, Lord Randolph Churchill said that if Mr. Gladstone had not swerved from his declaration in 1885 he might have occupied a political pedestal of the utmost power. But the fact was that in two great matters Mr. Gladstone had never been a statesman. In foreign affairs he had always been misinformed and unfortunate, and he had never been right about Ireland, because he had always been "totally ignorant of the condition of Ireland, and had always misconceived the character of its people." He was now the reckless leader of a wavering, a disarranged, and a greatly enfeebled force. The Irish Party were doubtful—they were puzzled and wavering between two leaders. Mr. Gladstone was now for ever abandoned by the best of his old colleagues and admirers, while the Opposition were resolute, united, and confident in the support of the vast majority of the people of Great Britain.

The allusions in the Duke of Devonshire's speech at Hanley to Mr. Gladstone's appeal to the British constituencies, in 1885, to give him a majority that should make the Liberal Party independent of the Irish Party, and to his subsequent relations with the Irish members, became the subject of a curious correspondence. A private correspondent drew Mr. Gladstone's attention to the duke's observations, and was told in reply that the Duke of Devonshire's reference to Mr. Gladstone's speech was inaccurate. Thereupon (June 25) the Duke of Devonshire wrote to Mr. Gladstone for an explanation, and among other passages from his Edinburgh speech of November 9, 1885, reminded him of the following one: "I will suppose that owing to some cause the present Government had disappeared, and that the Liberal Party was called upon to deal with the great constitutional question of the government of Ireland in a position where it was only a minority dependent upon the Irish vote for converting it into a majority. Now, gentlemen, I tell you seriously and solemnly that, although I believe the Liberal Party to be honourable, patriotic, sound, and trust-

worthy, in such a position as that it would not be safe for it to enter upon the consideration of the principle of a measure with respect to which at every step of its progress it would be in the power of a party coming from Ireland to say, 'Unless you do this, and unless you do that, we will turn you out to-morrow;' and if we allow ourselves by any follies among ourselves to be so far divided and weakened, and split up in one place or another, that although we are in a majority over the Tory Party, yet we are not a majority of Parliament—tell you, gentlemen, that not only the Tory Party, and not only the Liberal Party, but the empire will be in danger; because questions of the gravest moment and most imperial weight and of vast consequences, may come forward, and will in all likelihood come forward, and there will be no party qualified to deal with them in that independence of position, which alone can secure a satisfactory and an honourable issue."

Mr. Gladstone's answer was in every way a characteristic one. He said that he thought his correction of the Duke of Devonshire's reference to his speech to be necessary, "because I conceive that in your speech you converted a statement growing out of a particular position of parties and affairs, and in my view at the time, into a general principle applicable to all positions of parties and affairs." The letter then proceeded:—"At that period the anticipations of Home Rule held out by the Tory Government had naturally enough placed them in alliance with the Irish Party, while they were in sharp hostility to us. I, therefore, thought that in the event of the disappearance of that Government, and our being called to deal with the Irish question, we should have no security against combinations strong enough to carry inadmissible amendments, and that it would be perilous to place ourselves in such a position. But now the Tories, held fast in their position by the Liberal Unionists, are in the strongest opposition to Irish claims; while four-fifths of the representatives of the Irish people, seven and a half years ago, publicly and formally accepted what we consider the fundamental principles of a safe and constitutional plan, and have ever since that time, almost to a man, steadily co-operated with us for the advancement of such a plan. It would be strange indeed, after such proofs of loyalty and moderation, were we now to admit of any of the arguments for mistrust which they themselves, I think, would admit to have been natural on our part when we had no assurances as to their views, and when they were in co-operation with our opponents. I think, therefore, that your application to the present situation of an opinion based upon circumstances directly opposite, could not be described by me more fairly or more mildly than as an inaccurate representation, while it harboured no idea of imputing to you anything more than casual inadvertence."

On the day on which this correspondence appeared (July



Mr. Balfour went down to Stockport to address a political meeting, and he naturally devoted a considerable part of his speech to the matters to which it referred. After some strictures upon Mr. Gladstone's general explanation, he dealt at some length with the particular one imputing to the Tory Party an alliance with the Irish Party. "Much," he said, "in Mr. Gladstone's career moves my astonishment—some of it moves my admiration. But I do not think that anything astonishes me more than his versions of ancient history, except it be his versions of modern history. I should think that inaccuracy could not have gone further than Mr. Gladstone goes when he is dealing with Irish history before the Union, if I had not before heard the inaccuracies of the same great authority. I have been led a little away from my main argument, but I must interpolate one parenthesis, if only to explain to you in what this history is totally and absolutely false. There never was a period, there never has been a period in the history of the Tory Party, and I believe there never will be such a period—when they have consented to entertain under any disguise any form of proposal of Home Rule for Ireland. The sole conceivable justification—and it is no justification if we think of the facts—the sole conceivable justification or occasion for Mr. Gladstone's statement must be this, that undoubtedly there was an interview between Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Parnell in 1885, on which Lord Carnarvon founded the views from which not only I, but every one of his colleagues dissented. Lord Carnarvon has explained—he, being no longer with us, cannot defend himself—explained over and over again in the House of Lords and elsewhere, in letter and in speech, that he acted on his own initiative alone, and not only did he act on his own initiative alone, but he acted without the knowledge of any single one of his colleagues. Well, was it not a scandal, in the face of that fact, to attempt to throw on the Tory Party in 1885 the responsibilities of all the wickednesses which the Liberal Party are prepared to commit in 1893? But that is not all. I had myself an interview—private at the time, but one which has since been made public, and to which, therefore, there is no reason why I should not allude—with Mr. Gladstone towards the end of that very year, in which he suggested that the Tory Party should bring in a measure of Home Rule, and promised his support to them if they did so. That was what it came to. That offer was refused, and therefore the man who says that we were prepared, by the help of the Irish, to pass Home Rule in 1885, not only errs, but errs doubly, for we not only refused to do it with the help of the Irish alone, but even with the help of Mr. Gladstone also. But though the history which Mr. Gladstone gives us, in the letter to the Duke of Devonshire, of the events of 1885 is totally inaccurate, the fact remains that at the present moment he and his party are fulfilling to the bitter dregs the forecast

which he himself made, and which the Duke of Devonshire has quoted, in 1885. What Mr. Gladstone foresaw is coming to pass. The tyranny under which he was unwilling to serve, he is serving under at the present time, and it would be tragic, were it not comic, to see the Treasury benches, where Mr. Gladstone and his allies sit watching their taskmasters, by whose favour they hold their present places, with an anxious eye, fearing the descent of the threatened lash, and ready to yield when they think that lash whistles through the air."

The tone of these observations was significant of the intensity of feeling produced by the strained situation in the House of Commons, where the "gag" was in operation for the forcible passing of a measure of the very gravest kind, and the full discussion of which was admitted by some of Mr. Gladstone's supporters to be impossible in one session or in two. In this Stockport speech Mr. Balfour declared the gagging of the voice of Ulster to be "the height of political infamy."

The rhetorical devices of the Prime Minister were matched in another direction by the rhetorical extravagances of Lord Randolph Churchill. In a speech at Carlisle (July 5), Lord Randolph said that Mr. Gladstone's "novel and somewhat brutal way of transacting imperial and national business" suggested that there were only two alternatives in describing his conduct. "Was he a lunatic or was he a traitor?" "Fiction with him did duty for facts, and indignation took the place of argument," and it was "unsafe and most dangerous to place the slightest reliance on the word of the First Minister of the Crown."

Perhaps Lord Salisbury's strictures on Mr. Gladstone and his measure were equally severe, but they did not err in point of taste. Speaking at the Junior Constitutional Club (July 7) Lord Salisbury said that no such instance of the abuse of power had happened for many generations as that afforded by Mr. Gladstone, whose "flabby optimism" "disdained history and experience." If the Home Rule Bill were one to place Scotland under the government of Germany, and were being passed by "an imposing majority of fifteen," nobody would blame the Scotch if they risked everything and expended their utmost resources in averting such a transfer of allegiance. Yet that transfer would differ in no possible circumstance from the transfer of allegiance which the Prime Minister was seeking to impose upon loyal people in Ireland. Lord Salisbury admitted indeed, that he would himself "much rather be under the government of a good German official than under the government of Mr. Dillon or Mr. Sexton." Of Mr. Gladstone's majority, which varied from fifteen to thirty-five, he said it was a "majority of fraud and revolution." It had been made up not by love for Home Rule, but by the desire to see all sorts of "fancies and fads" carried out—one of them, which was not likely to turn out so profitable as had been expected, being



and for "making sober people thirsty in order that drunken people might be kept sober." After observing that the moral authority of the House of Commons was lost when that assembly suffered itself to be "manacled, gagged, and dragooned," Mr. Salisbury referred to the threats which had been addressed to the House of Lords, in anticipation of its rejection of the Home Rule Bill. But the House of Lords was in no danger from the action of the people than Charles II. was in danger of assassination. When James, the Duke of York, remonstrated with Charles II. on his exposing himself to much in public, when he might be assassinated, the answer given by the monarch was: "My dear James, they will never come to make you king," and the people now would never permit the House of Lords to make the House of Commons dangerous. Indeed, the Lords had never had in this generation so powerful an advocate or supporter as Mr. Gladstone himself, who had shown how the House of Commons, by an unscrupulous use of its powers, by a reckless application of the party system, by a perfect indifference to the conditions under which it was working or to the consequences which were to follow, could be converted into "the subtle instrument of the wishes of a single man."

Mr. Gladstone's "optimism" was strikingly shown at this time in a letter which he addressed to the Chairman of the Scottish Liberal Association, and which was read at a meeting of that body (July 5). In this letter he said: "I do not allow the meeting of our county association to pass without a word of notice and encouragement. The majority earned by the electors of the United Kingdom at the general election has, through union, courage, and self-sacrifice, exhibited in a numerical and a moral force abundantly sufficient to carry the Irish Government Bill through the House of Commons. Its passage into the House of Lords will present to that assembly a great political issue. I will not anticipate a victory of prepossession over foresight, but, whatever be the estimate of the bill in that assembly, its passage through a House of Commons elected less than a year ago for the very purpose of trying the issue, is a cardinal fact which immensely advances the measure, and, coming after seven years' closely sustained conflict, is decisive of its ultimate success. The self-interest imposed on itself by the majority has been manfully accepted by the constituencies, but I am not less confident than I was six months ago that this year will not pass away without leaving on the statute-book British measures of great value and importance, unless these also should be proscribed by adverse influence after having received the deliberate approval of the House of Commons. I make no doubt that the tone of the meeting will be in full sympathy with these favourable prospects."

There was no reference in this communication to the strong

and exceptional means to which the Government were resorting for forcing the bill through the House of Commons; unless Mr. Gladstone intended to refer to those means when he spoke of "a moral force abundantly sufficient to carry the Irish Government Bill." He could command the votes of his supporters—with a few exceptions—but some of them, and notably some of the most Radical of them, frankly and adversely criticised the action of the Government. Mr. Labouchere, for instance, expressed himself to the following effect in the columns of *Truth*: "Events will prove whether I am right or wrong. I stand, however, to my opinion, that we shall suffer at the general election by passing clauses in the Home Rule Bill without any discussion on them being allowed. No doubt the Opposition has exhaustively discussed amendments of no real importance with a view to delay progress, but it is equally true that a good many of their amendments were legitimate and required full discussion. But I look at the matter with an eye to the general election, for in this matter of Home Rule the country will have the last word. We are practically submitting to it a bill which alters all existing relations between Ireland and Great Britain. Our plea with the electors should be that this bill is the outcome of the deliberate wisdom of the House of Commons, and that it has only failed in becoming law by the action of the House of Lords. The reply will be that a great portion of it was not even discussed in the House of Commons, and I cannot help thinking that this reply will strengthen the Unionists at the general election."

In a stirring speech at the annual dinner of the United Club (July 19), Mr. Balfour repudiated the suggestion that the Opposition had obstructed the bill. Any human being, he said, who had been present in the House of Commons, and was seriously of opinion that too much time had been devoted to the questions before them, spoke either in ignorance or in bad faith. It was ludicrous to suppose that such a bill could be passed sandwiched between two other items of the Newcastle Programme. They had not been able to reduce the Government majority below the humble figure of 14, and he thought the House of Commons would accept all Mr. Gladstone's proposals. But he drew from this the inference, not that the Government were strong and stable, but that they were essentially weak, and that they knew it. There were convulsions which proved debility and disease in patients. There were frantic efforts which showed, not the vigour of the person who made them, but the despairing effort to escape from an impossible situation, and such was the action of the Government in applying the gag to the House of Commons.

Mr. Gladstone made a somewhat belated defence of the shape ultimately given to the ninth clause of the Home Rule Bill in a letter to Mr. Cowan, of Midlothian (July 31).



Practically he had been driven, he said, to his latest proposal because public opinion was evidently, in the first place, against the complete exclusion of the Irish members, and in the second place was against allowing them only a limited power of voting. There remained no alternative but that of leaving them in the House with undiminished powers, but reduced to the number to which Ireland was entitled according to population. The letter continued: "The prophecies of the Opposition are that the eighty members of the House returned from Ireland will be masters of the House and umpires on British affairs, which they will handle for Irish purposes, and you are aware of the great manoeuvre of the Tory Party in 1885, which, by inducements held out to the Irish members, procured the dislodgment of the Liberal Government of that period and their own accession to office. It is well to look back on that proceeding of the Tory Party, which is, so far as I know, unexampled in our Parliamentary history, for what it shows us is that the very worst of the consequences now apprehended by some from Irish interposition in a political crisis has actually happened under our existing arrangements for the government and representation of Ireland. And it might happen again were the Tories again to be as unscrupulous as they were in 1885, and had not Ireland been sufficiently warned by subsequent and recent experience.

"But let us take the extremest case. It must still, in order to a sound judgment, be borne in mind that Irish members will be fewer than they are now. Again, when Home Rule has been granted, they will of necessity be much more busied with their own affairs. The natural restraints of good feeling and good-will cannot but check meddlesome and undue intervention. They will in all likelihood be returned in a greater variety of sections, in divisions less unequal and more capable of balancing one another. Above all, they will not have the same motive for indirect intervention as they had in 1885, when their national question, which, happily, we are now seeking to dispose of, was to them all in all, and in their view fully justified the step they took. Our apprehensions, then, from the undue intervention of Ireland in British affairs may be kept within just and, perhaps, narrow limits. A repetition of what we have suffered under the present system in some Ministerial crises, and that almost certainly with mitigated features, is the worst of what could possibly happen. That it could become habitual by repetition, that Parliamentary parties should endure it, or that the country would submit to be represented by 500 or 600 men who would consent to become the slaves of a small fraction of their own assembly, is, in my opinion, groundless and even absurd as a supposition, and nothing less than outrageous as a prophecy. I desire to point out that we have done our best to prevent undue intervention or inconvenience. We did it in the first place by our original

choice of a proposal, and next we pursued the same end by an equitable retrenchment of the number of Irish members. Lastly, we have inserted words in the bill to show that retention and the mode and manner of retention are no part of any compact with Ireland, express or implied, but are matters which can at any time be dealt with as experience may recommend by the free and unrestrained discretion of the Imperial Parliament. In neither of these purposes, however, have we received aid from either division of the Parliamentary Opposition.

"To sum up in a few words: In 1886 we proposed to proceed without retention. We were overruled. From a practical point of view, Home Rule and retention were before us—we could have both or neither, we could not take one and leave the other. We deemed it our duty to prosecute the great imperial cause of Home Rule, as some would say, at the cost of retention, or, as others would hold, with the guarantees which retention afforded; and now, eventually, as retention has been fastened upon Home Rule, so the unlimited vote of the reduced number of Irish members has been fastened upon retention. This is the plain history of the case, and I think the country will be of opinion that under the actual circumstances of the case we have judged aright."

The action of the Government in reference to the ninth clause determined Mr. Grenfell, the Gladstonian member for Hereford, to resign his seat. Mr. Grenfell did not like the policy of the Government on the currency question, but this alone would not have induced him to retire, while he felt that the new phase of the Irish question made that step imperative. "I know of many arguments," he said, in the letter to the Liberal agent at Hereford conveying his decision, "which may be urged in favour of the Irish people having a more direct control over their own affairs, but I know of none in favour of their representatives governing Great Britain, with no responsibility to the people of Great Britain." Mr. Grenfell consideredately offered to delay his application for the Chiltern Hundreds until the Liberal Party at Hereford should be prepared with a candidate for the seat. No time was lost in the selection of a candidate, and the secret preparation for a contest. An excellent candidate was found in Sir Joseph Pulley, a philanthropist and much-respected local resident, and when everything was ready on the Gladstonian side for a fight, Mr. Grenfell's application for the Chiltern Hundreds was made. The Unionist Party were taken wholly by surprise, and they had to look for a candidate while their opponents were busily canvassing for the strong candidate they had obtained in advance. But Mr. Radcliffe Cooke soon entered the field as the opponent of Sir Joseph Pulley, and the contest quickly became an acute one. The Home Rule Bill necessarily figured largely in it, and the Gladstonians, in their lack of information as to the actual



proposals of the Government, circulated a leaflet, which stated that, though Ireland was to have eighty representatives in the House of Commons, they were "not to be allowed to speak or vote on any matters solely affecting Great Britain." The Employers' Liability Bill also had a considerable bearing on the contest, a large section of the working-class electors being opposed to the prohibition of "contracting-out of the Act." In the result, notwithstanding that the Gladstonian candidate enjoyed all the advantages which have been pointed out, Mr. Radcliffe Cooke was returned (Aug. 15), and his election was naturally hailed by the Unionist Party throughout the country as a condemnation of the policy of the Government.

Sir Henry James undertook some of the hardest work in committee on the Home Rule Bill, and he was therefore not able to address many political meetings; but a speech which he delivered at Sheffield (Aug. 12) gave a very lively and forcible account of the political situation. The House of Commons, he said, had been "playing a foolish and discreditable farce." That great assembly was being used for the mere advantage of a party; free discussion was removed because certain sections of the Liberal Party required a Local Veto Bill, or because some faddists demanded that a Suspensory Bill for Wales should be carried. But the Gladstonians would never be a prosperous party until they either abandoned or failed to carry the Home Rule Bill. Sir Henry enforced this view by an anecdote lately told by a voyager in eastern seas. The vessel in which he was one day came upon the body of a very large fish—a large shark—in a dying condition, emaciated, and with nothing remaining of it but bones with a little skin adhering to the body. The great fish was taken on board and subjected to *post-mortem* examination, and then it was found that its condition had been caused by the fact that in an unhappy moment of voracity it had swallowed a very large cask, and that, the bottom of the cask having fallen in, the cask occupied such a position that whatever the shark swallowed went into the cask, and not into the shark. According to its habit, whenever a tempting object had appeared it swallowed it, but the cask got all the nourishment and the shark got none, so it grew thin and died. The Gladstonians had similarly swallowed Home Rule, and the bottom had gone out of it, and it now occupied such a position in the body of the Liberal Party that they might go on swallowing—and they did swallow enormously—but from nothing that they swallowed—Local Veto Bill, Welsh Suspensory Bill, Scotch Disestablishment—good, bad, or indifferent, would they obtain the slightest nourishment.

The knowledge that the Duke of Devonshire had undertaken to move the rejection of the Home Rule Bill in the House of Lords gave increased interest to the speech with which he opened a new Unionist Club at Otley (Aug. 24). The speech was in every way important, for it not only reviewed the pro-

ceedings on the bill in the House of Commons, but explained and vindicated the course which the House of Lords would take, and discussed the position from the point of view of the country at large. In ordinary times, he said, the people might well be content to leave the discussion of public affairs, and the consideration of measures which were before Parliament, to the calm and impartial judgment of their representatives in the House of Commons. But these were no such times. If the measures which were submitted by Government to Parliament were to be fully, freely, and fearlessly discussed, it would not be in the House of Commons. It would either be in public meeting, or in the columns of the press, or in the other branch of Parliament, whose voice had not yet been gagged. The appetite for tyranny grew by what it fed on, and only "their Irish taskmasters, and their ally, the Prime Minister of England," knew how long the freedom of discussion, which was being banished from the House of Commons, would be suffered to remain even in the press or in public meetings. He would have the honour within a short time of asking the House of Lords to refuse to pass the Home Rule Bill. This he would do because the bill was irremediably bad both in principle and in detail. Even if one could approve the principle, the details were so badly put together that it was absolutely incapable of amendment. It had not undergone the discussion in the House of Commons which the importance and the magnitude of the issues which it raised demanded, and which they were accustomed to expect should be received by every measure sent up by the House of Commons to the House of Lords. And, lastly, he would ask that assembly to refuse to pass the bill because they had and could have no knowledge that either the principles or the details of the measure commanded the consent of the majority of the people of the country. Every one knew that the mechanical majority which followed the Government would go through the form of passing the measure through its various stages in the House of Commons; and every one in the country knew equally well that when this bill was passed and came up for the judgment of the House of Lords that House would refuse to pass it; and every man in the country, whether he were a Unionist or a Home Ruler, would in his heart despise the House of Lords as cowards if they took any other course than the one they would take. The House of Lords would ask that on their failure to pass this cardinal measure of their policy the Government should appeal to the country by a dissolution of Parliament and another general election. It was not in the power of the House of Lords to compel a dissolution, and he believed that a dissolution would not be granted to them, because the Government knew that upon this issue, plainly stated to the electors of the country, they could not win. They would try by the renewed aid of the closure and the gag to pass through this submissive House of Commons a set of other



measures, in the hope that they might also be rejected by the other House, and that they would be able once more to present, not a clear and definite, but a confused issue, to the people. But these tactics would not prevent them from spending the interval which might elapse between that time and a general election in denouncing the House of Lords for having, as they would say, defied the will of the popular assembly and of the majority of the people of the country.

The House of Lords on its part, the duke went on to say, would defy the arbitrary decree of a House of Commons which had received no mandate to pass this measure, and which had not even taken the trouble to discuss it fully. How was it possible that the House of Lords could know what the will of the people upon this question was until it was solely, simply, separately, and definitely placed as an issue before the people? This Home Rule policy was proposed in 1886 to a Parliament which had not been elected with any reference whatever to this policy, but which still retained some remnants of independence and public spirit. This policy was rejected by the House of Commons after a fair discussion by a substantial majority. The Government appealed to the country, and the country ratified the decision of the House of Commons and rejected the policy by a still more overwhelming majority. Since that time the Government had never ventured to place this issue as a clear one before the people. They had kept it in the background and endeavoured—unfortunately with success—to scrape together a scratch majority, which had been elected, not to support Home Rule, but to pass a variety of other measures. In 1886 the policy of Home Rule was accompanied by the offer of what to this country was an enormous and valuable bribe. If that bill had been passed the Irish members were to be forever excluded from the House of Commons. What this gain would have been they had learned to some extent by the history of the last ten years. But they had never fully known what the gain would be until this disgraceful experience of the present session, when they had learned what it was to be governed by men who were dependent for their positions, their places, and the execution of their policy upon the vote of a band of intolerant and factious Irish members. The gain would have been great, but the price they were called upon to pay would have been too great. The Unionist Party still maintained that the exclusion of the Irish members from the British Parliament meant, in name as well as in fact, the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. If Ireland was excluded from representation in the British Parliament she sank from the position of an integral part of the United Kingdom, and occupied the position of a colonial dependency. Perhaps Great Britain might not be materially weakened if Ireland were to become a separate principality. But she would have to sacrifice something more than power and

reputation in the world. The sacrifice she was required to make was one of duty and honour. She was now called upon to make as full a surrender of the imperial power and efficiency of her Legislature as in 1886, and nothing was to be gained in exchange. The Irish members were to be retained in the House of Commons. They were to be placed in a position of distinct superiority to that of the English representative. They would have power to vote upon every subject brought before the House of Commons. They would have a right vote for the imposition upon Englishmen and Scotchmen taxes which Irishmen would not pay. They would be able to give an effective vote upon the question of the men who were to govern England. They would be able, by their votes upon a question of confidence, or upon a vote of censure, to maintain in power a British Government which was entrusted with the control of British affairs, but British representatives would have no power to give any such vote upon the conduct of the Irish Government, whatever it might have been. That was an inequality which it passed beyond the powers of conception that any sane statesman should have ventured to propose.

In an effective summing up of the question, the duke observed that there were three ways in which it was possible to deal with this difficulty. The Irish members might be excluded entirely, as was proposed in 1886; they might be partially included and partially excluded, as was proposed at the beginning of the present session; or they might be retained for all purposes, as was proposed now. The Government had tried every one of these plans. They had never ventured to argue in defence of any one of them. They resorted to the simpler course, and in supporting each one of these successive plans they had thought it sufficient to urge insuperable and unanswerable arguments against either of the other two. These plans might be classed as with the three degrees of comparison. The first plan was an intolerable one, the second was more intolerable, the third was most intolerable. And it was true that two blacks did not make a white, it was equally true that out of three intolerable plans they could not make one which should be tolerable. Not even the majority in the House of Commons would have dared to vote for the present degrading proposition but for the fact that the vote was taken under the closure and the gag.

On the day after the delivery of this very impressive speech (August 25), Mr. Gladstone received a deputation from the Scottish Disestablishment Council, in reference to the proposed disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, and he took occasion to say that it was the Duke of Devonshire who first gave to the question its distinctively Scottish character. It was a question which ought to be dealt with according to Scottish ideas and convictions, and not according to the preferences which other persons might bring from other portions of the



ed Kingdom. The deputation had not expressed an enthusiastic liking for the Suspensory Bill, by which it had been proposed to deal with the Scottish Church, and Mr. Gladstone expressed that he did not himself care for it. But the deputation need not regard the declaration of the Government about the Suspensory Bill as likely to prove an obstacle to the wishes entertained, and which were embodied in the bill of Sir Charles Cameron. He agreed to some extent with those who thought that the concessions of that bill to the Established Church of Scotland were too great. But they had to consider the importance of removing out of the way a painful controversy. Extreme views might indefinitely delay the settlement of it. Many of the incidents, and much of the tradition of establishment, were left by Sir Charles Cameron's bill ungrudgingly in the hands of the Established Church. In making the offer of these concessions, on prudential grounds, they were not to be considered as permanently bound by their offer, unless it were accepted. "Unquestionably," Mr. Gladstone added, "and upon every principle, if it be found impossible to close up the controversy on those terms, you are at liberty to cast this concession to the winds, to set out from a new starting-point, and to claim a full and absolute right to work for whatever you think justice demands in the way of absolute disestablishment, quite independently of the fact that at a certain time, and under certain circumstances, you have made these considerate and liberal proposals." In reference to the aid to be afforded by the Government, Mr. Gladstone assured the deputation that there was no reserve upon his friendliness, or upon that of the Government as a whole, "to this bill and this plan." All that they could do in supporting and promoting it would be cheerily done. But as regarded the questions "when?" and "how?" it was impossible to speak definitely.

Mr. John Morley and Mr. Asquith had the last words, out of Parliament, upon the Home Rule Bill, while that measure was still before the House of Commons. The first-named Minister, in an address to his constituents (August 26), endeavoured to show that the House of Commons had an express mandate from the constituencies at the general election to deal with the question of Home Rule. He also contended that he had been ample time for the full discussion of the bill, that it would have been fully discussed but for the obstructive tactics of the Opposition. The American Constitution is a great instrument of free Government. The fathers of the American Constitution sat for four months only in a very hot summer, and at the end of it they produced their work. And here the Government were to be taunted with delay because they had asserted that eighty-two sittings were ample for the discussion of this question. The principle on which the Unionists denounced the Government would have played havoc with all great constitutional instruments.

It would have been interesting to have heard all the amendments that might have been moved to Magna Charta and to the Bill of Rights. "What amendments," Mr. Morley continued "Mr. Chamberlain would make to the British Constitution if it ever came before the House of Commons as a bill! And the great Reform Bill of 1832, which for the first time admitted that the aristocracy were not to have the whole of the government of the country, would have been denounced, like the present bill, as crude and rickety." The Government had made a workable scheme. The debate had not been wasted. It had given the Government an extraordinary example of the patience and the fortitude of their Irish allies. The Irish had behaved admirably throughout this great contest. And a party ever stood so firm to its principles and to its leaders and so staunch to its alliance, as the British Liberal Party had during all these trying times. Everything that had gone on during this session had shown that there was a real treaty of alliance, informal, not written in parchment, but written in the mind, in the soul, in the consciousness, and in the heart, between the democracy of Great Britain and the democracy of Ireland.

Mr. Asquith's speech was addressed to an out-door audience at Althorpe Park (August 31), and the attempt to give a popular character to it probably accounted for the contrast which the speech presented to the Home Rule speeches of the Home Secretary in the House of Commons. It was an attack upon the Opposition, a more or less personal attack upon Mr. Chamberlain, and a laboured and one-sided attack upon the House of Lords. The speech was made on the very eve of the third reading of the bill by the House of Commons, but it cannot be said to have led up to that event in such a manner as to give either importance or significance to it.

## CHAPTER VI.

The Home Rule Bill in the Lords—Debate and Rejection—Public Opinion—The House of Commons on the Estimates—The Viceroy of India—The Coal Strike—Mr. Gladstone's Speech at Edinburgh—Mr. Goschen's Rejoinder—Mr. Asquith in Scotland—Lord Salisbury on the National Defences—The Autumn Congresses—Lord R. Churchill on Local Option—The Duke of Argyll on Mr. Gladstone's Political Career.

It was said of the Home Rule Bill that it came to the House of Lords like a thief in the night. A special sitting of that body was held at midnight (Sept. 1) attended by three members of the Government, who took over the measure from its sponsors, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. John Morley and Mr. Bryce. By the conventional custom of the Upper House, the bill was regarded as having been read a first time, and all discussion of



its merits was postponed until the debate on the second reading. No greater evidence could be found of the indifference with which the public viewed this measure, on which Mr. Gladstone had practically staked the reputation of his later life, than the general acquiescence of all parties in its certain rejection by the Lords. A few extreme politicians may possibly have nursed the hope, or even the belief, that in some way such a course could be made to tell against the Lords, but even among the Liberal Party there were not a few to admit that the bill was altogether unworkable, and would not have been allowed to pass from the Commons in its actual shape but for the certainty that in any shape it would be ultimately rejected. There was perhaps no stronger reason needed by the peers than that afforded by the action of the independent supporters of the Government in the House of Commons. For reasons which they never explained, and still less attempted to justify, the unofficial Liberals had studiously abstained from putting down any amendments to the Home Rule Bill, and for the first time, perhaps, in Parliamentary history, a measure drafted by the Government was accepted by their followers of all shades as incapable of amendment or improvement. By one faction of the public this was regarded as cynical indifference, and by another as obsequious flattery. More probably a large proportion of those who "voted solid" against every attempt to modify the bill in committee knew that they had been returned to support Mr. Gladstone, and that it was the magic of his name which had won the electors. Against this view, however, was the obvious inference that the personal influence of a leader in his eighty-fourth year must each year be growing less appreciable, and that the need of his name as a watchword at another general election was at least problematical. A far stronger argument, however, in the mouths of the peers was the method by which the bill sent up for them to pass had been discussed in the Lower House. The principle of the bill, as explained in the debate on the second reading, and confirmed by the division then taken, was absolutely discarded at a moment's notice, and by the almost immediate closing of all discussion as soon as the Ministerial *volte-face* had been revealed, the Lords suddenly found themselves called upon to vindicate the rights of free debate in the other House of Parliament. There could be no doubt, from the general expression of independent opinion, Liberal as well as Conservative, that this act of the Ministry effectually stood in the way of any subsequent attempt to rouse popular feeling against the peers. In his anxiety to push his bill through, and to redeem his promise to his Irish allies, Mr. Gladstone had committed a tactical blunder, so patent that it was not surprising to hear it described as a skilful method of getting rid of the unpopular question altogether. There was no ground, however, for supposing that Mr. Gladstone would have condescended to such a course,

however much many of his followers may have desired the end which was thereby ensured.

The House of Lords showed no unwillingness to join issue upon the merits of the bill which had thus been carried through the Commons. And if any argument could be drawn from the crowd of strange faces within the House, the interest aroused by the momentous question was without precedent in parallel. Peers who had probably never attended but to take their seats, and had been content to leave the management of public affairs to those more competent, but who felt this to be a question which involved the maintenance of the Union, betook themselves to Westminster, in order to testify by their vote and presence that they were not indifferent to the importance of the crisis. On the earliest possible day (Sept. 5) the second reading of the Home Rule Bill was moved by Earl Spencer, who tactfully opened his speech with a brief sketch of how Ireland and Irish questions had been treated during the century which had passed since the union of the three kingdoms had been broached and effected. He admitted that as time had gone on the state of Ireland had improved and still more the treatment of the Irish question by Parliament. A better feeling prevailed in the country, but there was not the general support of law and order without which no good government could exist. Remedial measures had failed because they had been passed without regard to the feelings, sentiments and customs of the Irish people; and the result was that the government of Ireland had become completely isolated from the country, and there had been frequent demands for separation and cries for repeal. He had administered the law himself in Ireland for three years under the most difficult circumstances, and there were loud cheers from the Opposition when he declared that he had done it as fairly and fearlessly as he could, and that he had always endeavoured to do it with perfect justice. But he sadly confessed that he felt at the end of it all that he had not succeeded in the work he undertook, and that some change of policy must come. In assenting to such a change Lord Spencer declared that he laid down three conditions—that the supremacy of Parliament must be maintained, that the unity of the kingdom must be preserved, and that the minority in Ireland must be effectually protected. He claimed that all these conditions had been fulfilled in the bill. He went near to pathos when he feelingly declared that a new policy like this could not be adopted with a light heart, for it was one of the most painful things that could happen to a man to have to separate himself from so many of his old colleagues and friends with whom he had been for so many years intimately connected. He and his present colleagues had felt that most deeply, and they felt it still, but it was their paramount duty to adopt a new course, as they believed it to be the only way of dealing with the Irish question. He proceeded to describe and



explain the bill, intermingling comment and criticism as he went on, and when he came to the retention of the Irish members he admitted that he was at first in favour of their exclusion as the simplest plan to work the many complications inevitable in any other solution, but there were strong objections to it, as it appeared to many to mean actual separation, while the "in-and-out" arrangement was impossible in practice. He dealt with the objections to the plan of total inclusion, but thought them unsubstantial, and that they would disappear when the bill was passed, if it worked as it was expected to do. He believed the Irish people would not want to obtain an impossible separation. He denied that the Irish Party were "murderers," though they had done many things he deplored, and he could not justify all their acts. They had been violent in their language, and silent when they ought to have spoken out, and they had "often been guilty of discreditable acts"; but he had confidence in the Irish people, and believed that they would in future select the right men to serve them. Finally, he implored his hearers—though with a conviction that his appeal would be unheeded—not to reject the bill, but, by passing it, to add to the lustre and honour of the House, give power to Parliament, increase the influence of the country in every part of the world, and give contentment and good government to Ireland, and make her a source of strength instead of weakness to the empire.

By previous arrangement it had been decided that whilst the lead against the bill in the Commons should be left to the official Opposition, that part should be taken in the House of Lords by the leader of the Liberal Unionists. It consequently devolved upon the Duke of Devonshire to formally move the rejection of the measure which had been the cause of his separation from his own party seven years before. As an oratorical display, the Duke of Devonshire's speech was not so effective as many of those he had made when leading his numerically small band of followers in the House of Commons, but it was full of that combined moderation and common-sense which gave little handle to his opponents. He treated Lord Spencer's historical disquisition with some contempt as having nothing whatever to do with the bill, and feared the speaker had forgotten the connecting link which should have attached them. The provisions of the bill had been concealed from the constituencies, and therefore it was impossible to say that the country had given its decision upon the measure, and it was the duty of the peers to ensure that that decision should be obtained. He owned that it was not for the House of Lords to set itself up against the will of the nation, though there might be occasions when they ought to risk the loss of all their privileges and powers in the performance of their duty; but such a case did not arise here. It would be unwise, impolitic and unpatriotic, he maintained, for the peers to oppose the

decided will of the country. On the other hand, unless it was certain that the country really desired Home Rule, it would be most unwise to pass the bill. He asked the House to consider what ills might arise should the new Irish Parliament find itself confronted by a hostile Government at Westminster. The bill differed from all other Government measures inasmuch as it was produced from the brain of one single man. It was not the policy of a political party, but only of the leader of that party, and was imposed upon the party by his solitary will. No doubt the Lords had no right to dictate to the House of Commons, but they had a right to regulate their proceedings by the knowledge they had of the way the bill had been passed elsewhere, and when they found that three-fourths of the clauses had not been debated, that some of these were new clauses which had never been read a second time, and that some of these new clauses were financial clauses which the House of Lords by the constitution could not touch, they had a right to say that the bill must be submitted to the judgment of the people before it was passed. With regard to the arguments drawn by supporters of the bill from colonial experience, the Duke of Devonshire declared that the grant of a dependent Parliament had always ended in practical independence, and that there was no reason to suppose, still less to assume, that the consequences in Ireland would be different. He then went into an exhaustive analysis of the bill, and argued on familiar lines against its principles and provisions. The debate was continued by the Marquess of Zetland and Earl Cowper—both of whom had been Viceroy of Ireland, the former in a Conservative and the latter in a Liberal Ministry; by Lords Powerscourt and Muskerry, both Irish peers; and by the Earl of Cadogan and the Duke of Norfolk—all speaking against the bill—the last-named declaring that it dangled before the Catholics temptations and opportunities which could only be grasped by an unholy alliance with a movement “whose strength was founded on means condemned by the Church, and whose leader had openly defied the decrees of the Holy See.” The only supporters of the bill were Lords Brassey and Ribblesdale, the former of whom in an earnest appeal to the peers to accept the second reading declared—with what authority was not stated—that the Government would accept amendments of all sorts in committee, including the reduction of the Irish members to thirty-five members.

The interest of the second night's debate centred in the speech made by the Duke of Argyll, who had been closely associated with Mr. Gladstone since 1853, and had held office in every Liberal Cabinet down to 1882, when he separated from his former colleague on the Irish land question. The Duke of Argyll's speech was perhaps the more interesting as it was the only one in the course of the debate in which the personal element predominated. He willingly recognised the moderation



of the views expressed by Lord Spencer, but he insisted that in the question under discussion the Prime Minister alone constituted the Government, and his violent language and action augured ill for the destinies of the country if the peers now failed to reject so revolutionary a measure. As the chief, if not the sole author of Home Rule, Mr. Gladstone was the chief assailant of the integrity of the United Kingdom. To the "cardinal facts" which Mr. Gladstone had submitted to the House of Commons, the duke added five others which he contended were of quite as much importance—first, that the measure was one for effecting revolutionary changes in the constitution of the country; secondly, it had come to this House by revolutionary means; thirdly, it had been sent there by a majority which consisted of only five per cent. of the whole House of Commons; fourthly, in every important division there had been a large British majority against the bill; and, fifthly, the measure had never been before the constituencies of the country. Under these circumstances, the people called upon the House of Lords to "give them time to think." They might not only reject the bill, but such a course was expected and demanded of them. If by some terrible act of weakness they were to allow a majority to pass the bill, what would be the feelings of the country next morning? Over a great part of Ireland there would be a feeling of absolute dismay, and amongst a large majority of the people of Great Britain there would be feelings of indignation and shame. Mr. Gladstone did not seem to recognise the enormous importance of his measure, but had treated it throughout as a comparatively light thing, like the setting up of a new municipality, and by ambiguities of expression, the dextrous management of words, and various tricks, had misled and confused the people as to the purposes in view. The duke dwelt at length on the systematic concealment and deception practised by Mr. Gladstone, in order to effect a stupendous change, which he had himself characterised as "going down to the very roots of our civil and political constitution." He described the Prime Minister as "the great Panjandrum," who advised his followers to "wait while he showed them how to win the trick," and he denounced him for "putting the constitution up to auction," where the price was votes—a method of corruption worse than any other. Pitt's corruption, of which so much had been said, was only for a temporary purpose; but Mr. Gladstone's was a permanent fountain of corruption planted in the hearts of the people, and in the customs of the country. Paraphrasing Shakespeare, the duke went on: "He who bribes with money bribes with trash, but he who bribes with our good laws gains that which not enriches him, but leaves us poor indeed." Down to 1875, Mr. Gladstone always resisted Home Rule, and met every demand for it by asking for details—the very thing which his present opponents had been asking him for without success for the last

seven years. He charged the Prime Minister with dealing "disingenuously" with the people, for while he repudiated a policy of repeal, knowing that it would not be safe to avow it, he had really produced a stronger and more dangerous measure. He then touched upon some of the provisions of the bill and denounced the cry of "trust in the Irish people" as "a great political imposture." If there was to be perfect confidence in an Irish Parliament and in the "union of hearts," why were any restrictions contained in the bill at all? He defended the Ulster minority, and maintained that men had a right to refuse to transfer their allegiance from one authority to another. The duty of allegiance and the extension of protection were correlatives, and those who delegated protection to others lost the right to allegiance. He closed his speech in a buoyantly confident strain: "We are winning," he said, "in a great campaign. The future is on our side. Ours are not the times when great empires are being broken up into petty principalities. Ours is a century of union, and of strength by union, and our strength lies in the maintenance of this union." In an eloquent passage he dwelt on the nearness of Ireland to our shores, for he could see the hills of Antrim from the coast of Scotland, and even the glancing of the sunset light from the windows of the Antrim cabins. Yet Ireland was a country which the greatest statesman in England told them must be governed like the Antipodes! Was there ever such folly? England, Scotland, and Ireland were one "by the ground-plan of the world"—by one brotherhood and common life. We wanted nothing but equality, nothing but equal laws on both sides of the narrow channel, and if there was a single grievance still left in Ireland, it was due to the Prime Minister himself, who had taken no trouble to bring about a change in the law whereby the Catholics of Ireland had not been allowed in the universities.

Lord Playfair defended the bill in a cleverly reasoned speech, as an attempt to decentralise administration and to delegate duties without disintegrating the empire. He reminded his hearers that there never would have been a demand for Home Rule if a reasonable measure of local self-government had been granted in time, and he scouted as utterly absurd and unfounded the idea that the bill meant separation. He was little moved by the wild words and threats of Ulster, for he was confident that with a Parliament of her own Ireland would have the best safeguard against the excesses of the majority and the wrongs of the minority. The debate was continued by Lord Ashbourne, an ex-Lord-Chancellor of Ireland, Lords Castletown, Donoughmore and Mayo, Irish noblemen, and the Marquess of Londonderry, a former viceroy, all of whom opposed the bill on various grounds, but alike maintaining that it would bring civil discord and hopeless bankruptcy to the country. Lord Camperdown, a Scotch peer, and Lord



Cross, who had held office as Secretary of State in several Conservative Cabinets, also spoke against the bill; its only apologist being the Marquess of Ripon, who complained of the unworthy motives ascribed to the Government for proposing Home Rule. The Government had, he affirmed, honestly arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to introduce a new policy that would give contentment to the Irish people by conceding to them the power of managing their own affairs. That policy had succeeded admirably in Canada, which presented a complete parallel to the case of Ireland, having a population of different creeds, and having, before it received powers of self-government, been in open rebellion against the mother country, to which it was now bound by the closest ties of loyalty and affection. To the objection that the Irish members at Westminster would have power to interfere in purely British questions, while they would have in Dublin the exclusive management of their own, he answered that the Irish members had that power now, and that all that the Government now proposed to do was to reduce their present numbers.

The third night of the debate (Sept. 7) was marked by the speeches of a past and a present colleague of Mr. Gladstone, the Earl of Selborne, who had been twice Lord-Chancellor of England, and the Earl of Rosebery, who was actually Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Lord Selborne had supported Mr. Gladstone's policy down to a later date than the Duke of Argyll, and had throughout his long and distinguished career associated himself with measures of political and social reform. He had, however, like many less distinguished men, been unable to follow his former leader in the adventurous policy upon which the latter embarked in 1886; and he had energetically opposed all attempts to tamper with the constitution of the United Kingdom. In his speech on the present occasion, he protested against the title and preamble of the bill as being misleading, for instead of being one for the good government of Ireland, and confined to Irish affairs, its object was to establish a brand-new constitution, of which the counterpart was to be found nowhere else in the world, and to force it upon the United Kingdom. The retention of the Irish members at Westminster Lord Selborne regarded as nothing but political madness. Great Britain was not to tax Ireland, but Ireland was to assist in taxing Great Britain, and to turn British minorities into majorities on every subject on which a party not otherwise possessing a majority in Great Britain might set its heart.

Lord Rosebery's speech had been looked forward to with great interest by all parties, for not only was he the most brilliant speaker on the Government side in the Upper House, but he was credited with being lukewarm for the object of his leader's chief solicitude. It was not, however, anticipated that he would be able to speak so effectively as he undoubtedly did without saying a word to commit himself to more than the

general principle of the bill, and without a word in support of the bill itself. He spent a good deal of time in attacking the Duke of Argyll, whom he described as suffering from the *lues Gladstoniana*, and the Marquess of Londonderry, whom he described as a victim of the *morbus Spencerianus*. With regard to the other speaker, Lord Rosebery had not expected praise from the opponents of the bill, but he thought that they might at all events have spared detailed criticism of a measure which they had only met to destroy. He protested, however, against the introduction of party recrimination into the debate—there was not one of the Opposition peers who believed in his heart that the Ministerialists were separatists, traitors, and place hunters; and there was not a Ministerialist who believed that the Opposition desired to tyrannise over Ireland, or to imbrue their hands with Irish gore. The problem of how best to govern Ireland had paralysed the wisest minds for ages, and, in attempting to arrive at an honest conclusion, no good was to be effected by “blackening the political waters.” Lord Rosebery frankly admitted that he was “not certain about anything in regard to Ireland”; and went on to speak feelingly of what he and others had suffered in separating themselves from their old colleagues, of whose co-operation they would have gladly availed themselves in establishing local government in Ireland, had they accepted the principle of the bill. The policy of the Opposition, however, in the two Houses, reminded him of nothing so much as a Spanish bull-fight. In the first act of the drama the toreadors or lance-bearers attacked the bull openly—the bull generally getting the better of them—that corresponded with the second reading. Then came the stage when the light infantry of the bull-ring attempt to wound the beast, to prick it all over, to annoy it, and exasperate it in every way—this was the committee stage of the bill. Then came the last and most solemn process—when the matador, in one hand a sword, and in the other a cloak, to mislead the bull, finished the sport by a single stroke. In the character of the matador, Lord Rosebery thought he recognised the leader of the Opposition. After a little more gentle bantering of this sort, Lord Rosebery adopted a more serious line, but still avoiding any defence of the bill itself. He urged upon his hearers the responsibility of rejecting it, and asked how they proposed to strengthen themselves for the contest on which they were entering. Their responsibility in this instance was greater than that of the Commons, for they were the masters of the situation. They might have discussed the bill and amended it as much as they liked, and in the event of the Commons not agreeing to such amendments, the peers at a conference might have declared and defined their policy. With amazing candour, Lord Rosebery went on to admit that “though he was a witness, he was not an enthusiastic witness in favour of Home Rule,” which to him “was not a fanaticism, not a question



entiment, scarcely even a question of history, nor a counsel of perfection," but merely the best course to be pursued in dealing with a critical and complex question. To him it was a question of policy, and Home Rule had to be adopted because all other policies had been tried and had failed. The Act of Union was but one part of Mr. Pitt's Irish policy; and he believed that if Catholic emancipation and abolition of tithe had been carried concurrently with the Act their lordships would not now be discussing the matter before them. But, all other policies having failed, the Government had been driven to propose Home Rule. It was, however, in their view, a grave reproach to the Imperial Parliament that they had at the heart and core of their empire a poor and discontented Ireland, and it was because he wished to prevent the dismemberment of the empire that he supported the present scheme. If they were unhappily to be embroiled with any great foreign Power, and anything should happen to the fleet, it might require a very large force in Ireland to prevent the invasion of that country. The best defence of Ireland would be to give her people institutions which they would love and feel to be worth defending. If, on the other hand, the British Government persisted in its old and discredited policy, they would have all the secret societies and conspiracies more at work in Ireland; and the people would not have the potent motives to withstand the incentives to disaffection which Home Rule would supply them. He admitted, in conclusion, that the measure was an experiment, but it embodied the generous policy of reconciling two nations which had been too long divided, and it was also an advance towards that solution of local business which could alone enable the Irish people to support the vast and various burdens of their empire.

The other speakers of the evening were the Marquess of Salisbury, the Earl of Dunraven, Lords Midleton and de Grey, as Irish landowners, and the Earl of Northbrook and Lord Balfour of Burleigh, in opposition to the bill, and Lords Cairns, Sandhurst and Swansea in its support.

The final night of the debate (Sept. 8) attracted a larger audience than any of the preceding, and the benches of the House were crowded by a vast assemblage of unfamiliar faces.

The proceedings were opened by a vigorous speech from the Earl of Cranbrook, who showed that the octogenarians of the conservative side were still able to hold their own, and was, with truthful sympathy, to pay a tribute to Mr. Gladstone's wonderful energy in piloting the bill through the House of Commons. He began by recalling the suspicious circumstances in which Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were suddenly converted to Home Rule, and professed to have "found a foundation in it," and quoted the authority of Mr. Bright and J. S. Mill against the establishment of a separate legisla-

ture for Ireland. He commented on the huge blunder admitted by the "great magician of finance" in his calculation of the heavy annual price which the British people were to pay for the Irish Party for their own submission and degradation. It was clear that the Irish leaders would be unable to start on their new career in Dublin without dipping very deep into the pockets of the English taxpayer. The treatment accorded by the bill to the landlords and to the police was, he showed, utterly iniquitous and dangerous. It was sought to deliver Ireland over to the men whom the Prime Minister and his colleagues had thrown into prison as criminals, and who had in their hatred of England wished success to the Mahdi, the Afghans and the Boers, even although the regiments then fighting our battles were commanded by Irish officers, and the blood shed in the field was that of their own countrymen. Again, the Fenian organisation was far from extinct in Ireland, and it would be able to put irresistible pressure on the new Irish legislature to attain its evil ends; nor was there in the bill anything whatever to prevent it from enacting that the Plan of Campaign should be lawful for the future. They had now two Irelands to deal with, and the bill proposed to put the superior Ireland under the inferior, by way, forsooth, of giving peace and contentment to both. He asserted that by setting up a separate legislature in Ireland they were virtually repealing the Union; and he cited the declarations both of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Althorp in support of the contention that even civil war was to be preferred to the dismemberment of the empire. Treating as too preposterous for serious notice Mr Gladstone's suggestion that, if the experiment he wished to make proved a failure, they could reconquer Ireland, he remarked that Ireland had grown under the Union in material prosperity, and would continue to grow also in contentment if they only allowed their remedial legislation time to work. The remedy now proposed for the grievances of Ireland—which, by the way, the Prime Minister in 1871 declared had all ceased to exist—would poison the relations of the two countries and prove far worse than the disease. That House had a duty to do towards Ireland which they could not honourably renounce; they had to save the people of that island from falling under the yoke of the men who were answerable for much of her present sufferings, and also its worst disgrace; and they had to preserve from expulsion from their own land 2,000,000 of loyal and law-abiding citizens who were entitled to claim the guardianship of the justice and wisdom of the Imperial Parliament.

The Lord-Chancellor (Lord Herschell), who had been expected to defend the bill upon constitutional, or at least legal grounds, surprised every one by a speech which was more emotional and sentimental. He complained that the bill depicted as the offspring of a fanatic who had lost his head,



accepted by subservient colleagues who had lost their honour. Lord Herschell maintained that the question before the House was whether the Parliamentary settlement arrived at in 1801 was to remain untouched, as all that could be desired, or whether it was expedient, in the interest of the two countries, that some change in it, dictated by experience, should now be made. To decide that question they had, he urged, to look to the practical merits of the Union of the two Parliaments; and he went on to argue that in its working it had not only failed to satisfy the Irish people, but had stirred up in them disaffection towards his country. The frequent references made by the other side to the "loyal minority" was an admission that there now existed there a disloyal majority—a state of things nowhere else to be found within the Queen's wide dominions. The return in 1885 of eighty-five Nationalist members under the extended franchise was a clear indication of the claim of the Irish people to manage their own concerns, and the present bill sought to satisfy that legitimate aspiration. He confessed that the measure was not perfect, but that was no valid objection to a scheme in itself otherwise desirable and necessary, which he held this one to be. He also contended that the bill would maintain both the imperial supremacy and the unity of the kingdom; and, as to the retention of the Irish members at Westminster for all purposes, he avowed his own preference for their retention with the right to vote on reserved questions only. But that was only a matter of detail; and, though it might be a hardship that they should meddle in purely English affairs, he could not see the hardship of English members not being allowed to meddle in purely Irish affairs, a power which he did not himself care to possess. But the hardship of the Irish members interfering in those English affairs existed now; and the opponents of the bill were seeking to perpetuate it. The fears expressed in regard to Ulster he viewed as much exaggerated; and he believed that there would be no difficulty in finding men of character and capacity to sit in the new Irish Legislature, who would deal equitably and even generously with their fellow-citizens of that province. He advised their Lordships, if they thought the bill had not been sufficiently discussed by the other House, to take their revenge by discussing every clause of it themselves and then send it down again to the Commons with their amendments. He knew, however, that they would now reject it with enthusiastic cheers, but, it being, as he held, founded on equity and justice, he firmly believed in its ultimate triumph.

Lord Halsbury, who had occupied the woolsack during the previous Administration, replied to his successor's arguments that the bill had been adequately discussed in the Lower House. It had been sprung upon the country and had passed its second reading in a totally different form from that in which it reached the House of Lords. The Bishop of Ripon

(Dr. Boyd Carpenter), the only occupant of the Episcopal Bench who spoke, urged in an eloquent speech that if they accepted the principle that Ireland was to be governed by Irish ideas, then they must also accept the conclusion that whenever Ireland asked for separation they would be bound to give it to her. Lord Morley, who had quitted the Liberal Party in 1886, urged that the bill, whilst admitting the nationality of Ireland, did not satisfy the national aspirations. In regard to the three alternative methods of dealing with the Irish members, the Government "had nailed their weathercock to the mast" and ended by choosing the worst and most dangerous of all.

The interest, however, of the evening, and, in fact, of the four nights' debate, culminated in Lord Salisbury's speech, which was described as the most statesmanlike and least incautious utterance of his political career. The one point, he said, which had presented itself to his mind throughout the debate had been, "Why did they introduce the bill?" and he had sought in vain for a reply in the speeches from the Ministerial Bench; and he credited those who had made them with great ingenuity in having left the measure severely alone, only advocating "a policy." He especially admired the skill of the Foreign Secretary in ignoring the burning question of the day, and in preferring rather to dwell on the tactics of the Opposition in the other House, and not committing himself to any opinion whatever except as to the dangerous character of the London County Council. The hollow excuses which had been made by Ministers for their sudden conversion to Home Rule in 1886 formed one of the saddest examples of political degeneracy that had marked our times. Their celerity in turning like dervishes was, he remarked, quite peculiar to the Gladstonian Party. He especially congratulated Lord Ribblesdale on his exploits in this way—and on his subsequent confessions—"confessions were always interesting features of history from St. Augustine to Rousseau and Lord Ribblesdale"—but moonlighters and outragemongers could not be expected to change their opinions with the rapidity of Gladstonian peers. Lord Salisbury went on to speak of the eighty members who were to be sent to the Imperial Parliament after the passage of Home Rule as "eighty foreigners," acting under the orders of Archbishop Walsh, and he laughed at the idea that while they remained at Westminster there would be any hope of getting rid of the Irish question or of the friction caused by the Irish representation. Indeed, now that the bill was known, no such theory was ever put forward. When all questions of trade were shut off from the working of the Irish Parliament, and "eighty Irish members without employment were allowed to do as they liked in the House of Commons," how was it possible to imagine that anything had been done to get rid of the Irish difficulty? The Irish question would be with us still more



insely than it had been in the past. The policy of the Government was a policy of despair, and the sole argument addressed to their opponents was: "You have failed; we have a notion how to succeed, but we must try something that nobody ever tried before." Lord Salisbury contended, however, that a policy of firm rule had not failed, and he referred to the king of the Union from the time of Pitt down to the time when it passed under the control of "that most pitiless and exact-master, the Nonconformist conscience." There was no possible comparison between the Ireland of 1893 and the Ireland of 1801; in such an immense change as had occurred for the better the Union had its share of the honour and glory. The policy of the position he defined in two historic phrases—one Mr. Gladstone's, "patient continuance is well-doing"; and the other President Polk's, "Keep on pegging away." Those were the lines which he urged the House to follow. He ridiculed the Lord-Chancellor's "copy-book formula," that the first object of government was the satisfaction and contentment of the governed, for there were other people besides the governed who might have an interest in the condition of a country. The formula failed through absolute incapability of applying it, for no form of government could be carried on to the satisfaction of all the governed, since, if three-fifths of them approved of it, the other two-fifths did not. It was impossible and therefore absurd. The mere existence of the loyal minority of Ulster utterly condemned the copy-book formula. Finally, he discussed the character of the men who would be called on to govern Ireland, warning that they had been condemned by the highest judges of the land, who had placed them under "a criminal brand" "not denouncing the system of intimidation which led to crime and outrage, but persisting in it with knowledge of its facts." Thirty-eight members of the Irish Party were so divided—the bill had been read a third time in the Commons by a majority of only thirty-four! Ulster, then, had a right to complain. Having indicated both the foreign and the domestic dangers of handing over Ireland to these men, the bitterest enemies of this country, and also censured the weak optimistic spirit placed in their good-will by the Government, Lord Salisbury finally urged, amid ringing cheers, that if their lordships allowed that mean and treacherous revolution to pass they would be untrue alike to their highest traditions, to the trust bequeathed to them from the past, and to the Empire of England.

The debate was brought to a close by Lord Kimberley, who spoke on behalf of the Government in a deprecatory tone throughout. He began by assuring the House that he and his colleagues had never regarded the Irish members just described by Lord Salisbury as criminals in the ordinary sense of the word, though they might in former times have made mistakes in their ideas of patriotism. There had been men

concerned in political conspiracies who, in happier circumstances, afterwards served the Crown with honour and success. He defended as the best in all the circumstances proposed method for the retention of the Irish members, and he asserted that the Duke of Devonshire had himself changed his mind on that particular point. The question of establishing a separate Legislature and Executive for Ireland was distinctly before the country at the late election, although that particular bill was not; and he charged the Unionists with an unreasonable and unfair distrust of the Irish people. It was a melancholy reflection that after nearly a century of the Union they should have the country in the discontented condition of Ireland, and a cause they denied to her people that limited amount of political autonomy which, as all experience showed, was the best and surest foundation on which the government of any people could rest. This concession could safely be made to them under the bill consistently with the unity of the empire and the supremacy of Parliament.

The division was then taken, and after a short delay, in consequence of the large attendance of peers, it was found that out of a complete roll of 560 members, excluding 11 peers in the blood, the bill had been defeated by 419 to 41 votes. The majority might have been even larger but for certain absences which prevented the attendance of 20 Conservative and 8 Liberal Unionist peers. The minority was composed almost exclusively of peers who were officially connected with the Government or the Court, 35 being either placemen owing their seats to Mr. Gladstone; two notable exceptions being the youthful Earls Granville and Russell, who had recently attained their majority. A more interesting feature of the division list was that it showed of the 62 peers whom Mr. Gladstone had himself seated during his various terms of office, including those dating from 1886 and his conversion to Liberalism, only 24 were found to record a vote in its favour. Of the two archbishops and 20 bishops voted with the majority, and by a curious coincidence the same number of peers took part in the division on the second reading of the Reform Bill in 1831, when, however, one prelate, the Bishop of Norwich, voted in the minority. The largest number of peers previously accounted for in a division was 375 on the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846; but on that occasion only 264 peers only were actually present when the question was put from the chair, the remainder of the votes being given by proxy, a method of procedure abolished in 1868. The greatest actual attendance previously was on the second reading of the Franchise Bill in July, 1884, when 351 peers responded to the call of the whips. Other big divisions since the introduction of proxies were on the second reading of the Irish Coercion Disestablishment Bill in 1870, when 325 peers were present; on the Compensation for Disturbance Bill in



when 333 voted; and on the Wemyss Compromise to the Franchise Bill in 1884, when the full attendance was 314. If except the 375 record of 1846, the largest number of votes cast in any previous division in the House of Lords was on the second reading of the Reform Bill of 1832, which was carried by a majority of 9, when the total was 369. On the second reading of the Reform Bill of 1831, which was defeated by 41 votes, the aggregate reached 357.

The result of the debate had of course been anticipated from the very first; in fact, it was afterwards made a reproach both to the Gladstonians and to the Unionists in the House of Commons that they had equally abstained from amending a measure which they knew would be rejected elsewhere. Of the Ministerial organs throughout the country the majority contented themselves with oracular utterances with regard to the course of future action, but a few were honest enough to say that Mr. Gladstone having redeemed his promise of carrying the Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons, nothing more would be heard of it, at least for a time, until some English and Scotch measures had been satisfactorily settled. A few of the more extreme organs of the party assumed the most wrathful tone against the lords, whose approaching extinction as a political power they confidently announced. They prophesied with the confidence begotten of ignorance that the people would protest vigorously and inevitably against the way in which their representatives had been over-ridden and their wishes disregarded. But even those papers which adopted the most valiant attitude soon found it necessary to alter their tone, for except in two or three local Radical clubs—of which the name was probably not known beyond half a mile of their meeting-places—the “people” abstained altogether from expressing a sense of outrage. The great demonstrations against the tyranny of the hereditary legislators were never made, despite the efforts of a few enthusiasts, for the simple reason that the Liberals who cared for Home Rule could not accept the means by which the bill had been carried through the Commons, whilst those who did not—the great majority of the English electors—were not prepared to expend upon the measure any of those means of expressing their views they found useful in urging reforms on which they had really set their hearts. This silent acquiescence in the action of the peers was the more remarkable as showing that the party managers and wire-pollers evidently thought the occasion unsuitable for pressing forward one of the points of the Newcastle Programme, “the ending or mending of the House of Lords.” On previous occasions they had put their powers of organisation to the test, and shown how easily a popular “demonstration” could be got up—for no one acquainted with anything below the surface of politics would hold the idea that popular demonstrations were the spontaneous outcome of public feeling. They

were useful channels by which the wire-pullers were able to indicate to the leaders the bias of public opinion, and in this way they found a valuable adjunct to constitutional Government. In connection with public feeling it should be mentioned that although a crowd assembled in Westminster Palace Yard on the night which witnessed the third reading of the Home Rule Bill by the Commons gave Mr. Gladstone an enthusiastic welcome, a still larger and more enthusiastic crowd assembled a week later in the same place to cheer Lord Salisbury and the peers on the rejection of the bill in the Upper House. As a graceful testimony to the supposed drift of public opinion, the Home Secretary had given instructions to the police to have an additional force in reserve, should the crowd have been disposed to make a hostile demonstration against the lords who had dared to reverse the vote of the Commons!

The necessity of doing something at such a juncture was inevitable, but not the less unfortunate. After anxiously waiting a week for the explosion of public wrath, the National Liberal Association decided to issue a frothy manifesto, which did not err on the side of strict adherence to facts. After stating that the Home Rule question had been subjected for seven years to a more full discussion than had ever been given to any political proposal, this document went on to say that the bill had been accepted by the elected chamber as a "moderate, comprehensive, and statesmanlike measure," yet the lords only gave four days to its discussion, and then rejected it by a majority of ten to one. "The wishes of 2,000,000 electors are to count for nothing as opposed to the wishes of 400 peers representing nobody but themselves." The "permanent" Tory majority in the House of Lords was then pitted against the popularly elected majority in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone, the authors of the manifesto reminded their readers, had stated that if the lords acted in this way, they would be a power between the throne and the people, stopping the constitutional machine. The issue had now been raised, and the question of ending or mending the House of Lords "may" now, therefore, displace all other subjects of reform, and cry aloud for vigorous and unflinching treatment. "We, for the present, reject the pretension of the peers to force a dissolution." In other words, the authors of the manifesto, which began by appealing to the wishes of the 2,000,000 electors, ended by shrinking from any immediate appeal to them.

The House of Commons, once the Home Rule Bill had been disposed of, settled to the discussion of the estimates, and the question soon arose as to whether this constitutional privilege of the Opposition and Independent members was to be used to wring concessions from the Ministry, or to be made the means of forcing the latter to have recourse to "gagging supply." The object of the Government was perfectly clear and intelligible. They saw that there was every chance of the session being



tely barren of any great reforms, and they saw even more fully that any chance of obtaining a majority to pass their Rule Bill was dependent on their carrying some of the of the Newcastle Programme. The policy of the Opposition was not less plain, and from their point of view equally able. The refusal of the Ministry to appeal to the rs on Irish Home Rule implied an intention of making changes in the existing franchise as would give greater nence to their supporters, and the Opposition, therefore, justified in raising every legal hindrance to any attempt to ymander" the constitution to the advantage of their saries. In order to carry out their policy, the Opposition ed to spread itself over the estimates, and certain econo-reformers like Mr. Hanbury and Sir R. Temple, aided by free lances as Mr. Gibson Bowles, Mr. Bartlett and others, notice of the reduction of items in every vote, thus anticipating the chance of "rushing" the estimates. Occasionally nionists found themselves supported by some of the ad-Radicals, and on such occasions the Government either led the point at issue or was forced to make some ing admission. To allay the dissatisfaction which the of business during the session had produced, Mr. Glad-as soon as the Irish Bill had left the House of Commons, the views of the Government. The resolution which he sed (Sept. 4) was distinctly conciliatory in tone, although ew upon the Opposition the choice between shortening holidays and "scamping" the estimates. Mr. Gladstone sed that the Government should have the control of the time of the House during the remainder of the session, ing the autumn sittings, that the twelve o'clock rule l be suspended during the same period, that no dilatory n should be moved except by a Minister of the Crown, hat the Government should be enabled to take Saturday gs without the preliminaries now required. Mr. Gladstone ed that, when the discussion of supply came to a termina-and when the Appropriation Bill had been passed, the nment would propose the adjournment of the House to nber 2 for the autumn sittings, which might be expected t until the Christmas holidays. The Government had d at the conclusion that the best way to turn that time ount would be to pass two important measures—*viz.*, the oyers' Liability Bill, which had already reached an ad-d stage, and the Parish Councils Bill. The House would be asked to read the latter bill a second time, and the nment proposed to proceed with the Employers' Liability nmediately afterwards, and to carry it to its conclusion. esent circumstances the Government could hold out no tation of transacting any other business during the n sittings. Mr. Gladstone, however, added that he was red to limit the general prohibition of dilatory motions to

the hours before one A.M., and that he would abandon the whole suspension of the twelve o'clock rule.

Mr. Balfour thought the passing of the Appropriation Bill before the adjournment for the holidays was an unusual proceeding, and that an autumn session was unnecessary and inexpedient. The Government, he admitted, had done well in their selection of the two bills for consideration at the autumn sittings, but should be remembered that both of them must give rise to much discussion. He congratulated the Government on their success in two important particulars, profoundly modified the position, and expressed a hope that they did not contemplate Saturday sittings in the autumn session.

After a slight show of resistance and the murmuring of some who saw the abandonment of bills which they valued more highly than Irish Home Rule, the resolution was adopted, and the House gave itself up to voting. In the debate on the Army estimates, for instance, Dalziel (*Kirkcaldy Burghs*) brought before the committee (Sept. 11) the appointment of the Duke of Connaught to the Aldershot command, and elicited the fact that Lord Roberts, by unanimous consent the most competent officer, had expressed his willingness to accept this important post. The Secretary for War, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, defended the appointment of the Duke of Connaught on the ground that it was a major-general's command, that he had seen service in Egypt, that he was the next in seniority, and that it would have been an indignity to Lord Roberts to send him as drill-master to Aldershot. None of these reasons were regarded as conclusive, but the appointment was left subject to the renewed promise by Mr. Campbell-Bannerman that the office of Commander-in-Chief, for which it was held, that the Duke of Connaught was in training, should be abolished at the next vacancy.

The so-called "cordite scandal" was next brought before the House (Sept. 12). Mr. Hanbury's (*Preston*) strong point was that, after waiting four years to obtain a smokeless powder, we had decided upon a very inferior kind—two of which had been obtained by the War Office taking an advantage of private inventors. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman warmly defended the action of the War Office, which insisted that the necessary patents had acted in accordance with the rules of the service.

On a question arising on the Civil Service estimates Mr. Hanbury was more successful, for the Government was obliged or allowed itself to be beaten, by 103 to 95 on a proposition for reduction moved by him of the salaries of the House of Commons officials by 500*l*. Other attacks were made upon the policy of the Government on numerous points—the Scottish members complaining of the disreputation which had arisen among the Deer Forest Commissioners—but some of them though



the intervention of the chairman of the Fishery Board with politics a more serious grievance. The Irish estimates, for which two evenings (Sept. 14, 15) were specially set apart, were discussed without any of that obstinacy and acrimony by which the voting of Irish supplies had for many years been attended. The chief complaints were against the imperfect way in which the law was being enforced in Clare, Kerry and Limerick, and it was neatly pointed out that though Mr. Morley when in Opposition had vehemently protested against the suppression of public meetings, and the enforcement of the "obsolete" statute of Edward III., he had during his short term of office put that same statute in operation sixteen times, and prohibited no fewer than twenty-one public meetings. The strong partisanship of the Government was further shown in their successful attempt to stifle all discussion on the action of the Lord-Lieutenant in refusing to receive Unionist addresses in Ireland because they were political, whilst he eagerly welcomed others which were equally political, but coming from Nationalist bodies. The leader of the Opposition, Mr. A. J. Balfour, closed the debate by congratulating the Chief Secretary, Mr. J. Morley, on "the rapid and complete reward which had attended his good work in Ireland." He had nothing to say in disparagement of his successor's course of action. He "gathered, however, that subjects which occupied so much attention in former years still existed; that eviction took place, that resistance to evictions was not unknown, that public meetings had to be dispersed, and that a great many other things which had occurred in the past still occurred, and might still be made the text of prolonged and envenomed criticism."

On the question of our future policy in Eastern Africa, the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir Edward Grey, was most reticent. He said that all that the Government had done was to occupy Uganda—without prejudice to any future decision—and that until Sir Gerald Portal had returned it was impossible to come to any definite conclusion. The passing of the Appropriation Bill (Sept. 20) was marked by an interesting debate on the Featherstone riot, in the course of which the Home Secretary indicated his course of action, and promised an inquiry into the facts connected with the firing upon the mob. The last act of the session—prior to the holidays—was the explanation of the Indian Budget (Sept. 21) by the Under Secretary, Mr. G. Russell, who conveyed to an almost empty House the information that Indian financial affairs, owing chiefly to the fall in the value of silver, were in an unsatisfactory state. The deficit for the current year would approach 1,000,000*l.*, and the necessity of raising 15,000,000*l.* to pay in gold India's annual liabilities to England entailed a constantly increasing charge upon the revenues of the former country. Mr. Russell, however, offered no suggestion for the improvement of the situation, and the commentators on his

speech were equally barren of proposals. The House, already almost deserted, at length brought its labours to an end (Sept. 22), with the knowledge that they would be resumed after a brief interval, but with little belief that those labours would produce the results anticipated by the more hopeful supporters of the Government.

Beyond the precincts of Westminster the usual holiday-dulness had been unbroken by unforeseen events, although amongst the latter might be classed the nomination of Sir Henry Norman to be Viceroy of India, and his subsequent refusal of that distinguished post. Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet had not looked for supporters in the House of Peers, whence it had been the almost unbroken custom to draw the Governor-General of India, and although within the Cabinet itself there were men willing to accept the responsibilities of such a post, its chief probably appreciated the danger of appointing to it mere politicians. Sir Henry Norman's career both in India and the colonies would have fully justified his selection, had he not had also the important disqualification of being an Anglo-Indian. He had won his reputation by good service in that country; and, during the Mutiny, as Adjutant-General he had displayed rare power of administration and organisation. As Military Secretary, and subsequently as Military Member of Council, he had given proof of energy and foresight. On the great question of a "forward" frontier policy in India he had shown himself opposed to the majority of his colleagues; but in this he was supposed to sympathise altogether with Lord Ripon's views—which presumably were those most in favour with the British Cabinet. In 1883 Sir H. Norman had closed his Indian service, and the Earl of Derby, who was at that time Colonial Secretary in Mr. Gladstone's second Cabinet, selected him to be Governor of Jamaica, which had previously been administered by Sir J. P. Grant and Sir William Grey, both of whom had won their reputation in India. Six years later he was sent by Lord Knutsford to Queensland, where questions of race-labour and geographical problems were in a very complicated state, and needed the guidance of a shrewd head and a steady hand. There was, therefore, much to recommend Sir H. Norman for the still more arduous post of an Indian Viceroy. But he had reached the age of sixty-seven years, and after the first feeling of gratification was passed, probably realised that the strain upon his power would be too great—although to Mr. Gladstone such a reason must have seemed meaningless. A fortnight later it was announced that Sir H. Norman had withdrawn his acceptance of Viceroyalty, and the Government was again forced to look about for a successor to the Marquess of Lansdowne. Every sort of interpretation was placed upon Sir Henry Norman's withdrawal, which, if not wholly due to the cause actually assigned, might have possibly been determined by the



stility displayed not only to the Anglo-Indian, but also in the *stive* newspapers on account of his known adherence to the Lawrence policy. Some time was allowed to pass before the final choice of the Government was made known, but at length it was announced that after the refusal of Lord Cromer to leave Egypt it had fallen upon the Earl of Elgin, against whom the charge of age could not be advanced, but whose only apparent qualification for the post was that he was the son of a successful viceroy and ambassador to China and that he had been one of the few unsalaried peers who had voted in support of the second reading of Irish Home Rule.

The rapid spread of the coal strike over the Midlands, Yorkshire and Lancashire at length aroused public attention. At first it had been regarded as one of the not unknown "arrangements" by which the pitmen were to obtain a holiday and the pitowners were to get rid of their accumulated stocks at a more remunerative price than seemed obtainable in a season of general slackness. By degrees, however, the real seriousness of the situation revealed itself. The miners were ill-prepared for a prolonged resistance, but they were persuaded by their leaders that it was better to bear any sufferings than to accept the reduction of 10 per cent. which the owners claimed before reopening their pits. The most contradictory statements were put forward on behalf of the two sides—the spokesmen of the miners asserting that the wages earned did not average much over thirteen shillings a week—whilst the masters declared that the wages paid ranged from five to seven shillings a day. The chief argument of the coal proprietors rested on the excessive increase of wages they granted during good times, amounting to 40 per cent. on the wages of 1888, and that they set off asking the men to submit to any reduction, even on their increased wages, until long after the coal trade was yielding reduced profits. The men on their part asserted that although in several cases a comparatively good rate was still paid, yet the number of working days had been so much reduced that it was impossible for the miners to earn a "living wage," and they moreover expressed their determination to regard the existing rate as "an irreducible minimum" which in all negotiations was to be taken as their starting-point. Unfortunately the miners were not disposed to suffer in silence, and all less to allow their fellows who might be willing to work to exercise a free choice. Those who endeavoured to work were maltreated, collieries were attacked, machinery damaged, sheds burnt so that it was impossible to work the pit. The most serious riot took place at Featherstone Colliery, near Pontefract, at one of Lord Masham's pits. The police, who ought to have been on the spot or in the neighbourhood, had been drafted off to Doncaster where the races were going on, and these had apparently attracted the magistrates also, for when the detachment of military arrived to

restore order, no one could be found possessing the authority supposed to be necessary to read the Riot Act. The works were consequently wrecked and burnt under the very eyes of the soldiers, and property subsequently valued at 6,000*l.* was destroyed, and had to be replaced at the cost of the ratepayers. A magistrate was at length found, and the formalities having been complied with, the yard was cleared, but not before the soldiers had charged with the bayonet and fired a round of ball cartridge, by which two persons lost their lives. A great outcry was raised by the Labour members and their friends about the Featherstone "massacre," and a commission was subsequently appointed to take evidence on the spot, and to report upon the matter.

In the presence of the steadily increasing distress, not only among the miners, but amongst the workers in all trades into which the consumption of coal entered, it was not surprising to find many suggestions put forward. The most important of these was the idea of Sir George Elliot, who had begun life as a pitman, and had become one of the most prominent men in the industrial world. His scheme was to establish a gigantic coal trust, into which all the great coal-owners were to enter. These were to be secured a minimum dividend of 5 or 10 per cent., whilst the workmen, starting on a liberal scale of wages in the first instance, were to be entitled to a half share of all additional profits up to 5 per cent., and a third share of any further profits. In order to protect the consumer against exorbitant charges, or the dangers of a monopoly, the Board of Trade was to be given large powers of arbitration, and its consent was to be specifically obtained in any case of a dividend exceeding 15 per cent. being declared. The idea was favourably received by a large number of the more important collieries, but with less favour by the public, which had a wholesome distrust of all "trusts" for commercial purposes. Sir George Elliot's fatal illness, however, terminated the discussion as well as all chance of establishing the coal trust.

While the House of Commons had been toilsomely plodding through the estimates, under the leadership of the several Ministers whose demands were under review, Mr. Gladstone was enjoying a well-earned rest in Scotland. Scarcely, however, had the Appropriation Bill passed, and the Commons been released, than Mr. Gladstone appeared on a public platform at Edinburgh (Sept. 27), to redeem a promise he had given to his political supporters in Midlothian. A speech from the Prime Minister at the present juncture was much needed, for no hint had been given as to the future policy or intentions of the Government. It was indeed whispered by their enemies that they had not the one and were divided on the other. At any rate it seemed of importance that the rank and file of the party should be instructed on the line they were to take upon the various points raised by the rejection of Irish Home Rule by the House of Lords.



*Mr. Gladstone at Edinburgh.*

Gladstone's reception at Edinburgh was as cordial as on previous occasions, and if the hall selected for the reception was only able to contain about 1,000 persons, it was not for the purpose of restricting the speaker's voice and not with any desire to restrict the public. Mr. Gladstone naturally sought to bring away any feeling of dissatisfaction which the members might have felt on account of the delay in the Scotch legislation. He assured them that the Scotch Bill, altogether neglected by Parliament, was now before the House of Commons. The Bill ostensibly only referred to the conditions of a correspondence, but it would immediately follow, which would immediately follow, and take its place this year on the agenda. In reference to Sir Charles Cameron's bill, which the Government had supported in the House, he thought that the Government had supported it on the basis of a practical settlement. He said: "Two things I think I will venture to say: that that bill, introduced as it is, is a step in the cause of religious settlement, and so consistent, indicates a step towards disestablishment, or of a very moderate and signal moderation; for while it is a question of obvious and dangerous division between the Presbyterian body and another, it opens the door to that future settlement which will be so beneficial to the Presbyterians in particular, and to the Church at large—while it does not touch the establishment which, without the liberties of others or power of the establishment, is to the establishment, and the signs associated with the establishment, valuable, highly gratifying. I say this as my second reason. Sir Charles Cameron has exhibited a bill which I think it must be obvious to all that the settlement is a real, solid, and permanent one."

advance in the consideration of this question. The Parliamentary institutions of the country were at present over-weighted. There was a legislative famine in the land. In connection with the cause of Scotland came the cause of Wales; behind these stood the demands of England and of the imperial metropolis of London. Then there were the needs of the Temperance Party, and, wider even than that question, was the labour difficulty. The question of the Eight Hours (Miners) Bill was a matter which manifestly ought not to be put aside. If Parliament had been unable to carry it to its completion there could not be a more conclusive proof that there was something wrong, defective, something intolerable, which required a remedy, putting Parliamentary institutions into a condition in which they should be able, tolerably at least, to perform their work.

After alluding incidentally to the riots in Yorkshire, apparently only for the purpose of contrasting Featherstone and Mitchellstown, and of dwelling upon the Home Secretary's "free, willing and judicious" decision to institute a thorough inquiry into the loss of life at the former, Mr. Gladstone at last reached the subject upon which all real interest and curiosity were centred—the intentions of the Government with regard to the House of Lords and Irish Home Rule. He was more than usually circuitous in approaching these points, wandering off into numerous bye-paths and historical references. Starting with the bold assertion that Ireland had crippled legislation for a couple of generations, Mr. Gladstone inquired, "Why did the Irish question remain?" and promptly replied that the responsibility for the painful state of things rested with the House of Lords. He then went on to refer in detail to the action of the peers in relation to the House of Commons since the Reform Act and cited various cases in which the issue of a conflict had ultimately rested with the Commons.

They had now arrived, he continued, at a crisis greater perhaps than any that had happened since the year 1831. The House of Lords had again been emboldened or misled into rejecting the bill for the better government of Ireland. The peers who spoke on the side of the majority were against the bill. The men who spoke in the House of Commons on the side of the majority were for the bill. The 419 peers formed their opinion for themselves, and were responsible to nobody. The opinion of the members of the House of Commons was the opinion which they had considered and discussed in the constituencies, and was expressed with all the authority that a national verdict could convey. . . . He found in the retrospect enough to encourage him as to the prospect. If there was on one side a determined nation, that nation would not be baffled by a phalanx of 500 peers. The Commons could not give way to the Lords, although the latter bore high-sounding titles, and sat in a gilded chamber.



If a majority in the House of Commons misinterpreted the judgment of the country, they would properly and justly be punished by dismissal. Upon what principle, therefore, he asked, was the majority of the House of Lords to escape with mischievous impunity if it misinterpreted the judgment of the country and arrested the course of public business?

In rejecting the Home Rule Bill, the House of Lords had raised a greater question than they probably were aware of—namely, the question of their own independent and irresponsible existence. If it should ever happen in the vicissitudes and complications of political affairs that the House of Lords, by some accidental or collateral process, should be the means of bringing about a dissolution, they might depend upon it that that dissolution would not consider the question of Irish government alone, but there might be mixed with it another question, and the House of Lords, when too late, might bitterly lament their resistance. How were they to face the situation? Not by dreaming of illegality in any form. They abhorred violence, and he would even dissuade from vehemence. What they wanted was calm, solid, quiet, but fixed determination. He could not produce a cut-and-dried solution of the present dilemma. He yet clung to the hope that wiser counsels might prevail in the House of Lords, but if the worst came to the worst, the solution he offered was to remind them of our recent history. The House of Lords in considering measures it disliked had been prudentially restrained before, and it might be prudentially restrained again. On the Irish question Mr. Gladstone said but a few words, but these were even more peculiar than his utterance with regard to the House of Lords. The next session of Parliament would not pass without seeing the Home Rule question again appear above the waves, amid which it had for the moment seemed to founder, and commending his hearers to perseverance as the means of reaching the goal, he concluded a speech which left them but little enlightened as to the course the Government intended to pursue.

Whether this ship which had "seemed to founder" was to reappear undamaged, with sails set and steering gear unstrained, or as a mere derelict, tossed about by the winds and waves, Mr. Gladstone was careful not to disclose, and possibly he was unable to foretell. On the course he proposed to adopt towards the House of Peers, his remarks were even less satisfactory to his more ardent followers. There was no doubt that Mr. Gladstone was too experienced a politician to allow his personal feelings to carry him away on a subject to which the mass of the people had shown profound indifference. That he anticipated an outburst of popular wrath against the "classes" which had scouted his Home Rule proposals was admitted by those most in his confidence, but he was quick to perceive that any expression of disappointment would have strengthened his enemies, without bettering his own position.

That, moreover, was scarcely a logical one. He was shocked at the notion of a dissolution being brought about by a vote of the House of Lords, yet he was prepared to see "legislation essentially and effectually crippled" rather than appeal to the country to give him force to override the "irresponsible" opponents of his policy. If he thought it expedient in the interests of his party to "sandwich" Home Rule between two unpopular measures, he was debarred from the right of saying that on the test question of the previous election the country was pronounced in favour of Home Rule.

Mr. Goschen, replying (Oct. 3) in Edinburgh itself to Mr. Gladstone's speech, denounced somewhat vigorously the doctrine it implied, that the true duty of the lords was to listen to the people, and to save themselves from destruction. "The view," he maintained, could not be an adequate view of the duty of a Second Chamber. The House of Lords might not be a representative body, but it was not on that account the less responsible to the country for the due discharge of its duties. He ridiculed Mr. Gladstone's high-sounding assertion that it was a conflict of the voice of 6,000,000 against 500. The Gladstonians were in the majority, and Mr. Gladstone his opportunity to propose the Home Rule Bill, to a difference of at the utmost 150,000 electors, there having been in round numbers 2,850,000 on the one side and 2,700,000 on the other. The most notable passage in his speech, from the point of view of practical politics, (as foreshadowing the probable course of the Unionist campaign) came after his statement as to the attitude of the peers towards the Franchise Bill of 1884—unaccompanied, as it was, by a Redistribution Bill: "Now I mentioned that in a similar case might re-occur. It might be possible to carry the bill as the Registration Bill, for instance, might be introduced with many good provisions that Unionists and Separatists alike wish to see carried; but it might be accompanied by other provisions and without that redistribution of seats, possibly, especially looking to the over-representation of the South, ought to be part and parcel of any general bill. We do not think, it is perfectly possible that, under cover of the Franchise Bill, any large measure should be introduced, it is necessary to think how the large measure must be introduced itself before it would commend itself to the impartial public in general." In regard to the promise of the Gladstonians that, "the Irish block" once removed, all new Liberal legislation would be facilitated, he observed that the adoption of Home Rule "would not have been the removal of a barrier; it would have been the letting loose of the flood-gates."

A more effective, or rather a more "rattling" speech than that delivered by Lord R. Churchill at Stalybridge, and which dealt hard hits was the sole aim of politicians on political reforms, Lord R. Churchill deserved considerable praise. His *note*, however, was pitched too high throughout—



effective when delivered, its pungency disappeared. Both speakers, however, did considerably better on subsequent occasions—Lord R. Churchill at Huddersfield and Mr. Goschen at West Hartlepool (Oct. 11)—two strong centres of Gladstonian Liberalism. The speaker, addressing an audience well versed in politics and well acquainted with politicians, dealt chiefly with the unfairness of the Home Rule Bill which allowed Irishmen a vote upon imperial and every British domestic question at Westminster—as well as enormous executive and Parliamentary powers to oppress the Protestant minority in Ireland. After sketching the operation of the bill and exposing its defects, he ended by an appeal to the pockets of his hearers by the figures of the Home Rule finance. "Each individual in Great Britain is to pay 1*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.* in taxation, and each individual in Ireland less than 7*s.* a head under the terms of the bill."

Mr. Goschen, on the other hand, insisted chiefly on the "mischievous mystification" which Mr. Gladstone was pursuing and on the uncertainty which was "ruining all practical and prudent legislation." "I want," said Mr. Goschen, "to show how, looking to the vast and complicated questions which seem to surge up in almost every direction at home and abroad, it is mischievous to continue in the present state of affairs; how those questions ought to be removed in order that men with freer minds may approach the solution of questions which it seems to me that the prosperity of the future country depends upon. I say the present state is mischievous and detrimental to the reputation of the House of Commons, and detrimental to the sober conduct of affairs." The public were being mystified that mystification was paralysing the conduct of public affairs.

The Government dared not say whether Home Rule was to go forward, whether British legislation was to take its course, or whether there was to be a dissolution. Closely allied to the danger of mystification was another—the danger of a divided Premier. On this point Mr. Goschen dwelt with some force. Another danger of the policy of promiscuous legislation was to be found in the fact that the dread of a dissolution was engendered by the present uncertainty demoralised the House. It was ill legislating with a dissolution always in the air. "While every member after member had his eye fixed on the ballot-box." "When every one is discussing whether or not a dissolution next year, these great questions which Parliament will have to deal with, and not simply a pre-arranged and electoral point of view, and not simply a partisan point of view which ought to guide us in our deliberations." Parliament, in a word, was to be asked to legislate without knowing what had become of the Home Rule Bill—without knowing whether there was to be a dissolution, and without the guidance of a statesman of known ability.

mind was excluded every idea but one. The G. Mr. Goschen in conclusion, had three courses. They might dissolve, and so bring an intolerable end; they might resign, as did Lord G. thirdly, Mr. Gladstone might "frankly make the country did not care about the Home Rule. I pledge that his party does not mean business therefore, it had better be withdrawn, and proceed as if there was no Home Rule Bill at all." The Gladstonians, however, hit on should entangle the issue and, at the general domestic questions with the problem of Home Rule, in a way that the country, meaning to give the House of Commons, or this, that, and the other Bill, was entrapped into giving Mr. Gladstone a narrow margin for the purpose of passing Home Rule. The Unionists would defeat. "We have," said Mr. Goschen, "the fort against terror, against bluster for seven years or more; we have the Unionist cause is as strong as ever, and aye, stronger. We do not intend that the cause be stormed by bypaths. We do not intend that it be undermined by subterranean operations."

Mr. Goschen's speech, although speaking in favour of the use of the Conservative associations of the House of Commons was generally accepted as indicating that the Liberal Unionists would act should the Home Rule Bill be reintroduced in the following session. The House of Commons (Oct. 17) endorsed Mr. Goschen's speech, and intimated that the Conservatives were not prepared to show their opposition to the scheme, or any other course, if he took advantage of the occasion to discuss the other questions of policy upon which the Conservative parties were at variance. Criticising Mr. Goschen's action, the ex-Premier practised the same, but been unconstitutional, as distinct (of course) from the Conservatives had never gone, in this case, of straining their technical powers. The Home Rule Bill would not work five years, and the House of Commons all strained their powers to the limit, and tried to drive a hateful measure by strongly resisting and protesting. Mr. Goschen preferred to wait till the slow process of the House of Commons majority to such an overwhelming majority, and future resentment were alike in the end. He has broken through that wholesome majority of 34—the opinion of seven out of ten—reverse the policy of 700 years." Mr. Goschen expressed the hope that the measures of the House of Commons in the autumn session would be framed in a way that would be



possible for the Opposition to accept them, for on the principles of both the Employers' Liability Bill and the Parish Councils Bill both parties were agreed. On other matters, however, he expressed his conviction that there was a strong divergence of opinion, and on none more so than on the "centralised despotism" of the Education Department, where "the ideal of the bureaucrat" was being steadily fostered by Mr. Acland. His appearance on the scene, Lord Salisbury thought, should be a warning, for he realised the fear always felt in that department, that some day a Minister would be installed in office "unable to detach himself from his own particular antipathies and systems, and prepared to assume, for the purpose of pushing them, the exceptional and anomalous powers which have been placed in his hands." Mr. Acland, he added, hated denominationalism and voluntary schools, and was using the power given to his department to force his particular predilections upon the English people.

Whilst Lord Salisbury was championing denominationalism at Preston, the Home Secretary was employed on the more congenial task of assuring the Gladstonian electors of Glasgow that no Government had ever come forward with more benevolent intentions or more beneficent measures, but he was forced to admit that little progress had been made in carrying their wishes into effect. The task which the country had entrusted to the Government was, in the first place, to satisfy the aspirations of the people of Ireland, and, in the second place, to satisfy the long-neglected necessities of the democracy of Great Britain. That mission they intended to fulfil, and they were not themselves at all aware that they were in the desperate position assigned to them by Mr. Goschen. As to the House of Lords, the Home Secretary explained that it was quite a mistake to suppose that that misguided assembly ever acted efficiently as a chamber of control. It would oppose anything that came from Liberals, and swallow anything offered it by a Tory Government. Thus the peers made no difficulty over the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846: "That was a measure carried by a Conservative Ministry in a House of Commons in which the Conservatives had a large majority, a measure as to which the country had never been consulted, a measure in opposition to which the Government majority of those who assisted in carrying it were resolutely pledged to the electors who had sent them to Westminster. The measure reached the House of Lords. What did the House of Lords do to it? I do not say they acted unwisely. They passed it without hesitation, they passed it without reluctance, although it involved a revolution in our fiscal system, as to which the constituencies of Great Britain had never been formally consulted, they passed it because it was recommended by a Conservative Prime Minister." Similarly in 1867 the peers, at the bidding of Lord Derby, took what he himself called "a leap in the dark"

when they passed the second Reform Bill. Coming to the question of Home Rule, Mr. Asquith denied the true inference which some had drawn from Mr. Gladstone's Glasgow speech—*viz.*, that another bill to give effect to it would be introduced next session. Ministers did not at least intend to drop Home Rule, to do so would, he said, be a gross dereliction of duty and a dishonourable withdrawal of pledges, but there were more ways of dealing with the question than one, and they hoped to utilise the time of the next session in dealing with legislative measures which were demanded for Great Britain—*e.g.*, with registration of voters, intended also to do what they could "to lay the foundation of religious equality," and to strike an effective blow at the evil of intemperance.

With regard to the last-named intention, which they hoped to effect by means of the Local Government Bill, the Government certainly secured for its support the support of the eminent working men's members in the House of Commons. A manifesto, signed by them and 140 leaders of the working classes, was issued in support of the Government Bill on the ground that it would put the rights and liberties of the people on this question in the hands of the people themselves. It was perhaps a little unfortunate that simultaneously the St. Helen's, Lancashire, were asserting their rights by seceding a number of their comrades who attempted to exercise their liberties by returning to work for wages they considered adequate, whilst they further showed their respect for the law by maiming and wounding the police who had been sent to protect property and restore order.

Mr. Asquith, however, in his speech had clearly stated what he considered to be his duty in such circumstances. "There is one thing which neither I nor any other Minister who is worthy the name will ever tolerate, is, the use of disorder, of lawlessness, or of riot, either on one side or the other. I do not care upon which side it is employed, I do not care who it is that instigates it, or who that defends it. So long as I am responsible, not to the Sovereign, but to the people of this country, for the maintenance of the executive forces which the law places at the disposal of the Administration, riot and disorder shall not be allowed to prevail."

The most interesting portion, however, of Mr. Asquith's Glasgow speech was that in which he gave an outline of a new Registration Bill, which he seemed to hint at as being even more important than the Home Rule Bill. The Home Secretary avowed that under the guise of Registration Bill a measure was to be carried. The period of qualification for the vote would be shortened, the use of the lodger franchise would be within legitimate limits, and the principle of "one vote" adopted. "A measure to secure a



will be certainly passed through the House of Commons in its next session. What future may befall it in another place, I do not venture to predict, but let the House of Lords reject it, and I do not think we shall be very slow to respond to the appeal of our Unionist friends to take the opinion of the country upon it." In view of the earlier portion of the Home Secretary's speech, and his argument that if the Government dissolved on the rejection of the Home Rule Bill it would be false to its trust from the people, the threat of immediate dissolution on the rejection of a Registration Bill somewhat lowered public belief in the reality of the Ministerial devotion to Home Rule.

From Glasgow Mr. Asquith passed over to his own constituents in East Fifeshire, and by a strange contradiction devoted (Oct. 20) the greater portion of his speeches to the extinct Home Rule Bill. There was no precedent, he averred, in the history of this country of so important a bill, initiated and promoted by the Liberal Party, failing to take its place sooner or later in the statute book. There were two main and actual tests to which any measure of Home Rule for Ireland was bound to conform. It must maintain intact the supremacy of Parliament, and it must give to Ireland a liberal and satisfying measure of local autonomy. It was not possible within the four corners of an Act of Parliament to devise a more complete and a more effective reservation of the imperial supremacy in all matters, whether local or general, than there was contained in the provisions of this bill. Whatever was genuine, honest and reasonable the national sentiment of Ireland was perfectly prepared to accept, and honestly and in good faith to work the scheme which had been offered. There was no such thing as finality in reform. The Liberal Party did not profess to be able to say what changes experience might show to be necessary, either in the British Constitution or in the relations between England, Ireland and the outlying parts of the empire. But if the Irish people would take their stand upon the lines now laid down, they were prepared to accompany them, and to use their utmost endeavours for the happiness and prosperity of the two countries, and for their closer union and concord. In that sense only could any one who had accepted and assimilated Liberal principles accept any measure of this kind as final. In 1886, Mr. Asquith continued, the Home Rule Bill was rejected because it excluded the Irish members from the Imperial Parliament. The 1893 bill was rejected because it retained the Irish members. He taunted the Unionists with their curious change of front on this question, and declared that it was puzzling to discover what was the Unionist policy in relation to it. People said there would be eighty men going about hawking their votes first to one political party and then to another, in order that they might purchase for Ireland some new concession in the interest of her own citizens. That was an exact description of the state of things which had prevailed

in the past. This temptation to the Irish would not than it had been. At present the fact that they had aim to achieve made them the united, powerful and force which they had shown themselves to be during years in British politics. But under Home Rule the would be gone, their aim achieved. But, in any event not regard the maintenance of the Irish representation Westminster as a final solution of the problem of Home Rule. In the meanwhile he was satisfied with the means the Home Rule Bill had safeguarded the ultimate supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. He admitted that the Irish masters in their own house, would have the control of the Irish police, to whom would be entrusted the putting of the judgments of the Irish courts. If by any means they were called upon to give effect to the decisions of the Imperial Parliament, and should hesitate to act, Mr. Asquith had a ready solution, which certainly suggested civil war as the last resort, we shall give effect to them in Ireland as we give effect to them in England or in Scotland—we shall give effect to them wherever the authority of the law is recognised by virtue of the superior force which rests upon us, and which, if occasion should arise, will be as available as effective to put down lawlessness in Ireland as in any part of the widespread dominions of the Queen."

In conclusion, Mr. Asquith expressed his belief that either before or later the process of devolution which began with the passing of the Home Rule for Ireland would find further application in other parts of the United Kingdom. Step by step the Imperial Parliament would thus be relieved of a great mass of business in local affairs which at present it transacted with all the disadvantages of limited time and imperfect knowledge.

On the following day (Oct. 21) Mr. Asquith addressed another meeting of his constituents at Ladybank, but without extolling the solidarity of the party, and the admirable work which his colleagues had made of their opportunities, he said little that was fresh or enlightening. The Government, he assured his audience, had no intention of dissolving Parliament until they had laid before the House of Commons their complete programme of legislation, or until that House had given by a decisive vote that they had forfeited its confidence.

It is possible that Mr. Asquith's optimism, and his assurance that all was being ordered for the best by the best of the Government, would have been received with greater readiness by a speech which Lord Salisbury had just made (Oct. 18) at Glasgow. That astute politician, recognising the need for new fresh materials with which to make the fire of party fiercer, had realised more quickly than his opponent the symptoms of an approaching "scare." The recent demonstrations of ardent affection between Republican France and Autocratic Russia had evoked the conviction of our h



the event of either power being decided to fasten a quarrel on this country. At the same time, Lord Salisbury was able to make his point about the state of the navy appear as a natural corollary to his speech upon Irish Home Rule. He told his hearers that in view of what was passing around them they must be prepared for extra exertions, in order to provide assurance against the surprises of modern science. He hoped that no fear of an adverse budget would induce the Government to allow the navy to fall into that state of backwardness and confusion into which the undue scruples of former finance Ministers had unfortunately plunged it. No sacrifice we could be called on to face would be anything approaching the sufferings all classes must undergo if an enemy for forty-eight hours were masters of the Irish Sea. Lord Salisbury reminded his hearers of Napoleon's saying, that if he could hold Antwerp, it would be like a pistol presented to the mouth of the Thames. "We do not wish pistols presented to the mouth of the Clyde, the Mersey, and the Avon." The hint thus given was not lost, and before long the "state of the navy" became the subject of discussion, and, notwithstanding the assurances of the Ministerial organs, the source of real anxiety and alarm. There was too much reason for fearing that in face of an inevitably bad budget the Chancellor of the Exchequer would impress upon his colleagues at the Admiralty and War Office the absolute necessity of reducing expenditure to the lowest possible amount compatible with the maintenance of the existing fleet and army; and there was sufficient reason for supposing that in the House of Commons such a policy would obtain strong support from a considerable section of the Liberal Party.

The autumn congresses, which were more than usually numerous, produced little which had immediate reference to political questions. At the Church Congress, the Parish Councils Bill naturally attracted attention and invited discussion. The fears expressed by the clergy chiefly centred round the Church schools and Church charities which might be injuriously affected by the measure. Many schools and buildings, it was urged, had been erected and maintained by the liberality of Churchmen for religious and social purposes connected with the parish; and it was important that all doubts as to the intention of the Government should be cleared away. The administration of parochial charities was a more vital question, on which there was little hope that any verbal explanation would suffice to allay the feelings which it had aroused. The plain object of this clause of the bill was to remove from the clergy and officers of the Church many of those duties which gave them importance in the parish. In a word, the bill threatened the suppression of the vestry by the parish council, and the withdrawal of all civil functions from the clerical head of the parish. The latter point being, therefore, one of policy, it was useless to attempt to discuss it with the Minister in charge

of the bill; but the other point being one chiefly of interpretation, it was decided at the Church Congress that a deputation should wait on Mr. Fowler to see what terms could be obtained.

If the Government could not by their policy hope to win back the support of the clergy in congress assembled, they were more lucky with the Temperance Party. At the annual meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance, held this year at Manchester (Oct. 24), Sir Wilfrid Lawson, who had throughout the session shown a touching devotion to the Government, expressed his conviction of their *bona fides* in regard to their Local Veto Bill, and thence, soaring into heights hitherto unattempted by any of his fellow-enthusiasts, went on to argue that "the Government could not do without the alliance, and they could not do without the Government. The present situation was that the Government was playing fair with them and they must play fair with the Government." Mr. Cairnes M.P., a politician whose previous career had not displayed any great prescience or consistency, endorsed Sir W. Lawson's belief in the good intentions of the Government, and both were agreed in their determination to recognise no right for publicans, whose licences were revoked, to claim compensation.

Lord Randolph Churchill, who had throughout the session displayed a benevolent neutrality towards the policy of the Opposition, and on more than one occasion showed a desire to act with it cordially, held very different views from the United Kingdom Alliance on the liquor traffic. At a dinner of the County Brewers' Society (Oct. 22), he reminded his entertainers that in 1888 he had, as a private member, propounded a scheme for settling the licensing question, which Mr. Goschen had taken out of his hand and spoilt; and Lord R. Churchill urged that a similar fate would attend any Government Bill attempting to deal with the question—for it was one of which no party solution would be regarded as satisfactory. His scheme, which he recapitulated, was practically founded on the principle of local option. The granting of licences was to be in the hands of a popularly elected body, which should have the power to reduce the number and to alter the form of the licences; the power to grant new licences, except under certain limited conditions, was to be restricted, and the sale of liquor might be even totally prohibited where a strong local vote was recorded against it. Counties were to be divided into licensing divisions by the County Council, to which the appointment of licensing committees was confided. The powers of the justices of the peace to grant licences were to be abolished, but their judicial functions in respect of the licensing laws were to continue unimpaired. The licensing commission in any urban or rural district (containing a population of not less than 10,000 or more than 50,000) was to have absolute and final discretion in granting licences, fixing hours for opening and closing



ad in regulating the structure of licensed houses, but power was to be given to the ratepayers of a division on a two-thirds vote to suspend the grant of any licence, and that regulations were to be made for dealing with clubs. On the difficult point over which politicians of all parties had stumbled or disagreed, Lord R. Churchill was thoroughly outspoken. "A scale of compensation, I think, should be established on the basis of years of profit, and the County Council should appoint one of their number in each case to be an arbitrator, leaving an appeal to the County Council from the holder of the lease." Since 1888, Lord R. Churchill, however, had found reason to substitute for the two-thirds vote a majority of the "resident adults" as the body to which the appeal to suspend a licence should be made.

This plan, though admitted to be ingenious and palatable to the audience before which it was rehearsed, met with little support elsewhere, for it recognised the right of the grantee of a licence to a valuable property—in some cases to a monopoly under State protection—and failed in any way to give to the State the advantages derivable from such an ever-extending source of revenue.

The few remaining days of the short recess were employed by various Cabinet Ministers in proving to their constituents that they had been faithful to their pledges. The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. H. H. Fowler), addressing the electors of Wolverhampton (Nov. 28), was courageous enough to maintain that the Home Rule Bill of the Government was sufficiently well known before the general election as to make its actual form imperative. For example, no Home Rule member had been elected between 1886 and 1892 who was not pledged to the retention of the Irish members; the same pledges were given at the general election, and yet the Opposition now asserted that the continuance of the Irish representatives at Westminster had never been submitted to the electorate. The financial arrangements, Mr. Fowler admitted, had not been discussed at the general election, but those who were interested in the details were quite familiar with the arrangement which was proposed in 1886, and, so far as the ultimate results were concerned, there was very slight variation from those proposals. Another reason assigned for the rejection of the bill by the Lords was that it had not been discussed in the House of Commons. It was true that there were important clauses which were never discussed, but that was because the bill was not fairly fought. The policy of the Opposition was to smother the bill by proposing contradictory or trivial amendments, or amendments which, if carried, would have aggravated the evils which they denounced. Ireland could not be treated as a colony, for the simple reason that she was within sixty miles of Great Britain. Mr. Fowler concluded his speech by endorsing Lord Rosebery's suggestion that the

Home Rule question ought to be the subject of negotiation between the two great political parties. This idea was subsequently taken up by the press, and a good deal of correspondence ensued—from which the chief apparent result was the desire of the Nonconformists to discover some plan by which an extended scheme of local self-government should be given to Ireland, subject to the control of the Imperial Parliament, in order that the rights of the Ulster Protestants might be ensured a proper measure of protection.

The Home Secretary at Leeds (Oct. 30) reiterated very much what he had said in Scotland. After praising the supporters of the Government for their loyalty and docility, he went on to speak of the Home Rule Bill, and again denied the right of a "non-representative chamber" to force a dissolution, and insisted that the Government, without in any way abandoning Home Rule, must for the present devote themselves to great measures of domestic reform. He bantered the Unionists on having completely neglected the demand for parish councils while they were in office, but with now professing the utmost eagerness for their establishment: and he warmly defended the educational policy of Mr. Acland, which had been so bitterly attacked simply because it aimed at making free education a reality instead of a sham. In conclusion, and in view of the existing industrial crisis from which Yorkshire was suffering, he urged on the municipal employers of labour to set a good example in respect of the payment of wages sufficient to render a decent and progressive form of life possible.

The Secretary for War, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, at Stirling (Oct. 31), and the Secretary for Scotland, Sir George Trevelyan, at Glasgow, were equally optimistic. The former confirmed Mr. Asquith's view that Home Rule for Ireland was only the first step to Home Rule "all round." "Any inconvenience," he said, "attendant on the retention of the Irish members was surely well worth risking for the great object in view. I am confident that the time is not far distant when the same powers of devolution will be applied to other parts of the United Kingdom." More important, perhaps, was his foreshadowing of the application of "a decisive cure" to the methods of obstruction recently in vogue, and with regard to the future of the Home Rule Bill, he oracularly assured his friends that the next move of the Government would be that which they believed "must itself conduce to the furtherance and adjustment of the policy of the self-government of Ireland."

But the only political speech which really attracted notice beyond the place in which it was uttered was the Duke of Argyll's scathing attack upon his former colleague, made at a University meeting at Glasgow (Nov. 1). So severe a condemnation of one living statesman by another, both for many years belonging to the same political party and sitting in the



same Cabinet, has seldom been heard before, and its very bitterness in some manner detracted from its authority. The Duke of Argyll's excuse for always attacking Mr. Gladstone was that no other of his colleagues were worth attacking. Touching lightly upon the attitude of Mr. Gladstone's supporters in the House of Lords, who were afraid to approach the Home Rule Bill, the duke denounced half of them as insincere, saying that the whole thing had been done to please and satisfy the Prime Minister. Turning next to Mr. Gladstone's Edinburgh speech the duke denounced it as "a policy of red herrings to distract the attention of the people from the merits of the bill." The proposal was to keep the bill out of sight, and to draw a red herring across the track by attacking the House of Lords. All the countries in Europe that had invented a constitution, as well as America, had desired to have a second chamber. The great object of a second chamber was to prevent hasty and impulsive legislation; but there had been no popular impulse whatever in favour of this Irish Bill. The present danger, which no one had foreseen, was the possibility of—"A very cunning party leader bribing and manipulating various factions, and so, by mere cunning and dexterity, which he himself would call 'old Parliamentary handism,' manufacturing an artificial majority which should thrust its proposals down the throat of Parliament." Mr. Gladstone's speech in Edinburgh, in which he professed to give a history of the relations between the two Houses of Parliament in comparatively recent years, was marked by all his characteristic faults. There were a great many facts concealed, a great many passionately misrepresented, and there were irrational assumptions underlying them all. It was now forty-one years, the Duke of Argyll continued, since he was first associated with Mr. Gladstone in Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Cabinet. In 1853 Mr. Gladstone brought in a great budget which many people looked back upon as the greatest triumph of his public life. One of the leading features of that great budget was the imposition for the first time of the income-tax upon the Irish people. Ireland had hitherto been exempt from the income-tax as she was exempt from many other imposts. Mr. Gladstone said this was quite wrong in principle. There should be equal taxation for the whole of the United Kingdom. Mr. Gladstone had now brought in a budget which was the scorn of all. Feeble in its execution, ignorant in its facts, unjust in its conclusions, it had been matter for universal reprobation. The first principle which governed it was that taxation between the three countries should not be equal; the second was that all Irishmen were to be made, as far as it was possible to make them, smugglers upon patriotic principles. English and Scottish excisemen were to be sent into Ireland to collect the taxes, and every patriotic Irishman would have felt it his duty to his nation to become a smuggler. Then England was taxed, in proportion to her wealth, twice as

high as Scotland, and Scotland was to be taxed two and a half times as high as Ireland. Next there was to be an Irish contingent introduced into Parliament to show that Englishmen and Scotchmen should never get rid of this odious tax of the people of Ireland. It was said that Mr. Gladstone had wonderful, almost superhuman, powers. It was difficult to know what was taking place in the physical frame as years advanced upon men. The powers, when a man became old, might be the same, but the balance might be gone, and that which was merely a weakness in early life might become a positive disadvantage in after years. This, he thought, was the case with Mr. Gladstone. No man of eighty-four ought to pretend to be the Prime Minister of this country. When Lord Palmerston, whose principle was to support the British flag, backed up Sir John Bowring, our commissioner in China, and there was a little Chinese war, Mr. Gladstone seized the opportunity to make an attack upon Lord Palmerston's Government and coalesced with the Tories to oust Lord Palmerston. The House of Lords supported Lord Palmerston, the House of Commons did not. He dissolved Parliament and came back with a large majority, because he was in thorough sympathy with the wish of the people. Lord Derby succeeded to office some time after, and Mr. Gladstone at once entered into friendly relations with him. During these years of Lord Derby's Government Mr. Gladstone was seeking for an opening for his future career. He accepted an important mission from him to Greece, and generally voted with him in Parliament. He voted with the Tories in the division which turned out the Derby Government, and it was purely his dislike of Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Disraeli's jealousy of him, which prevented Mr. Gladstone at that time from joining the Conservative Party. Lord Palmerston came in again, and invited Mr. Gladstone to join him again. Mr. Gladstone consented, and immediately resumed his old work of making splendid budgets. Mr. Gladstone, in the course of his speech at Edinburgh, said that all the legislative changes during the last sixty years had been carried against the opinion of the House of Lords by mere submission. "This was a gross slander, and was untrue. Mr. Gladstone might not know it was untrue, because when men spoke in a passion and out of spite they did not always know what they were saying." The House of Lords had been more faithful than the House of Commons during the last sixty years to all that course of legislation which had been directed expressly to the benefit of the masses of the people. "There was one important truth in Mr. Gladstone's miserable exhibition of vituperation and passion in his Edinburgh speech." He said that in our constitution we trust entirely to the good sense and moderation of those who possessed abstract rights and legal powers. Mr. Gladstone was now being opposed on account of a total want of common-sense and even of decent moderation.



policy and in his method. He had abused the powers of leadership, and the doctrine of reserve and secrecy from people, and the wielding of party majorities. Mr. Gladstone an outsider, taken in as a leader over the heads of a great many men who had been Liberal from childhood. When he set up his mind to strike his colours to Mr. Parnell, he did not consult one of his faithful colleagues, who had yielded to his opinion during a long course of years. If party government was to be conducted in this country on honourable public lines, surely some degree of openness was necessary even between the followers and the chief. Mr. Gladstone had misled the majority. He had applied the closure, not in a proper manner, but to very nearly a half of the House of Commons, to a considerable majority of the whole British representation, and this was a monstrous abuse of the powers which were put into his hands.

In conclusion, the duke remarked that it was not well for a statesman who had denounced the terrorist policy of the Irish League to come round to apologising for boycotting and a Plan of Campaign without any apparent excuse, except a change of the Parliamentary majority, for so extraordinary a variation in the moral attitude of his mind. Mr. Gladstone's paraphrase for cruel boycotting, "exclusive dealing," was a kind which tended to make crime "unable to recognise"; and Mr. Gladstone, he said, might as well have called mutilation of cattle "incisive dealing," or murder "conclusive dealing." Brilliant, however, as was the Duke of Argyll's speech, it attracted but ephemeral notice, and public attention soon wandered off to matters of more pressing importance than the estimate of one politician by another.

## CHAPTER VII.

Winter Session—The Parish Councils Bill—Mr. Fowler's Moderation—Mr. Parnell at Manchester—The Lord Mayor's Banquet—South African Affairs—Employers' Liability Bill—Mr. M'Laren's Amendment—Third Reading—The Irish Strike—Government Intervention—The Parish Councils Bill in Committee—The House of Lords on the Betterment Principle—The Lords on the Fisheries Regulation and Employers' Liability Bills—Naval Defence Debate in the Commons—The East Indian Loan Bill—The Radicals and the magistracy—Lord Salisbury at Cardiff—The Featherstone Riot—The Accrington Election—Close of the Year.

WITHSTANDING the shortness of the recess, and the general expectation of autumn sittings, the House of Commons re-assembled on the 2nd in fair numbers, the Ministerialists being especially well represented. The thought uppermost in most men's minds was how far the hopes and promises of finally winding up the work of the session before Christmas would be fulfilled. In agreement, only two bills were to be discussed, and these

were further to be regarded as non-contentious. In other words, the principle underlying both the Employers' Liability Bill and the Parish Councils Bill was to be accepted by all parties, and the second reading of each measure to be taken without challenge.

On the opening night, the President of the Local Government Board, Mr. H. H. Fowler, certainly did much to conciliate the reasonable scruples of the Opposition. His assurances that there was no intention to employ the bill as a weapon to deal an indirect blow at the Church were the more welcome and satisfactory as the two Houses of Convocation had on the previous day been raising a cry of alarm and asserting that the Church was in danger, because the bill aimed at interfering with Church schools and proposed to place the administration of Church charities in the hands of laymen. In moving the second reading of the bill, of which the general purport has been already fully set forth, Mr. Fowler chiefly dwelt on the three points which had attracted most attention, and on which the Government had somewhat modified their original intentions. With reference to the grouping of small parishes, the bill, as it stood, proposed that the line should be drawn at parishes with less than 300 population. There were about 13,000 rural parishes, and no fewer than 6,000 of them had a population of less than 300, and would, therefore, require to be grouped under the bill. He found, however, that great objections were entertained to the system of grouping in any form. There was no magic in the number 300, and the exact limit of population to be imposed would be left to the judgment of the House. But even if the limit set forth in the bill were left untouched, he should move that there should permanently be a parish meeting in every parish, however small its population might be, and that if a grouping took place each parish should form a ward of the group. Mr. Fowler further suggested that the county councils should have a much greater elasticity than the bill at present gave them with reference to grouping, and to have power to give to any parish, irrespective of its population, a parish council, or they ought to be enabled to group by consent parishes which exceeded the population limit. Adverting to the general alarm felt in the country as to the injurious effect which the bill would have upon the Church of England, the President of the Local Government Board assured the House there was no reason for that alarm. In the first place, the vast majority of the national schools were outside the purview of the bill, and their management was distinctly the affair of the Church. The Government, he declared, were not attempting by any side wind to give effect by this bill to the views for which every one of his colleagues voted in 1890. They desired to avoid this educational question altogether and to abstain from interfering with any elementary schools. Consequently, the Government were prepared to introduce



the bill words which would set this question completely finally at rest. With regard to the accusation that the would rob the Church of its parish rooms, Mr. Fowler remarked that the question was a difficult one, but the Government would endeavour in committee to protect the rights of Church of England and of every other religious body, while upholding the rights of the public. It had been contended that if the trustees of doles or parochial charities for the benefit of the poor happened to be ecclesiastical persons that circumstance alone gave to the charities an ecclesiastical character. This was a position which he could not accept, and, moreover, was not the law of the land. The Government would, therefore, contend that these doles for general charitable purposes were parochial charities, and that the parish councils should have power to elect the trustees. As to the clause relating to enclosed churchyards, it was inserted for a purely sanitary purpose. The freehold of the churchyard would remain vested in the incumbent of the parish, but the county council would be empowered to repair the fences and to keep the place in decent order. The Government had been urged to abandon the clauses for the creation of district councils, and to confine the bill to parish councils, but they were not prepared to take that course. As to the question of the administration of the Poor Law, they considered that a popularly elected body in a rural district would be quite capable of administering both the Poor Law and local affairs. In conclusion, Mr. Fowler declared that as the Government desired to make the bill perfectly fair to all parties they would not, as far as details were concerned, assume a *non assumus* attitude.

Mr. Walter Long (*West Derby, Liverpool*) and Hon. Edward Stanhope (*Horncastle, Lincolnshire*), whilst readily recognising the conciliatory tone of the President of the Local Government Board, and accepting so much of the bill as set up parish and district councils, pointed out that the provisions dealing with the Poor Law and sanitary administration stood upon very different ground. To transfer these to bodies elected upon a wholly new franchise, and to allow rates to be voted and expended by those who contributed nothing towards them, was a revolutionary proposal which would give a totally new reading to the English Poor Law, and could not fail to raise strong objections in many quarters. They therefore urged Mr. Fowler to deal with the two points in different bills, of which one at least would pass without serious opposition from any side. The harmony of the second day's debate (Nov. 3) was somewhat broken by an indiscreet speech from the Under Secretary for India, Mr. Geo. Russell (*Beds*), who had returned to the House for the general election. His apparent object, unintelligible in one who had hitherto been regarded as a strong churchman, was to astonish his friends and anger his foes by adopting a line as far as possible removed from the conciliatory method

of the Minister in charge of the bill. Mr. Russell's speech was, in brief, a vigorous and light-hearted attack upon "the parson and the squire," and an advocacy of the right of the agricultural labourers, "serfs and cyphers," as he described them, to be freed from the patronage and domination of both of them, and he appeared to be under the impression that both squire and parson exercised a paralysing effect upon the labourers which it was the great object of the bill to destroy. The small squire had, from time immemorial, he said, formed the habit of impressing his own will on everybody and everything within his parish; he regarded the evil and the good, and held that to be evil which was inconsistent with his own habit of omnipotent interference. The large squire took all his notions of the agricultural labourer from bailiffs and land agents, and knew him only at second hand. And the parson again, though often very hard-working and eager to do good, drank in insensibly the views of the social caste with which he consorted, and therefore tried to be a benevolent despot to the labourer, and to repress the strongest passion he had, that of personal independence; and therefore the rural clergy, as a whole, had not the confidence of their flocks. Mr. Russell looked forward to the abolition of the plural vote for Poor Law guardians and of the official guardians, as the very essence of the bill, which was one to restore dignity and self-dependence to the village labourer.

Mr. A. J. Balfour, when he came to speak (Nov. 6), succeeded in eliciting from Mr. Gladstone a censure on the tone of Mr. Russell's speech, and the remark that it had always been customary to allow subordinate members of the Government to express their own personal views when not speaking on matters connected with their own departments. With regard to the bill itself, Mr. Balfour strongly urged the relegation of the reform of the Poor Law to a separate bill to be brought forward when it could be adequately discussed. This appeal was reiterated by Mr. Goschen (*Hanover Square*), who also made one excellent point in his speech. Mr. Fowler and his friends had, when in Opposition, bitterly attacked the principle of grants being made out of imperial taxes in aid of local rates on the ground that such grants were only reliefs to the landowner. They now shifted their ground altogether, and, in order to avoid an appearance of responsibility to the parish councils, declared that the rates levied by them would come out of the occupiers' pockets. In other words, all remission of rates benefited the landlord, whilst all augmentation fell upon the tenant.

Sir Wm. Harcourt (*Derby*), replying on behalf of the Government, altogether evaded this dilemma, and in reply to the appeal to cut off the Poor Law clauses of the bill, said that in the case of the judgment of Solomon it was the true man who would not consent to her child being rent in two, and that the Government therefore naturally repudiated the



cruel suggestion. The bill was then read a second time without a division.

That the Government wished and intended to adhere strictly to their promise to take up no contentious measure during the winter session was clearly evident from Mr. Gladstone's statement (Nov. 6) with regard to the course of business. Earlier in the day he had informed Mr. Labouchere, who had suddenly espoused the cause of Lobengula and advocated the principles of the Aborigines Protection Society, that the Government had no intention to propose a day for the discussion of affairs in Matabeleland. Later on the Prime Minister, pressed on several sides, made a more general statement, in which he declared his intention, in accordance with the understanding arrived at, to limit the work of the session to making progress with the Local Government (England and Wales) Bill and the Employers' Liability Bill, and to dispose finally of such bills as had already passed the House of Commons. They reserved to themselves the power of taking up any non-contentious bill of pressing necessity, with the general consent of the House. Notwithstanding the strong appeals and remonstrances of Mr. Sexton, he declined to take up the cause of the Irish evicted tenants, but promised a Government bill dealing with the subject as one of the earliest to be introduced in the ensuing session. In like manner he postponed the Places of Worship Enfranchisement Bill, the Eight Hours Bill, and the Equalisation of Rates (London) Bill, speaking fair words to their respective supporters. Up to this everything had gone smoothly, except that Mr. Labouchere had announced his intention of finding the way of making a discussion on South African affairs inevitable, but Mr. Gibson Bowles (*King's Lynn*), who had taken an active part in harrying the Government, especially in naval questions, intervened (Nov. 7) and asked the First Lord of the Treasury whether her Majesty's Government had considered the great increase in strength of foreign navies in the Mediterranean, and the consequent relative decrease in strength of her Majesty's naval force in that sea as compared with those navies; whether they were prepared to assure the House that, notwithstanding this relative decrease of strength, her Majesty's forces in the Mediterranean were now completely adequate for the protection of British interests and British naval stations in that sea, as well as for the maintenance there of British international engagements; whether they proposed to lay down a new battleship to make good the decrease of strength in her Majesty's general naval forces caused by the loss of the *Victoria*; and whether they would afford the House an early opportunity of discussing the condition and adequacy of the navy as affected by recent events.

Mr. Gladstone's reply, although framed with his usual caution, had upon his hearers and readers the effect of being

captious and hasty. "I have to state, first, that her Majesty's Government are perfectly satisfied as to the adequacy and capacity of the British navy to perform all the purposes for which it exists; secondly, that the intentions of the Government as to maintaining the number and force of the vessels necessary for those purposes can only be considered in a fitting manner when they are brought forward as a whole by the organ of the department, and when the attention of the department is duly and adequately called to them; and, thirdly, they have no intention of proposing a day as suggested in the question."

The implied determination to take no notice of the rising feeling of dissatisfaction which was every day more loudly expressed, and to conceal for the next three or four months the intentions of the Admiralty, and to affect an optimism which no one believed justified, was apparently the policy of the Cabinet. And however little connection there might be between its naval policy and its general legislation, many of the obstacles thrown in the way of the latter were traceable to the weakness and indecision displayed by the Government in understanding the real drift of public feeling on a question of national defence.

On the following day (Nov. 8) Mr. John Morley, speaking at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, was able to refer more satisfactorily to the state of the country more immediately under his control. He was able to show that agrarian crime in Ireland presented a marked diminution, partly ascribable to the good season and harvest, and partly to the alliance between the Irish Nationalists and the Ministerialists. He asked very pertinently, in view of certain criticisms on his administration, "why it should be made a reproach and counted as a deadly sin against the Government that the leaders of the sentiments of the people to be governed were working on the side of the Government, were smoothing its path, were making its difficulties as few as possible." With regard to the future action of the Government in the matter of Home Rule, Mr. Morley frankly said that, in his judgment, the best mode of sealing the compact with Ireland would be for the Irish members to allow the Home Rule Bill to remain in a state of suspended animation during the coming session, and to bind the honour of English members by getting the Irish votes for popular English measures. "Every single vote you give for a British reform is a vote for the passing of the Home Rule Bill; every hour that is effectively devoted to English, Scotch or Welsh reform is two hours for Home Rule. Irishmen know that the non-introduction of Home Rule in the House of Commons in 1894 makes its success not less but more assured." Mr. Morley concluded by expressing his conviction that the Liberal Party was irrevocably committed to the effective prosecution of the policy of self-government for Ireland, but he did not venture to say that that policy would be based on the bill of 1893.

At the Lord Mayor's banquet, at which neither Mr. Glad-



stone nor any of his principal colleagues were present, the effect of this misplaced assurance was very evident, and Earl Spencer, who was the titular head of the Admiralty, tried to remove the impression produced by Mr. Gladstone's unfortunately chosen words. He thought that it would be better if the army and navy were administered without regard to party spirit, but solely to patriotism. Without going into details he would say that of late years much had been done to strengthen the navy. The Government were entirely satisfied with that policy; and they were determined to continue and develop it. They believed it was necessary we should maintain our supremacy on the sea, and that our navy should be maintained in such an efficient state that it would be able to defend our shores and our colonies. With regard to the army, the Minister for War, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, declared that all was going on most satisfactorily, and that the authorities were doing everything in their power to increase the comfort of the soldiers, to enlarge their privileges, and improve their housing, feeding and clothing; and that they had not been altogether unsuccessful was proved by the abundant supply of recruits now drawn into the service. Officers no longer regarded the profession as a pastime, but kept well abreast of the relentless march of military science without losing a jot of the old spirit of bravery which had always characterised them.

The reception given to the Italian ambassador on this occasion was probably in a measure intended to show the French nation that the sympathy between England and Italy was not altogether one-sided, and that the latter was fully justified in looking to England to befriend her in the Mediterranean. Lord Kimberley, who, in the absence of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Rosebery, spoke in reply to the toast of Her Majesty's Ministers, referred in the first instance to another Mediterranean Power—Spain, whose sympathies for the time were supposed to be more with France than with England; but after paying a tribute to the bravery of the troops at Melilla and the sufferings of the population of San Juan, Lord Kimberley acknowledged with tact the cordial assurances of the Italian ambassador. It was with great pleasure he could tell his audience that the most recent intelligence he had received from the Viceroy of India was that the mission of Sir Mortimer Durand to the Ameer of Cabul had met with conspicuous success. There was every reason to believe that all the outstanding questions which we had with the Ameer would be settled in a manner satisfactory to both parties, and that our important relations with Afghanistan would be placed on a more secure and permanent basis than ever before. He believed that the friendly negotiations which were going on with Russia would result in a satisfactory and, he hoped, permanent settlement of our disputes with her on that frontier. In regard to Siam, they must pursue a

friendly but a firm policy, and he believed that our communications with the Government of France would lead to a settlement of which we should have reason to be satisfied.

The latest news concerning the war in which, he supposed, he must say, we were engaged in South Africa, was that Lobengula had fled and that we were in possession of his capital. It was a justifiable war, and it had been conducted by Englishmen in a manner that deserved the sympathy of their fellow-countrymen. Could they speak contemptuously of the skill and courage of those who had met men not much, if at all, the inferior of the Zulus in battle and had defeated them completely? When Lobengula was subdued it would be absolutely necessary that the voice of the Government should be heard, and they hoped that in communication and concert with the company which ruled now in the Matabele country, they would be able to bring about a satisfactory settlement. No one would dispute that the Government must have a paramount interest in the matter; but, on the other hand, it would be folly to disregard the just interests of the company. Still more, he would earnestly press upon all those who had an interest in the question that it was indispensable necessary that we should consider the interests and the feelings and the policy of the colonists of Cape Colony.

Turning to home affairs, Lord Kimberley said there had been a considerable diminution of agrarian crime in Ireland during the last fifteen months as compared with the preceding fifteen months. With regard to the terrible dispute in the coal trade, he could say nothing as to its merits. The Government deeply regretted that no settlement had been arrived at, and by any means—by arbitration or otherwise—they could facilitate a settlement, nothing would give them greater pleasure.

Whilst the Secretary for India was claiming credit for the Government for its management of colonial affairs, and especially in South Africa, Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*), who had on a recent occasion expressed his complete confidence in the Cabinet, was carrying out his intention of forcing a discussion in the House of Commons. In reply to the Speaker's inquiry as to how far Mr. Labouchere's motion for the adjournment of the House was "a definite matter of urgent public importance" a large body of Radicals and many of the Irish Nationalists rose. Mr. Labouchere was accordingly allowed to proceed and in a speech which lasted over an hour and a half he laboured to prove "the impolicy of permitting the Chartered Company of South Africa to establish any claims or to contract any engagements with regard to the territory or government of Matabeleland or to continue its warlike operations in the territory in view of the previous proceedings and the present position of the company."

In a long and envenomed narrative of the formation of the chartered company, Mr. Labouchere, for the first time in his



parliamentary career, not only failed to amuse, but actually bored his hearers, although he had no lack of objects for his wit in the company which under the management of two dukes had spent a million without earning a dividend. Having a plausible case at least, he spoilt it by exaggeration and a total want of any sense of proportion. He maintained that Lobengula was desirous of avoiding war, and was compelled to take arms in consequence of the attitude assumed by the company. Amid loud cheers from members below the gangway, he stigmatised the death of the two endunas sent into Major Goold-Adams' headquarters as an indelible disgrace to this country, and he ridiculed the excuse advanced that these men were spies. He reminded the House of the hard fact that we were joining in the war by sending Major Goold-Adams to Matabeleland, and that we were spending money to enable the chartered company to get something in order that they might swindle and cheat the British investor. He wanted something to be done that would put an end at once to this filibustering expedition.

After a defence of the origin and earlier operations of the company by Mr. Rochefort Maguire (*Clare, W.*), a Nationalist who had been intimately connected with Mr. Rhodes in South Africa, the Under Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Buxton, said her Majesty's Government endeavoured at the outset to preserve peace, and when war became inevitable they sought to make its success a moral certainty. For his own part he could not censure the company for bringing the matter to an issue before the rainy season set in, and he might observe that hostilities were never entered into with a less light heart. He admitted, indeed, that the killing of the envoys, although purely accidental, was a blot on the escutcheon of England, and on this subject a searching inquiry was being held. On behalf of her Majesty's Government, and expressing likewise, he believed, the sentiments of the company, he declared that the hostilities were not intended to degenerate into a war of extermination or of expulsion. However, the hateful military system which had existed so long in Matabeleland must be broken down; but when the people were ready to turn their swords into ploughshares they would not be expelled from the country. Her Majesty's Government had directed Mr. Rhodes, in consultation with Sir H. Loch, to draw up a scheme for the future government of the country, to be submitted to her Majesty's Government for approval. The settlement would include due safeguards for the protection of the rights of the natives of Matabeleland, and no steps taken on the spot would prejudice the final arrangement. The Government hoped that the hostilities were now over, and that a pacification would soon be brought about.

He was followed by Mr. A. J. Balfour, who defended the policy of the late Administration, and said it was clear that

the present Government could not dissociate themselves the responsibility for this war. He was a member of Cabinet who were responsible for giving powers to chartered company, and, after the events of the last years, he was more than ever convinced of the wisdom of policy they initiated, and of the good fruits which it had brought. Under the guidance of Mr. Rhodes the company had, by establishment of railways, telegraphs, and roads, extended blessings of civilisation to these countries inhabited by a barbarous races. He denied that there was any justification for Labouchere's violent attack on the company, whose agents displayed some of the finest qualities which had helped to build up the British Empire.

Mr. Gladstone showed no disposition to save the face of his distinguished supporter and his friend who had forced on a debate on colonial policy in the teeth of the Treasury Bench. He assured the House that the Government had not the slightest intention to dissociate themselves from the responsibility of the war. Although the company had its own very serious responsibility, yet the chief responsibility must be borne by her Majesty's Government. No criticism he remarked, had been pronounced on the policy of the Government in regard to the establishment of the company. In reminding the House of the main points of the controversy he strongly condemned the "unrestrained language" in which Mr. Labouchere had indulged. It would have been an insult against humanity and justice, as well as against policy, if British authorities had not demanded the two securities Lobengula, and if they had not regarded the refusal of Lobengula as necessitating the hostilities now in progress.

After a few more speeches in which no points of importance were raised, Mr. Labouchere's motion was negatived without a division, and the Chartered Company of South Africa stood infinitely higher in public estimation than it had stood before this attempt to misrepresent its aims, and to belittle its achievements.

Before proceeding with the committee stage of the Factory Councils Bill, the Government decided that some private business should be made with the other measure for which the early recess had been sacrificed. After a short struggle the Employers' Liability Bill had been referred to the Standing Committee on Law, &c., and had been duly reported with amendments to the House early in the previous summer. The object of the bill was to abolish common employment and contracting-out. On the first point there was a general agreement between all parties. The excuse had been too frequently and too successfully put forward by unjust and ungenerous employers to the disadvantage of workmen injured in service, and every one was aware that the legal view constituted a real hardship for those engaged in dangerous trades or



On the question of contracting-out there was greater divergence of opinion, but the trades unions, especially those which the new views were dominant, strongly opposed the giving any workman the power of coming to a special arrangement with his employer. They held that this contracting-out was often an excuse for allowing defective machinery to be retained, or dangerous work to be carried on, and that no public inquiry or exposure ensued when the claims of the injured workman were settled privately. Another objection, but it was not publicly put forward, was that in the case of large companies or firms where an accident insurance fund existed, to which the employers contributed three-fourths and the men one-fourth of the sum, there was a danger of identifying too closely the interests of both, and possibly of placing in the hands of the employers a powerful political weapon which at any moment might be used in opposition to the men of the trades union. The whole dispute, therefore, coming out of the bill centred round this point; and was decided (Nov. 8) in the first instance by a staunch Gladstonian,

W. M'Laren (*Crewe, Cheshire*), who in this case certainly represented the views of his constituents, of which the greater number were workmen in the factories of the London and North-western Railway Company. He therefore moved the insertion of a new clause to the effect that, subject to certain conditions, if an employer had heretofore made with his workmen a contract whereby the workmen had for valuable consideration deprived themselves of any rights under the Employers' Liability Act, 1880, section 2 of the present Act should not apply, and that employer, or his successors in business, might make contracts with the workmen at any time hereafter employed by them, whereby such workmen might relinquish any right to compensation under this Act. He said those working men whose cause he espoused already possessed advantages greater than any which would be conferred upon them by the bill. There were a number of mutual insurance societies to the funds of which the London and North-western Railway Company and other employers of the sort contributed very largely in consideration of their workmen contracting themselves out of the benefits of the Employers' Liability Acts. These societies compensated any one who was injured, and consequently a much larger number of men received benefits than would obtain them under the Acts of Parliament. Three great societies had been organised by the London and North-western Railway Company, which contributed five-elevenths of the funds; the London, Brighton, and South Coast Company, which had a better scheme, contributed 62 per cent. of the funds; and Sir W. Armstrong and Co. (Limited), of Newcastle-on-Tyne, contributed about two-thirds of the funds of the society. If any man were injured he at once received

substantial compensation and sick pay. There was no delay, there was no law, and there was no ill-feeling. The net result of the whole scheme was thoroughly beneficial to the men. If the bill passed in its present form it would, he maintained, destroy the societies, as he believed clause 3 was wholly illusory. All he asked was that the men should have the liberty to choose which of the two systems they preferred. This proposal was seconded by Mr. H. P. Cobb (*Rugby, Warwickshire*), an equally ardent Gladstonian, but at the same time a very independent politician, who also had a large number of the railway servants and operatives amongst his constituents. Mr. Asquith (*East Fife*), on behalf of the Government, at once refused to listen to any such propositions. Admitting the question to be an important and a difficult one, he said that the Government must adhere to the original form of the clause. They started with the principle, that if this were to be an effective measure, as a general rule persons must be prohibited from contracting themselves by private arrangement, outside of the scope of its provisions. They believed that unless this change were made in the law we should not secure adequate compensation for injuries, nor supply an adequate incentive to the employers of labour to take due precautions for the safe conduct of their industrial operations. Many workmen had relinquished the rights they possessed under the Act of 1880, and it was time that Parliament should step in and protect the men. The Government were not hostile to the insurance funds, provided that the employers' legal liability to make good the responsibility which the law cast upon them was in the last resort reserved. If he thought the effect of the bill would be to destroy arrangements of that kind, he should hesitate before he urged the House to accept the measure in its present form. He denied, however, that any clause in the bill would directly or indirectly have the effect of destroying the insurance societies. The real motive which led employers to contribute to the funds of the societies was not to escape the comparatively small liability cast upon them by the Employers' Liability Acts, but to establish a good state of relations between themselves and their men, to gather all the persons in their employ within an industrial ring fence, and to prevent the operation of outside influences which might sow discord between masters and men. That motive, he felt assured, would not have lost any of its force after this bill passed into law. He did not believe any real case of grievance had been made out, and on the part of the Government he must ask the House to prohibit, under all circumstances, those private arrangements which would in the long run be used to take away from the men the protection which this bill was designed to confer upon them, and thus to frustrate the intentions of the Legislature.

Mr. Fenwick (*Wansbeck, Northumberland*), a strong Liberal



and a Labour member, having in early life been a miner, was the first to speak out (Nov. 6) in the name of the trades unions, which, he declared, were opposed to the system of contracting-out, because there was nothing approaching to mutuality in such contracts. He maintained that the insurance arrangements which had been referred to as providing compensation for injury were not only inadequate, but were prejudicial to the interests of the workmen, who, in the majority of cases, did not enter into them of their own free will.

He was followed by Mr. D. R. Plunket (*Dublin University*), a Conservative, and a director of the London and North-western Railway, who ridiculed the notion that the clause had been brought forward in the interests of the directors of that company. He maintained that its adoption would be to the advantage of the men, as its rejection would be a saving to the working of the line. Moreover, there was abundant evidence that railway men in an overwhelming majority were earnestly in favour of the clause. The directors of the London and North-western Railway Company paid 23,000*l.* to the workmen's insurance fund, but if this bill were forced upon them he could hold out no expectation that the contribution would be continued.

Mr. John Burns (*Battersea*), the Socialist advocate, but at the same time an enlightened friend of the classes which sent him to Parliament, was not likely to allow the member for an Irish university to claim unchallenged the right to speak for the working men. He declared (but the statement was subsequently challenged) that he represented 3,000 railway working men, not one of whom had made a representation to him in favour of the clause, although many had requested him to vote for the bill as it stood. He quoted statistics which showed, as he alleged, that under insurance systems accidents increased in number, and he contended that the agitation in support of the new clause was promoted by railway companies for their own pecuniary benefit.

The Opposition took very little part in the debate, but in the division they supported Mr. M'Laren's clause, which was nevertheless defeated by 236 to 217 votes—a satisfactory result to the Government, which they owed more to the abstentions of the Opposition than to the enthusiasm of their own supporters, of whom no less than nineteen, including several prominent men, voted with Mr. M'Laren.

Four more days and nights were devoted to the discussion of several new clauses, introduced from all sides of the House. On the proposal of Mr. Forwood (*Ormskirk, Lancashire*), ship-owners were exempted (Nov. 13) from liability for injuries arising from errors in navigation or perils of the sea. Mr. Bousfield (*Hackney, N.*) obtained an important addition to the whole scope of the bill, by giving a workman a right to compensation when his temporary or permanent disablement had

been caused by the neglect of reasonable precaution by his employer; and Mr. M. Healy (*Cork City*) obtained the reduction of county court fees in actions under the bill.

On the question of the third reading (Nov. 23), Mr. J. Chamberlain, who had been absent during the progress of the bill through committee, took the opportunity of expressing his opinion on its general features. Premising that it was not a party measure, and that it would not bring any party advantage to its authors, he expressed his opinion that it was a most mischievous bill in regard both to what it did and to what it left undone. He had refrained from giving notice of opposition to the third reading. Nevertheless, he wished to make his final protest against this piece of unwise legislation. It had been alleged that a certain part of the community desired to promote causes of dispute between employers and employed, while, on the other hand, it had been asserted that employers were opposed to this legislation because they believed it would strengthen the trade unions. But he did not think these feelings were largely entertained on either side. The two main objects of legislation of this kind were, first, to induce such precautions on the part of the employer as might lead to a reduction in the number of accidents, and, secondly, to secure fair compensation to those who suffered from accidents. Referring to the first object, he complained that it imposed fresh liability on employers in regard to matters over which they had no control, discretion, or influence whatever. As far as the main clause of the bill—abolishing the doctrine of common employment—was concerned, whatever other benefits it might confer, it would certainly not have the advantage which, by the confession of the Home Secretary, was the chief object of the Government—namely, to safeguard the lives or the health of the workmen. After demonstrating that the statements and statistics brought forward by Mr. Burns were greatly exaggerated, Mr. Chamberlain proceeded to contend that the bill would not produce any improvement in the death-rate or any reduction in the number of accidents. One result of passing the measure would be that every thoughtful and prudent employer would insure, because he must incur a risk for which he could not otherwise adequately provide. Surely this would be a very curious result of the agitation of the trade unions, and of the action of the present Government. He gladly admitted that the bill gave compensation to a larger number of men than would have received it under the old law, but it still left an enormous number unprovided for, and he was surprised that the Government should have failed to seize a great opportunity for completing their work by including in this bill cases of accident now beyond its scope. He maintained that public opinion was making rapid strides in this direction, and under these circumstances it was rather a strong order to destroy the voluntary arrangements at present existing, and to discourage



them in the future. No sufficient answer had been given to the claim of hundreds of thousands of working people who simply wanted to be left alone. It was alleged, indeed, that they had been coerced in the expression of their opinion, but this was a libel upon men who were the very flower of the working classes. In fact, there had been much more pressure against voluntary arrangements than had ever been used in favour of them. In conclusion, Mr. Chamberlain said this bill would largely increase facilities for litigation, and while it was by confession an incomplete solution of the question it would stand in the way of and discourage the more perfect system which, under voluntary arrangements, had been gradually growing up.

Mr. Asquith retorted that Mr. Chamberlain's absence from the discussion on the report stage was much to be regretted. If he thought the bill was mischievous and reactionary, there was no reason why he should not push his opposition to the extreme point, and vote against the third reading. He had told a Birmingham reporter that the Home Secretary had taken the bill from the trade unions, had declined to accept any amendment of it, and had forced it through the House with the aid of the Irish vote. The truth was that there had been no bill in recent years with regard to which the Government had accepted a larger number of amendments from every quarter of the House. Again, as the bill applied to Ireland, Mr. Chamberlain would hardly deny the title of the Irish members to be effectively heard on a matter which so vitally interested their country. In point of fact, however, there was only one amendment—that of Mr. W. M'Laren—on which the votes of Irish members affected the result. He regarded the bill as constituting only a part of our industrial legislation, but he aimed that as far as it went and within a very large sphere it could have the effect of adding to the incentives to care and diminishing the area of risk. The plan of general and universal insurance which Mr. Chamberlain favoured was not demanded by public opinion, and the Government could not propose that far-reaching experimental scheme on the employers without making a leap in the dark. He did not for one moment believe that the bill would put an end to voluntary arrangements. Although he did not represent it as a complete final measure, it made a large and substantial improvement in the condition of the workmen of this country, while its liberal changes would not impose upon employers unreasonable burdens.

The debate was continued for some time, as much by speakers from one side of the House as from the other, and towards midnight the Home Secretary attempted to close the further discussion. The Speaker, however, refused to put the questions, and shortly afterwards the bill was read a third time without a division and forthwith sent to the House of Lords.

Meanwhile the differences between employers and workmen in the coal trade had reached an acute stage. Both sides were exhausted by the protracted struggle which had lasted for fifteen weeks, and both were ready for a compromise, though neither would abandon their position. Various attempts at adjudicating on the differences between masters and men had been made; conferences were held and plans of conciliation were discussed; but as no suggestion was made as to how decisions, if arrived at, should be enforced upon those unwilling to adopt them, the negotiations resulted in no particular solution. The masters insisted that in view of the general state of trade coal-getting could not be carried on without a preliminary reduction on the existing rate of wages. In the Midland districts the coal-owners went a step further, and proposed that the money in dispute should be "posted" or held in a suspense account until the arbitrators to be jointly nominated by masters and men had decided. To this arrangement the men objected that this would undermine their position, which was that the "living wage" was not open to arbitration, and that all negotiations must start from the rate paid before the commencement of the strike. The mayors of the principal manufacturing towns in the North of England were equally unsuccessful in their efforts to bring about a settlement, and matters were fast becoming critical. The railway companies were forced to reduce the number of their trains. The industries dependent upon coal were working short time, or in some cases were wholly suspended, and in London especially the price of coal was raised to such an extent that the poor were reduced to every sort of expedient to obtain warmth and shelter.

At this critical but at the same time favourable juncture the Government determined to intervene, and just before the House rose (Nov. 13) at midnight Mr. Gladstone announced that as the head of the Government he had addressed a letter to the representatives of the miners and coal-owners, inciting them to a joint conference, over which the Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Earl of Rosebery) was to preside. The text of the letter was as follows:—

"SIR,—The attention of her Majesty's Government has been seriously called to the widespread and disastrous effect produced by the long continuance of the unfortunate dispute in the coal trade, which has now entered on its sixteenth week. It is clear from information which has reached the Board of Trade that much misery and suffering are caused not only to the families of the men directly involved, but also to many thousands of others, not engaged in mining, whose employment has been adversely affected by the stoppage. The further prolongation of the dispute cannot fail to aggravate this suffering, especially in view of the approach of winter, when the greatly increased price of fuel is likely to cause distress among the poorer classes throughout the country.



Majesty's Government have felt it their duty to make an effort to bring about a resumption of negotiations between the employers and employed under conditions which they hope may lead to a satisfactory result.

Lord Rosebery has consented, at the request of his colleagues, to undertake the important duty which such a position involves.

"W. E. GLADSTONE."

It was understood subsequently that the decision of the Government to make the coal strike a Cabinet question was due to the efforts of Mr. Mundella, Mr. Burt, and Mr. R. S. Squire, of the Board of Trade. The struggle was involving such stupendous loss to trade that Mr. Mundella and Mr. Burt conferred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William Harcourt, and pointed out to him that the ruin overwhelming the trade and property of this country, consequent on the continued scarcity of coal, must have a disastrous effect on the national revenue, and the subject thus assumed the importance of an imperial question. It was felt, however, a very delicate matter to intervene between masters and men, and it became imperative that an appeal to better feelings on both sides should emanate from the highest Government source. Sir William Harcourt saw the Premier on the subject, and a Cabinet Council to ascertain the opinion of the entire Cabinet was held. It was unanimously agreed that some step was imperative, and Lord Rosebery consented to assume the post

of peace-maker if mutually acceptable. Mr. Mundella had never ceased to believe that the Board of Trade could profitably interfere in the dispute, and he would willingly have presided at some such meeting as that now proposed had both sides invited his assistance; and one or two others of the members of the previous Cabinet had expressed their willingness to co-operate in the attempt to effect a settlement. Mr. S. Woods, M.P., a working man who was President of the Lancashire Miners' Federation, and sat for the Ince division of that county, had been consulted before any definite steps were taken. He cordially supported the action of the Government and the choice of Lord Rosebery as mediator. He expressed his belief that the miners would be thoroughly reasonable, but at the same time he did not think any settlement would be arrived at unless the owners allowed the miners to return to work for the present at the old rates. He did not see how any sane man could recommend a reduction while coal was at its present high price. Future rates were a question for the future; but for the present the men were determined that they would have no reduction. In the face of the determination of the men and the poverty existing, it would be wickedness to suggest a reduction.

The conference was held (Nov. 17) at the Foreign Office, and was attended by fourteen delegates on behalf of the owners, and as many on behalf of the miners—all the coal districts except those of Northumberland and Durham, where there had been no strike, being represented. The proceedings, which were private, lasted six hours, and at one time were likely to be brought to an abrupt conclusion—but Lord Rosebery's tact and influence were not exerted in vain, and at length resulted in a settlement of which the terms showed that each side had been induced to abandon its previous position, to which, during sixteen weeks, both had clung so tenaciously. The terms were as follows:—

1. That a Board of Conciliation be constituted forthwith, to last over the year at the least, consisting of an equal number of coal-owners and miners' representatives, fourteen each. They shall before the first meeting endeavour to elect a chairman from outside, and should they fail will ask the Speaker of the House of Commons to nominate one, the chairman to have the casting vote; that the board, when constituted, shall have power to determine from time to time the rate of wages on and from February 1, 1894; the first meeting to be on Wednesday, December 13, 1893, at the Westminster Palace Hotel.

2. That the men resume work at once at the old rate of wages until February 1, 1894. It is agreed that all collieries, so far as practicable, be reopened for work forthwith, and that, so far as practicable, no impediment be placed in the way of a return of the men to work.

Although in point of fact the settlement was little more



than a postponement of the real difficulties of the situation, the practical result was that time was given for both masters and men to review the situation, and at the same time the immediate return of the men to the pits would enable other trades to resume work, and to tide over the worst part of the winter. With the early spring, it was hoped, however, that a healthier state of trade would stimulate prices in all commodities, and create a demand which would justify the maintenance of the price of coal. At any rate the action of the Government, no less than the terms of the settlement, met with general approval from all parties, whilst the State Socialists hailed the means by which it had been reached as a substantial recognition of the value of their theories.

Meanwhile the other "non-contentious" Ministerial measure, the Local Government (England and Wales) Bill, or the Parish Councils Bill, was slowly making its way through the House of Commons. It would be difficult to say whether its course was the more impeded by irresponsible enemies or by indiscreet friends. Before going into committee (Nov. 16), an attempt was made by the former to divide the bill, in order that all clauses relating to alterations in the Poor Law should be embodied in a separate measure. The promises made by the Opposition that such a course would ensure the establishment of parish councils throughout the kingdom, conveyed no assurance to the Minister in charge of the bill that its provisions would have any of the effects he intended, or that it would work the reforms he had foreshadowed. On an instruction moved from his own side Mr. Fowler was less successful. Mr. W. M'Laren (*Crewe*) moved an instruction empowering the committee to insert provisions to enfranchise, for the purpose of the Act, all those women, whether married or single, who would be entitled to be on the Parliamentary or Local Government Register if they were men. Mr. Fowler opposed this suggestion, which was, nevertheless, carried by 147 to 126 votes; but the real test of strength was delayed for the moment. The size of parishes which should have the right to establish councils gave rise to a very protracted debate, and ultimately the Government carried an amendment by which all parishes having populations of more than 200 might have parish councils; but Mr. Heneage (*Grimsby*) carried an amendment (Nov. 20) enabling rural parishes with a population down to 100 to have a parish council if they desired, and that where the population was under 200, but not under 100, the county council might order a parish council to be established, but only with the consent of the parish meeting, which was also necessary for the granting of two or more parishes. When the population of a parish was below 100 the county council was to decide how it was to be represented.

On the discussion of Mr. M'Laren's amendment to prevent the disfranchisement of women ratepayers, Mr. Fowler, on behalf of the Government, promised if the amendment was

withdrawn he would move the insertion of a new clause removing altogether the disqualification of women for all purposes of local government, and after some discussion M'Laren consented to withdraw his amendment.

A somewhat sharp debate arose on the hour of the meeting, which the Government had fixed to be held between 6 P.M. and 8 P.M. Mr. Arch (*Norfolk, N.W.*), the agricultural labourers' representative, strongly supported this time as most convenient to his own class, whilst the squire-farmers, represented by Sir R. Paget (*Wells, Somerset*) and W. Long (*West Derby, Liverpool*), urged that each parish should be allowed liberty to choose its own hours of meeting. The discussion was ended by the closure, and the Government hours were accepted. On the question of the constitution of the parish council, for which no person by sex or marriage was to be disqualified, Mr. Fowler consented to several amendments, mainly intended to secure the election of residents. The use of parochial schoolrooms free of charge for parish meetings of all kinds was carried by a large majority, 211 to 114, but the clauses referring to the powers of the parish council led to a protracted and often acrimonious debate. Some days were occupied in the discussion of the next paragraphs, upon which amendments of the most trivial kind were proposed, defeated and rejected by majorities varying between 50 and 100. Owing to the persistent good temper of Mr. Fowler the objections raised on both sides of the House were at length disposed of without much modification of the original bill. On clause 9, which defined the powers of the parish council for the acquisition of land, some interesting discussion took place (Nov. 30); the Conservatives being desirous that Parliament, or at least the county council, should have the right to review the claim of any parish council to buy or purchase compulsorily any land. The Government held, on the other hand, that the controlling power should be vested in the Local Government Board, and on this point they were throughout supported by substantial majorities. An equally strong feeling prevailed on the Ministerial benches with regard to the personal payment of parish rates by all occupiers who were to vote for the parish councils, on the ground that the proposal "was calculated to render the measure extremely unpopular." But the really serious struggle between the two sides of the House was reserved for clause 13, which transferred the property of local charities to the parish councils, and empowered them to appoint trustees. Mr. Strachey (*Somerset, S.*) moved an amendment (Dec. 3) to the Government's proposal to include within the scope of the clause the whole of the ecclesiastical property belonging to any parochial charity for the benefit of the poor. The President of the Local Government Board, Mr. Fowler, opposed the dispossession of existing trustees, as contrary to the pledges he had given in the dis-



at the second reading. Mr. J. Chamberlain thereupon denounced the president for his ultra-Toryism; and was followed at the same strain by several prominent Radicals. The Solicitor-General, Sir John Rigby (*Forfarshire*), was therefore set up to throw over Mr. Fowler, and to announce that the Government, though still refusing Mr. Strachey's amendment, would accept one by Mr. Cobb (*Rugby*), under which the parish councils would, in the case of non-ecclesiastical charities, appoint a majority of the trustees. When challenged by the Opposition to explain this absolute change of front, Mr. Gladstone made a fine use of his rhetorical powers, and in spite of the fact that the speeches of his two officers were absolutely contradictory "found the declarations of the Solicitor-General perfectly compatible with the pledges of the President of the Local Government Board." If report can be trusted, that was not Mr. Fowler's feeling, but the position in which the Government found themselves was a difficult one, and as a question of policy, as much as of strategy, it was necessary to decide whether the bill should be carried through by the help of the ordinary supporters or by that of the ordinary opponents of the Ministerial measures. The Radical Party had showed their teeth as well as their strength during this winter session, and it was found more prudent to reward their steady attendance and support than to snatch temporary aid from opponents who would sooner or later claim payment for their services.

The dispute was necessarily reopened on the discussion of Mr. Cobb's amendment (Dec. 7), by which time Mr. Fowler had apparently reconciled himself to the exigencies of the situation, and in a painfully laboured speech endeavoured to show that there was no question of principle involved in the amendment, as under the bill thousands of the charities would have a majority of elected trustees. It was, he said, merely a matter of administrative discretion whether it should or should not be extended to the remaining one-third; and though he remained of the opinion that only one-third of the trustees should be elected, he was conscious that the majority of the Government's supporters were of opinion that the clause should go further. Mr. E. Stanhope (*Horncastle, Lincolnshire*) characterised the action of the Government as a pure breach of faith, for by accepting the amendment the incumbent and other trustees of parish charities would be swamped by the representatives of the parish council. Mr. Gladstone tried to minimise the effect of the amendment by arguing that the mere alteration of the balance of opinion on a charitable point was no interference with the freedom of trustees: but the Opposition made it quite clear that with the present change of front on the part of the Government, they were free to disregard their own pledges, and to treat the measure as highly contentious.

Whilst the new clause was under discussion (Dec. 7-9), Mr. Cobb practically displaced Mr. Fowler, and decided

what verbal changes or modifications he would or would not accept. On the last day (Dec. 9), Mr. Balfour in discussing the course of public business urged the Government once more to drop the Poor Law clauses of the Parish Councils Bill, and to embody them in a separate measure to be introduced in the following session. To this, however, Mr. Gladstone would not consent, and declared that the House would continue to sit until the bill was sent up to the House of Lords. Sir Henry James (*Bury*) insisted that these prolonged sessions tended to a Parliament composed of paid members, or, in other words, of professional politicians, while Mr. R. T. Reid (*Dumfries*) retorted from the Ministerial side that the closure ought to have been more fully used, and admitted that if the debate on the Parish Councils Bill were prolonged through January, it would be of no use for the Gladstonians to go to the country and complain of obstruction because the electors would reply that the majority having the power shorten discussion had not availed themselves of it.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Government to hasten the progress of the bill, it was evident that the Opposition had resolved to use their strength to retard it as much as possible without running the risk of being charged with obstruction. They were assisted in their endeavours by the Ministerialists themselves, many of whom had special amendments which they wished the Government to accept. The appointment of the parish officers, the custody of the parish books and documents, the number of meetings to be held, and the limit (ultimately fixed at sixpence in the pound) of the rates leviable by the parish council, occupied several days' discussion; but there was no serious division until clause 19, relating to the election and qualification of guardians (Dec. 15), was reached. This clause, in the opinion of the Conservatives, practically revolutionised the existing system, and however important it might be to reform the present law, they urged that it should be done by a special bill, instead of as a side wind. The mode of election and the status of the guardians were not only affected by this clause, but all *ex officio* guardians, chiefly local magistrates, were swept away. The Government declined to omit the clause, and in this was supported by 54 votes. The struggle to make a less drastic amendment was led by Mr. Rathbone (*Carnarvonshire*), an unimportant member who proposed that the Local Government should appoint one guardian for every five elected guardians, but not more than three on any board. Mr. Rathbone firmly refused to consent to the substitution of guardians for *ex officio* guardians, whom the Government on the other side being willing to make any concession. Two entire days were engaged in discussion, Mr. Rathbone's amendment was withdrawn, and a division took place; but immediately a Conservative member, Mr. Hutchinson (*Aston Manor*), proposed



guardians to nominate co-optative members in the proportion one to six; but a hint thrown out by Mr. Fowler, that the Government would be willing to concede to boards of guardians power to elect the chairman and vice-chairman from outside their own body, was accepted as a more substantial advantage. Several more days were spent in discussing and dismissing various proposals to bring back *ex officio* guardians under some sort of disguise—plural voting, proposed by Sir R. Temple (Kingston, Surrey), cumulative voting, advocated by Mr. L. Hartney (Bodmin, Cornwall), and the disfranchisement of the rate voters, urged by Mr. Pierpoint (Warrington), were in vain opposed by the Government and negatived; and, finally, Mr. Fowler's promised amendment, empowering the boards of guardians to elect both chairman and vice-chairman from outside, having been further sweetened by the promise that he would consider Sir M. Hicks-Beach's proposal to elect two other guardians from outside, the clause, after some further discussion, was allowed to pass (Dec. 29) by 114 to 63 votes; and another clause having been agreed to with some verbal amendments, the year closed with the House of Commons considering clause 21 of a bill which contained upwards of twenty clauses, and which had been pronounced non-contentious before the House embarked upon its discussion. It was not, however, to the Opposition alone that this state of affairs was due. The bill was, it is true, loaded with amendments, but of these at least a third came from the Ministerial side of the House, and Mr. Fowler himself was responsible for no less than a hundred. This was evidence that the bill had been carefully drafted, or that in the course of its discussion the Ministry had found it necessary to shift the position they had originally taken up. It was probably the feeling arising from the knowledge which prevented the Government adopting the course so freely urged upon them by their less responsible friends, to close the measure, or to guillotine its clauses. When many weeks of valuable time had been lost, if not absolutely wasted, they began to realise the fact that it was beyond their powers to push through a bill about which there were divided counsels on their own side. It was, at the same time, impossible for them to bring the session to a close without the appearance of legislation, and therefore at the eleventh hour, just as the last week of the last month of the year was drawing to a close, it was rumoured that negotiations were taking place between the two front benches with the view of bringing the session to a speedy close, and of settling the terms on which the two non-contentious measures might be passed at least through one House of the Legislature.

Meanwhile the House of Lords at spasmodic intervals had been engaged with the shreds of legislation which were from time to time thrown to them. That they were desirous to cultivate friendly relations with the Lower House was shown

in an interesting discussion raised on the betterment principle by the Earl of Morley, who, as Chairman of Committee in the Upper House, was the most fitting channel for such overtures. His proposal was for a select committee of the House of Lords to join with a select committee of the House of Commons in order to inquire into what was known as the principle of "betterment," and to report whether, in the case of improvements sanctioned by Parliament, and effected by the expenditure of public funds, persons, the value of whose property was clearly increased by an improvement, could be equitably required to contribute to the cost of such improvement, and, if so, in what cases and under what conditions it should be done. He reminded the peers that when the Improvements Bill of the London County Council was sent up from the other House the committee to which it had been referred had recommended that, before a measure containing so novel a principle and of so difficult and complicated a nature was sanctioned, Parliament ought to lay down some general principles applicable to all other cases in which the principle might be sought to be applied. In other words, the House of Lords had struck out the "betterment" clause from the bill promoted by the London County Council, but the House of Commons had refused to accept the amendment, and had taken no steps to act upon the invitation. The Earl of Onslow supported the motion, and complained of the attitude of hostility which the London County Council had taken up towards the House of Lords, one member of the council having declared that they ought to "have it out" with the peers on some "good fighting question." The Duke of Argyll also supported inquiry, but rather demurred to the form in which inquiry was being proposed, for what was wanted was an inquiry not into cases where improvement had been clearly proved to have been made, but into cases where it was asserted that the value of the property to be taxed would be increased at some future time by the improvement which was proposed. In all cases where betterment could really be shown to have occurred, rents necessarily went up and also taxes, so that the owner paid already on account of the increased value of his property.

Lord Hobhouse did not think that the proposed committee would do much good, and expressed regret that the Lords had not adopted the most efficient way of solving the problem by giving a practical trial to the scheme suggested.

The Earl of Kimberley, on behalf of the Government, opposed the motion, in which the House of Commons was unlikely to concur after having twice affirmed the scheme which the Upper House had rejected. In his opinion the circumstances of particular cases differed so greatly that no cut-and-dried scheme of general application could be laid down—least not until a considerable amount of experience had been acquired; and the only safe mode of proceeding was to add



some particular scheme which embodied the principle, and to test its applicability by experience.

The Marquess of Salisbury, on the other hand, thought the question whether the House of Commons would concur with their action was hardly one which they need formally consider. If they thought the course proposed was right, they should adopt it, and throw upon the other House the responsibility of refusing to concur. He objected to Lord Kimberley's view, that a great change in the law of assessment should be introduced by way of an experiment, under which the power of taxing individuals would be left to the discretion of an unknown surveyor, and remarked that a more senseless proposition than that embodied in the County Council's bill—namely, that property must necessarily be enhanced in value by reason of its proximity to an improvement—was never submitted to Parliament. He heartily welcomed the motion, the main object being that there should be an inquiry into the subject, if possible, by both Houses of Parliament.

The Lord Chancellor (Herschell) opposed the appointment of the committee, of which he considered the labour condemned to sterility from the outset, but notwithstanding these warnings from the Government side, the peers still seemed to believe that some good might come of their willingness to "talk matters over" with the representatives of the country, and the motion was carried by 35 against 22 votes.

When the matter came to be taken up in the House of Commons it was obvious that Lord Kimberley and the Lord Chancellor had spoken with full knowledge of the intentions of their colleagues. Mr. Gladstone, in answer to questions put to him (Nov. 27), stated in his stiffest tones that the House of Commons having arrived at a conclusion on the betterment question, from which the Government saw no reason to recede, he did not understand that it was the office of the House of Lords to move the House of Commons to appoint committees for which the latter saw no occasion. This severe attitude—which was most pleasing to the extreme Radicals—was maintained on the following day (Nov. 28), when the message came from the Lords desiring the concurrence of the Commons to the appointment of a joint-committee. No motion having been made to discuss this proposal, the matter was allowed to pass for the time, but a fortnight later (Dec. 11) Sir John Lubbock (*London University*) moved the adjournment of the House to call attention to the refusal of the Government to take any steps to settle, if possible, the question of betterment, so that the improvements urgently needed in London might be undertaken without unnecessary delay. Sir J. Lubbock pointed out that Vauxhall Bridge was in a very dangerous condition, and that it was most desirable to begin at once the construction of the approach to the Tower Bridge. He appealed to the House to meet the House of Lords with a view to the settlement of

the question of betterment in a reasonable and an amicable manner. Nobody who voted against this motion could say in future that he was in favour of the principle of betterment being carried into effect, and if nothing were done the responsibility, as far as Parliament was concerned, would rest on the shoulders of her Majesty's Government.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir W. Harcourt, reviewed the history of the private bill which was promoted by the London County Council, and complained that the betterment clause, after having passed this House by an enormous majority, was, in consequence of an instruction previously carried, not even discussed in committee in the House of Lords. In their subsequent resolution the peers said it was desirable that a select committee should be joined with a committee of the House of Commons to consider whether, when the value of property was clearly increased by a public improvement, the owners of such property could be equitably required to contribute to the cost of the improvement. It would be useless for this House to accept the proposal, as they had already made up their minds on the principle of betterment. The responsibility for the consequences would rest on the House of Lords, and not on her Majesty's Government.

Mr. Chamberlain thought the proposal had been made by the House of Lords with the distinct object of securing an ultimate and amicable settlement, and expressed his opinion that they ought to be afforded an opportunity of retrieving their errors. Why, he asked, should the Government refuse to allow them this *locus penitentiae*?

Mr. Balfour observed that this was not really a question of betterment, nor of London improvement, nor of the unemployed. It was, from beginning to end, a political question. The London County Council and the Government were acting in concert, not for the good of London, but for the advancement of the Gladstonian Party. He recognised the fact that this was the last card of the Government. It was one of these reckless speculations by which impending bankrupts sought to improve their position. On a division, the motion for adjournment was negatived by 177 to 139, and nothing more was heard of the attempted re-union of the Houses for the betterment of London or its inhabitants.

On the Scotch Fisheries Regulation Bill, which was hurried through the House of Commons in a summary fashion, the attitude of the Lords was as unsatisfactory to the Ministerialists as on other points in dispute. When the second reading was moved (Nov. 20) in the Upper House two Liberal Scotch peers, the Earl of Camperdown and the Marquess of Huntly, pressed for its postponement, and were supported by several of fellow-countrymen, but this stage was ultimately passed out a division, as a reconstruction of the Scotch Fishery Bill was recognised to be expedient. The chief objection to



measure lay in the power it gave to the Board to levy a tax of one penny in the pound on all the ratepayers of the sea-board counties, and those living inland naturally protested against the idea of being taxed for the benefit of an industry in which they were not concerned. This point was very fully brought out during the committee stage (Dec. 1), when the circumstances under which the bill had been produced were disclosed. The bill had been passed through the House of Commons with little or no discussion. It was regarded as a non-contentious measure, and in order to secure its passage very serious changes were made in it at the last moment by arrangement between its friends and its critics, but none of these were discussed in the House. When the bill left the Commons and went up to the House of Lords public opinion in Scotland began to be directed to it. Great complaint was made by the vast majority of the Scottish people, as it proposed to impose a tax of a penny in the pound upon a large proportion of the people of Scotland for the benefit of a few fishing villages scattered around the coast. The House of Lords soon began to be inundated with petitions from all the great centres of population and local authorities in Scotland against this rating clause or against the bill altogether, and the result was that with a view to conciliating opposition the Government drew up a new series of amendments, filling no fewer than five pages of the "votes," to ensure the smooth passage of the bill. These amendments of the Government, and those proposed by the opponents of the bill, now came under discussion, with the result that the opponents of the measure, who were very ably led by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, succeeded in knocking out by a large majority the rating clause, in amending various other provisions which they regarded as objectionable, and in so completely eviscerating the measure as to leave it of very little use at all, and to make it very doubtful whether it would be worth passing into law. As the measure was left it established sea fishery district committees for various parts of the Scotch coast, but it provided them with no funds whatever for carrying out any part of their work. When, however, the bill was taken into consideration by the Commons (Dec. 21) calmer counsels prevailed, and although the Lords' services were grudgingly allowed, their amendments were considered worthy of discussion; but the time to do so before the close of the year could not be found.

It was, however, on the Employers' Liability Bill that the two Houses were to be engaged in real conflict. In the House of Commons the Unionists had with one or two exceptions supported Mr. W. M'Laren's amendment, on the general ground that adult workmen were quite able to decide for themselves whether or not they would take the benefits of any accident fund which their employers were ready to support. The Marquess of Ripon, in moving the second reading (Nov.

30), dwelt particularly upon the proposal to contract out of the Act, denying its prejudicial effects upon mutual insurance funds. He at the same time made it abundantly clear that the Government were not prepared to consent to any provision for contracting-out, and that no concession on this point was to be expected from them. The Earl of Dudley, as a large coal-owner, employing over 3,000 people, with whom he had private voluntary arrangements for an insurance fund, gave a general support to the bill, but protested strongly against the refusal to permit contracting-out; and he declared that if contracting-out was not to be allowed, the voluntary arrangements which had in so many cases worked so well, and given so much satisfaction to the men, would be seriously injured, if not absolutely destroyed. The Duke of Argyll expressed a strong opinion that the bill would do very little good indeed to the working classes, and would certainly do a great deal of damage unless it was very seriously changed in committee. He entered a earnest protest against the refusal to permit contracting-out and contended that individual liberty ought to be upheld. The Marquess of Londonderry thought the bill would do very little good, but he was loudly cheered by the supporters of the Government when he declared, as a large coal-owner and an employer of many hands, that, whether the bill passed in its present form or not, it would not make any difference to him in his voluntary arrangements with his workmen. Lord Sturbridge, as a London and North-western Railway Company director, complained that their private arrangements with the men should be interfered with in the way that was proposed, and the Earl of Selborne also commented adversely on the measure, which, however, was defended with much vigour by the Lord Chancellor (Lord Herschell), who pointed out that contracting-out was only forbidden where it was against public policy, and that there was nothing in the bill to compel a workman to sue his employer for any accident or injury sustained, and that, therefore, if both parties concerned believed it to be best for them they could still enjoy all the advantages of contracting-out.

In the interval between the second reading and the committee stage, a deputation from miners' insurance societies in Wales, Cheshire, and Lancashire, representing 128,000 subscribers, waited on Lord Salisbury (Dec. 5) at his private residence, to protest against the proposal to prohibit contracting-out in the Employers' Liability Bill. Mr. Richards, who spoke for the miners of South Wales, mentioned that his society insured against all accidents, and that the fund consisted of 346,223 of which 77,261 had been given by the masters, and 15,000 by honorary members. "The society had been damaged by the prospect of the present bill's passing in its existing form. Employers who would otherwise join in making insurance provisions were deterred by the bill. They only desired to



free to make the best bargain they could." Lord Salisbury, in reply, made a moderately expressed but yet firm speech in favour of freedom. "I will," he ended, "resist this particular clause as far as I can, and will carefully consider all that you have proposed, and we will do our best to obtain for you that freedom which you desire."

This promise was certainly kept to the letter, as well as in spirit, by the Conservative leader, when the bill next came before the House of Lords (Dec. 8). On clause 4, which prohibited contracting-out, the Earl of Dudley moved to insert at the end of the clause words providing that the foregoing enactment should not apply to any agreement for assurance against injury which had been made between workmen and their employer before the date of the passing of this Act, and which subsequently to the said date should be approved by a majority of them voting in the prescribed manner. Nor should it apply to any such agreement made after the passing of this Act which should have been approved as aforesaid, and in respect to which the Board of Trade should have certified (1) that it provided reasonable compensation in all cases of injury, from whatever cause incurred, in the course of employment; (2) that the compensation was paid from a fund to which the employer was a contributor. The amendment further provided that the Board of Trade might frame rules for taking the votes of workmen by secret ballots. This amendment differed from that of Mr. W. M'Laren, which applied only to contracting-out in existing cases, whereas Lord Dudley sought to extend that liberty to any future arrangements. In presenting his amendment to the House, he made a speech—lucid and well arranged in method, and frank and unaffected in tone—which produced a very favourable impression. In his concluding passages he emphasised the view that the working men of the country were the best judges of their own interests, and ought not to be prohibited by law from following their judgment in a matter which so closely concerned their interests. The Government spokesmen were the Marquess of Ripon and the Lord Chancellor, both of whom gave uncompromising opposition to the amendment. The former again put forward the "coercion" argument, which was so freely used by Ministerial speakers when the bill was in the Commons, and the latter reasserted the contention that "contracting-out," if sanctioned in any form, would diminish security for life and limb. On the other hand, the amendment received cordial support from the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Selborne, and other peers. The Bishop of Durham, too, spoke in favour of it, remarking that in these days, when the conditions of labour rendered more and more difficult free and close intercourse between employers and employed, no opportunity should be lost of cementing such intercourse. The necessary safeguards were provided by the amendment, which would open a large field for conciliation

and good understanding between masters and men. Speaking later in the debate, the Marquess of Salisbury remarked upon the curious attitude adopted by the Lord Chancellor towards the concession which some of the supporters of the amendment were willing to make. Lord Herschell, he said, reminded him of the Tempter in mediæval story, "who, after he had induced his victim to make some step from the right path, convinced him that the principle was gone, and that there was no reason why he should not plunge into the utmost enormities at once." For his own part, the ex-Premier was quite satisfied with the unrestrained and free approval of the men; and a significant and telling passage in his speech was one in which he declared: "If I had my way I would like to see insurance made universal, that is to say, that it should apply to all accidents, to whatever cause they are due, whether to the negligence of the men or not; and, moreover, I would gladly see State gifts in aid, in order to provide the machinery for carrying out such insurance." He further took occasion to warn the House of the exasperation and resentment that would grow up if Parliament, in order to gain the votes of trade unionists, shattered with a rude hand all that had been done, by means of mutual insurance, to establish good feelings between employers and their workmen. On a division the Earl of Dudley's amendment was carried by 148 votes to 28—majority, 120. Several other amendments were made in the bill, including one, moved by the Earl of Denbigh, which required that agreements under the clause should be approved by two-thirds, instead of a bare majority, of the workmen; and another, by the Earl of Wemyss, providing, in case of agreements made after the passing of the Act, that employers' contributions should amount to not less than one-fourth of the entire insurance fund. In the division, which was more adverse to the Government than had been anticipated, four Gladstonian peers of recent creation, Lords Dormer, Northbourne, Stanmore and Farrer, voted in the majority; the last-named having for some time been one of the most advanced of the "Progressive" members of the London County Council, and for many years had posed before the public as the exponent of political economy from the Radical standpoint.

The House of Commons was in no hurry to take up this fresh challenge from the Lords, and the delay was attributed in some quarters to the desire to ascertain how far it might be possible to raise a popular outcry on the action of the Upper House. Whether the result of these inquiries was regarded as encouraging did not transpire, but when the bill as amended was again brought before the House of Commons (Dec. 21) the Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, spent an hour in moving the rejection of Lord Dudley's clause, which, he insisted, would practically be an invitation to employers to place themselves outside the scope of the general law. Not only was he opposed to its principle, regarding it as mischievous in substance and



ineffective in form, but he also took exception to its details, which he subjected to a close and critical scrutiny, and concluded, amid the cheers of his supporters, by stating that the Government would regard its adoption as fatal to the bill. The Home Secretary was answered by Mr. Chamberlain, who declared that the underlying motive of Ministers was "to obtain a cry against the House of Lords." It remained, however, to be seen whether the Home Secretary's attack on the peers was good electioneering strategy; at all events, Mr. Chamberlain and his friends looked forward hopefully to the next contest. With regard to the amendment itself, he ridiculed the idea that its adoption would convert the bill into waste paper, and sharply rebuked the Government for their threat, through the mouth of the Home Secretary, to drop the whole measure if they failed to carry this particular point. In the subsequent discussion Mr. Walter M'Laren, the author of the "contracting-out" clause, which was rejected some weeks before in the Lower House, with a curious sense of logical inference, announced his intention to vote against Lord Dudley's amendment. If that amendment had been limited to existing societies he would have supported it. Mr. Matthews, Mr. D. Plunket, and other members having spoken, the closure was carried, on the motion of Mr. Asquith, by a majority of 61; and a second division resulted in the defeat of Lord Dudley's amendment by 213 votes to 151—majority, 62. Another Lords' amendment, requiring written notices and fixing the time limit in the case of actions by seamen to recover compensation for personal injuries, was also rejected, and a committee was appointed to draw up reasons to be assigned to the Lords for disagreeing to certain of their amendments.

Before, however, the conference between the two Houses could be arranged, Lord Salisbury was called upon (Dec. 23) to receive two other deputations, which on behalf of the miners and the trades unions objected as strongly to any contracting-out clause, as the earlier deputation had insisted upon the need of such a restriction. The general tenor of the views of both deputations was that the great majority of the men were vehemently opposed to contracting-out; that they regarded it as a question more of saving life than of saving resources; and that they did not believe the masters would withdraw their contributions to the insurance funds, even if the men were not allowed to contract themselves out of the Act. Lord Salisbury, in his replies, repudiated altogether any wish to impose upon the workmen anything that they did not wish for themselves. It was, he said, simply by way of defending their freedom, not by way of forcing their hands, that the contracting-out clause was inserted. He also argued that if this bill passed it would punish employers heavily for many accidents which they were absolutely unable to prevent; and if this was to be done, it was absurd to expect the employers to subscribe as largely as

ever to insurance funds which would no longer protect them from this heavy personal liability for accidents. The interview closed in a rather amusing brush between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Burns, who was determined to have the last word, and had it, though Lord Salisbury took care to point out that he had had a privilege which he would not have been allowed "in another place."

On two other questions which it was found expedient or necessary to bring before Parliament, the question of the state of the navy, and that of the finances of India, there was possibly more agreement of opinion between the two Houses, but it was a consent founded upon intuition in the one case, and hopeful ignorance in the other, rather than upon exhaustive argument or actual evidence. Lord Salisbury had, when speaking in the autumn, astutely thrown out doubts as to the show our navy could make in view of an aggressive alliance between France and Russia. The warning then given had borne fruit in various articles and speeches in which the dangers to which our commerce would be exposed in the event of hostilities were emphasised and exaggerated. Mr. Gladstone's optimistic assurance had had the unexpected result of casting doubts upon Lord Spencer's avowed intentions as expressed at the Cutlers' Feast (Nov. 2), and the impression began to gain ground that the efficiency of our fleet would be impaired in the interests of economy. The Admiralty authorities were as usual divided in their allegiance; the professional advisers urging the needs of the service, whilst the Parliamentary chiefs shrank from additional expenditure. Attempts were made in Parliament by means of questions to obtain from the Government some declaration of their intentions as well as of their actual view of the situation, but at length the vagueness and evasiveness of the replies made a full dress debate unavoidable. Meanwhile Lord Charles Beresford, who was regarded as one of the ablest as well as one of the most independent authorities on naval subjects, drew up a memorandum (Nov. 18) in which, premising that the British fleet ought to be brought up to a strength sufficient to cope with France and Russia combined, he maintained that for this purpose the number of our line of battle ships should be raised from forty-five to sixty, and our torpedoes from 97 to 377, and a great commercial mole laid at Gibraltar. He admitted that the 120 cruisers we possessed, if they were all sea-worthy, were of modern pattern. For the moment, Lord Charles Beresford thought that the construction of ten ironclads of 3,500 tons each, especially intended to break up torpedo stations, together with thirty more torpedo boats would be immediately required. The total cost of his additions he estimated at about 18,000,000*l.*, of which the cost could be spread over two or three years. These views in a more or less modified form were warmly supported by various writers in the press, but the Government still refused to give any indication



of its intentions. At length the London Chamber of Commerce decided to take the initiative, and under its auspices a large and thoroughly representative meeting of the wealth and commerce of the city of London was held (Dec. 12) at the Cannon Street Hotel. The Lord Mayor was to have presided, but at the last moment was prevented by illness. His place was occupied by Sir Albert Rollit, M.P., who put the cause for the adoption of a new naval programme very clearly. We had, he said, 186 torpedo boats, whilst two other nations had together 395. At the close of the year (1893) Russia and France would have twenty-three ships of 210,300 tons aggregate in course of construction, whilst we should have only four of 56,000 tons aggregate; for the *Victoria* had been lost and not replaced. Next, our cruisers were not so well armed as those of France and Russia, and our torpedo-catchers could only steam fifteen knots, while the French torpedo boats steamed twenty-six knots. Lastly, Gibraltar was without a proper harbour and without a repairing dock. Hence, ships disabled in the Straits would have either to go 1,000 miles to Malta to be repaired, or else to steam home to Plymouth, a distance equally great. Then 53 per cent. of our guns were of patterns more or less obsolete, and while the sailors of France and Russia had repeating rifles, ours had not. Lastly, the numbers of our men were inadequate. We had neither enough sailors nor engineers to defend our omnipresent mercantile marine, of which the aggregate tonnage was 12,500,000 as compared with 1,000,000 for France and 500,000 for Russia, yet France paid 100 per cent., Russia 160 per cent., and Great Britain only 16 per cent. upon insurance on the value. The other speakers, Lord Roberts, Mr. Ritchie, and Sir John Colomb, repeated this indictment in various forms. One of the features of the meeting was the speech of Mr. Allan, M.P. (the Radical member for Gateshead), who insisted that all our ships were undermanned in the engine-room.

Simultaneously with the holding of this meeting, which it should be observed produced no similar demonstrations in Liverpool, Glasgow, Hull, or Dundee, a rumour was sedulously circulated that the Cabinet after much hesitation had consented to the expenditure of 8,000,000*l.*, and that a new shipbuilding programme should be laid before Parliament, with the estimates of the ensuing year. In the House of Commons, moreover, Lord George Hamilton, who had been First Lord of the Admiralty in the late Administration, gave notice of a resolution, by which it was hoped to force the Ministry to abandon the policy of silence which they had so far skilfully maintained. The resolution was to the following effect: "That in the opinion of this House it is necessary for the maintenance of the security of the country and the continued protection of British interests and commerce that a considerable addition should at once be made to the navy. This House therefore

calls on her Majesty's Government to make before the Christmas recess a statement of their intention, in order that immediate action may be taken thereon." Coming from such a quarter, it was impossible to disregard a motion which was much of the nature of a vote of want of confidence. Mr. Gladstone therefore at once consented to set apart a day for the debate, and in anticipation gave notice of a carefully prepared amendment, by which he hoped to retain the support of all Ministerialists, without pledging even the most alarmist or the most warlike to a vote which in the slightest degree did violence to their convictions. The debate (Dec. 19) was distinguished rather by the apparent ease with which figures could be manipulated to suit the arguments of the speaker. Lord George Hamilton (*Ealing, Middlesex*) defended himself from any intention of moving his resolution in a party sense, but was inspired only by the critical state of our navy. He insisted that our command of the sea was in jeopardy, not immediate, but prospective, but none the less urgent; and the only means by which this danger could be averted was by prompt and decided action. He pointed out that next year France and Russia combined would have seventeen first-class battle-ships, with a total tonnage of 196,000 tons, in course of construction, as against three for England, with a total displacement of 42,000 tons. The same two Powers had four coast defence vessels building, while England had none; they would have seven first-class cruisers, against one for England, and, summing these up, it was found that France and Russia, at the commencement of the next financial year, would have twenty-eight ships in various stages of construction, with a total displacement of 270,000 tons; while England would have only four, with a total displacement of 56,000 tons. He next showed that the total strength of the existing English fleet was forty-six battle-ships, with a tonnage of 440,000 tons; but so enormous had been the progress of France and Russia, that in the course of next year they would have twenty-one armoured ships under construction, or half the available navy of Great Britain. These were startling facts, and the loss of time during the last eighteen months could not be made up. Lord George next remarked that in 1896-7 at least thirteen ships, with a displacement of 135,000 tons, would be added to the fleets of France and Russia, and, do what we liked, it would not be possible that English ships could be completed before the close of 1897. Great activity had been developed lately in foreign dockyards, while inactivity had prevailed for eighteen months in our own. With the exception of a few torpedo boats, there was not a single vessel being constructed in our private dockyards. The actual expenditure for this year for new construction was 1,500,000*l.* less than last year, whereas for the two previous years the sum spent was greater than the combined expenditure of France and Russia. We had, there-



fore, gone back, and ought to make up for lost time. Three months' delay would add to the anxiety and danger, and he hoped the Prime Minister, instead of snatching a party triumph, would do something to alleviate the anxiety, whereby one day, at least, of this weary, dreary autumn session would have been well spent.

Mr. Gladstone at once rose and moved an amendment to the effect that it was a primary duty of responsible Ministers of the Crown to make adequate provision for the naval defence of the empire, and that the House relied on her Majesty's advisers to submit to Parliament fitting proposals in due time and measure to secure that end. He maintained that the motion was one of censure on the Government, however much its mover might profess that he had not brought it forward in a party spirit, and he appealed to the House to reject it, as it broke up the whole of the constitutional system by which the finances of the country were governed, and sought to compel the Government to make a statement which might be premature, partial, delusive and dangerous. It might be fatal even to the control of Parliament over the finances, because there was nothing more important to the efficiency of Parliamentary control than that all the estimates of expenditure should be regularly and periodically submitted. Above all, he objected to it because, for the first time, it brought the question of national defence within the lines of party action. There was nothing to be gained, he went on to argue, amid derisive Opposition cheering, by breaking up all established precedents. Only one thing would justify the present motion, and that was the existence of a state of real danger and emergency. But there was not the smallest pretext for maintaining that we were in a state of present emergency and danger, and any allegation of the kind was irrational and absurd. He then proceeded to give two versions of the strength of the navy from materials supplied to him by the Admiralty. At the present moment we were far above the strength of any two countries. The first-class battle-ships of Great Britain at present were nineteen in number, while the first-class battle-ships of France and Russia were only fourteen in number. He believed it to be incontestable that in battle-ships of all classes, taken altogether, we had a numerical majority over the united fleets of France and Russia. And that was not all. But the numerical mode of statement was the most unfavourable to England, for the English ships were larger than the foreign ships. We had at this moment in battle-ships 527,000 tons of fighting material, while France and Russia had only 383,000 tons. In respect of cruisers our superiority was even greater, and there was not the smallest appearance of its being interfered with. Then going on to the year 1897, he said that, presuming we laid down no new battle-ships, the French and Russians would then have a majority in battle-

ships of eight, but a minority of tonnage. The Government had never said that the future was to have no provision made for it. On the contrary, that was the very thing on which the department was now engaged, and on the reasonableness and completeness of which the House would have to decide at the proper time. If the House desired to change the Government it ought to be done without disturbing the established rule and system of the country.

Mr. A. J. Balfour (*Manchester, E.*) expressed his disappointment that the Government had made no declaration of their intentions with regard to the strengthening of the navy, and contended that the Prime Minister himself was the only man who had done anything to degrade the level of the debate to party movement. How, he asked, could the Opposition have adopted any other course than that which they had taken? All their inquiries and appeals were wholly disregarded, and the Government manifested no appreciation of the seriousness of the situation. Mr. Balfour next contrasted the moderation of the speech of Lord G. Hamilton, who made a grave statement of the national danger, with the reply of Mr. Gladstone, which was merely a controversy about the forms of the House. The Government were disregarding precedents every day, and yet they pleaded precedents when the interests of the empire were at stake. In speaking about precedents, Mr. Gladstone showed his incapacity to understand the position assumed by his opponents or the real gravity of the case. According to the view of the Government, an emergency never occurred until it was too late to repair its consequences. Every war which the Government wasted now could not be retrieved by any expenditure or hurry. Now, he emphatically declared, amid loud cheers, was the appointed time. The contention of the Opposition was not that we were now inferior in naval strength to France and Russia, but that we should be inferior to these Powers in the future, and that we could only prevent that result by taking action without a moment's delay. There was nothing to indicate that the Government meant to take any steps to avert the impending danger, although our empire was more difficult to defend than any empire which the world had ever seen. This consideration ought to raise the House above the petty squabbles and mean details of which the Prime Minister had spoken.

Sir Charles Dilke (*Forest of Dean*) separated himself from his party on the ground that the resolution was in accordance with the precedent of 1884. With regard to the state of political affairs abroad, he thought the leaders of both parties were inclined rather to underrate than to exaggerate the gravity of the situation. Mr. J. Chamberlain (*Birmingham, W.*) still more alarmist speech, said the Government themselves would not pretend that the present state of things was satisfactory. Even if they alleged that we had enough guns, 1



not think they would say we had enough docks, and a sufficient number of men, and the right kind of guns. Surely the House could not be satisfied with the platitudes of the Secretary to the Admiralty that the Government knew their duty, and would some day or other be prepared to do it. For the first time we were putting our national life at the mercy of a combination between France and Russia. Those Powers were going to spend on their navies 2,500,000*l.* a year more than the ordinary expenditure of Great Britain, and if we did not expend a corresponding amount the supremacy of the sea would have gone from us. If when notice was given of this resolution the Government had stated that it was their intention to make a statement similar to that made by Lord Northbrook 1884, it was certain that the resolution would have been withdrawn, that much time would have been saved, and that hon. members might have gone on with the consideration of that business of parish councils which in the opinion of the Prime Minister was of equal, if not of greater, importance than the security of the nation. The Government asked that no questions should be put to them, and that they should have a blank cheque; but it was unwise for the House to repose such confidence in any Government. He greatly feared that the estimates when brought forward would prove inadequate and insufficient, as nothing which had been said in the course of this debate showed him that the Government even now perceived the gravity of the situation in which the country had been placed by the action of other Powers.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Wm. Harcourt, lectured the House all round upon the ignorance and misrepresentation with which the subject had been treated. He spoke in a tone of great authority, due not only to the pains he had taken to inform himself on the subject, but as expressing the opinion of the professional advisers of the Admiralty, and he assured the House that in their opinion, as well as in his own, the existing condition of things in respect to the British Navy was satisfactory. After a few words from Mr. Goschen the House divided, and Lord George Hamilton's resolution was negatived by 240 to 204 votes.

So far the triumph of the Ministerialists was complete, but this was somewhat diminished a few days later when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose in the House (Dec. 21) to say that when he declared the professional advisers of the Admiralty satisfied with the existing condition of things, his intention was to confine that statement to the relative force of the various countries "at the present moment in respect of first-class battle-ships completed within the financial year." As this was something totally different from what Sir Wm. Harcourt had endeavoured to convey to the House, surmise was busy as to the reason for this apparently voluntary explanation. It was asserted and not denied that the "professional advisers of the

Admiralty" had insisted upon the withdrawal of a total misstatement of their views, failing which they would resign in a body, and thus place the Government in an awkward dilemma.

The East Indian Loan Bill, if it did not provoke opposition, at least divided counsel. The experiment of the Government of India in ceasing to coin rupees was held by some to have been a partial success, but the simultaneous attempt to establish a fixed rate of exchange was condemned on all sides as impossible. The India Office has annually to pay about 15,000,000*l.* in London, and in order to do so sells bills in London on the Indian Treasuries, where they are paid for out of rupee revenue. For some unexplained reason—possibly slackness of trade—throughout the year Indian bills were unsaleable, and the India Office was left with no funds to carry out its European commitments. Three courses were open to the India Office—to sell its bills at any price they would fetch in an unwilling market—to buy gold in India, at, if necessary, a fancy price, to remit it to England, or else to raise a loan in England. The argument against the first course was that it was practically a confession that the attempts to bolster up the falling value of the rupee had failed, and against the second that the Indian Government wanted to accumulate gold, not to send it away, in view of the establishment of a gold-based currency. With reference to the third alternative, adopted by the Government, experts in political economy and Indian finance combined in making themselves equally unintelligible and bewildering in the course of a lengthened debate. The official apologists of the bill, authorising the issue of a gold loan of 10,000,000*l.*, were supported by Sir R. Temple (*Kingston, Surrey*), who had been Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and a distinguished official; he hoped that some favourable turn might be taken by the Indian exchanges in the course of the ensuing six months, which would render Indian bills once more saleable. Mr. Goschen and Sir J. Lubbock, as financiers and philosophers, saw no reasonable grounds for such a hope, and declared that at the expiration of six months things would be quite as bad, and it would be absurd to go on issuing loan after loan for such a purpose.

When the second reading of the bill came on for discussion (Dec. 13) all the speakers who were best known for their absolute certainty in their own views were in a tremor of doubt and uncertainty. The Under Secretary for India, Mr. G. Russell, explained that since the closing of the Indian mints the fall in the value of the rupee had been serious, and in order to meet any pressing emergencies, the Government wished to have a remedy, if only a temporary one, at hand. If the sale of bills during the winter months went well, there might after all be no need to borrow, but if the sales were bad they would want 5,000,000*l.*, and if there were no sales at all, 6,000,000*l.* to meet the requirements of English investors and others who



### *The East Indian Loan Bill.*

paid in gold. Mr. S. Montagu (*Tower Hamlets*) Lubbock (*London University*), both authorities, urged the Government to impose an import duty brought into India. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Harcourt, admitted the closing of the Indian mints as a serious experiment; but he thought the disturbance thereby was only temporary, and should be met by means. The second reading was taken after it had been agreed to by 145 to 69 votes. But on the third reading (Dec. 18) all the doubts and hesitation of the first were renewed. Mr. L. Courtney (*Bodmin, Cornwall*) opposed the loan, which he accepted as a necessity, but he opposed the policy which had made this "big speculation" possible. He strongly argued that although the closing of the mints and the refusal of the Indian Government to allow the mints were consecutive in time, they were not connected in effect. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was almost apologetic in his tone, and admitted that if it turned out that the experiment had been made, means must be taken to correct the mistake, and he wound up by saying that it was "admitted that the experimental course which Government has sanctioned, has not pleased a few gentlemen would have the courage to speak out as to the consequences that are to ensue."

In the House of Lords, the Secretary for India, Lord Kimberley, who was constitutionally responsible for the loan, was just as uncertain as his Treasury colleague. He said, "I have my money, he said, but he did not know that it was good. The Government must persevere in its policy, and it should so happen that this policy of closing the mints should entirely fail, we shall be thrown back into our original position, which is a very grave one, because at the present rate of silver the exchange, if measured as it is presently measured, stands at no more than one shilling and one-eighth of a rupee, speaking in round numbers, at that rate of exchange the Government of India would be landed in a deficit of no less than Rs. 6,000,000. That would be a deficit of a most serious and alarming character." He was not even sure at all whether Sir David Barbour, late Finance Minister in India, was going out to India. He was half inclined to the cause was a very old one, namely, the desire to buy a more secure basis for article while it was cheap; but the cause might be speculation, or, indeed, anything else for what he knew. A more entirely, the Government of India will have to meet their difficulties by economy or fresh taxation." Even Lord Kimberley, although, as in one sense the responsible author of the experiment of closing the mints, he was a little more cautious in his certainty to express, never getting beyond the statement that it was better to try the experiment than to let the value of the rupee fall suddenly to a shilling.

Just before the House rose for its brief Christmas holiday (Dec. 21) Mr. Gladstone, quite unexpectedly and without formal notice, referred to the altered position of the Duke of Edinburgh, who by the death of his uncle had become Duke of Saxe Coburg. The duke had been granted in 1866 an annuity of 15,000*l.*, and to this a further annuity of 10,000*l.* was added in 1870 on his marriage with the Czar's daughter. On succeeding to the throne of Saxe Coburg his position as a German sovereign prince overshadowed that which he had hitherto occupied as a British subject. Mr. Gladstone now explained that in redemption of a promise previously made, he was able to give the details of the new arrangement at which he had arrived. The Duke of Edinburgh, desiring to anticipate the wishes of Parliament, proposed to surrender the annuity of 15,000*l.* a year; but in view of his intended annual stay in England, he proposed to keep up Clarence House. For this purpose, and to pay the necessary charges arising therefrom, he intended to retain the smaller and more recently granted annuity. This partial renunciation of his British citizenship, and of the benefits attached thereto, did not please Mr. Labouchere (*Northampton*), who had been taken quite unawares by Mr. Gladstone's statement. The Radicals who would have supported him were not in attendance, and his first motion for the adjournment did not find the necessary forty supporters. Mr. Labouchere at once claimed a poll, but in this was again defeated by 177 to 59 votes. The constant harassing of the Government bench by the Radical members which followed showed how inadequate they considered the terms obtained, but no attempt to reopen the debate in a formal way was made.

A more amusing display of the Radical temper and tactics was seen in their attitude towards the Lord Chancellor on the subject of his appointments to the bench. On this occasion 210 English, Scotch and Welsh Liberals, supported by 70 Irish Nationalists, waited upon Lord Herschell to urge upon him more haste and energy in filling the local magistracy with men of more impartial politics, broader principles, and more varied social sympathies than those whom it had been customary to place on the bench. Mr. A. C. Morton (*Peterborough*), who introduced the deputation (Nov. 15), admitted that the Irish members, having a separate Lord Chancellor of their own, had very little to do with the actual matter, but they came because the House of Commons had passed its resolution on this subject for the whole of the United Kingdom, and also because they wished to co-operate with the Liberal Party. Mr. Morton added that the Radicals had no objection to Lord Herschell's consulting the lord-lieutenant, or even the parish beadle—whom he regarded as rather more likely to give him sound information about candidates for the magistracy than the lord-lieutenant of a county—about any suggested appointment, but what they, as Radicals, were aiming



at, was to do away with all class privileges, and to choose magistrates for their character and independence, and not for their title or station. When Mr. Conybeare came to speak, he said brusquely that he contended that the recommendations of the county members, given on their responsibility as representatives, ought to be regarded as final, without the necessity of submitting them to the lord-lieutenant. Altogether, the deputation assumed a tone so dictatorial as to be quite inconsistent with Mr. Morton's profession that they did not wish to dictate. Lord Herschell was quite equal to the occasion. He showed the deputation how much more he had done than he appeared to have done, in introducing new elements upon the bench. He showed how truly anxious he had been to render the various county benches less political, less in the hands of a single party, than they had been, and yet how anxious also not to risk abrupt changes which would have rendered the administration of justice less effective, and the co-operation of the men of different parties and different social strata less frank and hearty; and he showed how laborious and difficult was the task of obtaining the requisite information for the due discharge of his responsible duty. But the greater part of his speech was devoted to a very decided and somewhat contemptuous snubbing of the deputation for their indifference to, or rather their incapacity to understand, what was essential to an effective bench of magistrates, and especially to exposing their monstrous and absurd notion that the Lord Chancellor could delegate his responsibility in appointing magistrates to the sort of reckless and ill-informed county members who thought, with Mr. Conybeare, that their recommendation should be final, or, with Mr. Morton, that the parish beadle might give him more effective assistance than the lord-lieutenant. Lord Herschell declared that he would sooner renounce his office forthwith, and he would do so without any great regret, than after accepting the responsibility of appointing the magistrates, shuffle it off on to the shoulders of the various county members.

Although in the opinion of candid friends, as much as in that of hostile critics, the deputation had been politely "snubbed," they were not chastened by the exposure of their ignorance of the subject of which they professed to have so thorough a knowledge. One of their own party, Sir Charles Russell, the Attorney-General, speaking only a few days before, had given them a warning by which they would have done well to profit: "Awkward things had recently happened. Men of strong political views had been recommended to the Chancellor, of whom one had been convicted of an indictable offence, and the other of using unjust weights and measures." The Radicals, however, were too deeply pledged to the course they had been led to adopt to rest patiently under the Lord Chancellor's reproof. A conference, under the presidency of Mr. Storey, was held forthwith, to express dissatisfaction with Lord Herschell's

conduct. No reporters were present, but it subsequently transpired that the language used by several of the speakers was more vigorous than Parliamentary; one member admitted that Lord Herschell had seriously damaged the Radical Party throughout the country, and this somewhat two-edged assertion was explained by another member to mean that the Lord Chancellor had neutralised all the good the Government had done. The discussion lasted for at least two hours, which showed that there was not altogether unanimity of opinion among those present. Mr. Labouchere moved the first resolution, which simply reaffirmed the one passed in the summer of the party. But this was generally condemned as "too mild and ineffective." Mr. Labouchere consented to amend its terms and its language was strengthened by Mr. Picton, who delivered a vigorous protest against the manner in which the desires of the party had been met. Mr. Philip Stanhope suggested that the resolution should contain an expression of regret that the Lord Chancellor should have "deferred" to the views of the lords-lieutenant. This was carried with only one dissent in the following form and forwarded to Mr. Gladstone: "This meeting of Radical and Labour members repeats the resolution of the committee in September last regarding the long delay of the Lord Chancellor in giving effect to the resolution of the House of Commons of May 5th, with respect to the appointment of county magistrates, and regrets that the Lord Chancellor has not thought fit to proceed with the appointments without deferring to the views of the lords-lieutenant. And this meeting thinks that up to the present time no sufficient explanation has been forthcoming of the delay which has taken place, and is further of opinion that the bench ought to be fully representative of all classes and opinions."

Mr. Gladstone, after a short delay, replied in a lengthy letter in which he spoke for the Lord Chancellor as well as for himself: "In admitting the fact of long delay and in regretting it—that is to say, in sympathising sincerely with the impatience which has been locally felt in so many cases, and which is now so effectually expressed—it plainly follows that every effort will be used to get through with each portion of the rectifying and balancing work which still remains unaccomplished. I may add some words, as an observer only, on this important matter. Void as I am of all claim to the credit which may be justly given to my colleague the Lord Chancellor, I have never known a case in which a Minister of the Crown has freely and voluntarily undertaken so large—I might, perhaps, say for the time so vast—an addition to his duties. My own experience in dealing with the recommendations for honours and appointments makes me aware of the difficulties of his task, though I never had to undertake anything resembling it on so large a scale. Even single appointments become, in many cases, the subject of many scores of letters. If, as is plain, no ab-



ference can be properly paid by the Lord Chancellor to the lieutenant, there is no other individual in the several places whom such deference can be paid, and some of those who presumptively a good title to recommend might perhaps be surprised at the new view taken of their recommendations in some instances by others also vested with a presumptive title to speak. The difficulty cannot be met by placing the several recommenders in communication with one another; or, as it might be called, confronting them. I cannot wonder at the observation that the delay has not been properly explained, and could only be explained by opening up the whole of the correspondence, when the explanation (if otherwise allowable) would be defeated by its own bulk." Having added that his observations had "no claim to authority," the Prime Minister concluded, with reference to another resolution of the Radical caucus, by expressing "a sanguine hope that, through the determination and discretion of the House of Commons, the Local Government Bill will, during the present sittings, considered as necessity may require, be passed into law."

This letter having been duly considered by the Radical committee, after some discussion, Mr. Storey (their chairman), C. Dilke, and Messrs. Dodd, Halley Stewart and Maden, were entrusted with the task of drafting a reply, which was adopted, and of which the most definitely expressed part ran as follows:—

"That there may be no misapprehension as to what we desire, we beg to put on record the following statement: (1) That so long as there are unpaid magistrates, or pending some drastic and most necessary change in the method of appointment, the bench should be made and kept fairly representative of all classes of opinion. (2) We say that so long as appointments remain as they are now, mainly political, fair play requires that there should be substantial numerical equality or proportion between the parties wherever eligible persons are available. (3) That public activity in the Liberal cause should no longer be a virtual bar to the county bench. (4) That dissent from the Church of England should no longer substantially be a bar to appointment to the county bench, as in many counties it has been. (5) That the fact that a man is a tradesman should no longer be a bar to appointment on the county bench, as in most counties it has been. (6) That justices should, as a rule, be resident within their districts. That as soon as practicable the property qualification should be abolished by statute, so that eligible workmen may sit on the county bench. We desire these changes that the bench may command more general confidence, and that numerous inconveniences and disadvantages under which the public, and especially the rural population, labour when they need the services of justices for other than purely judicial purposes may be put an end to."

No further steps were taken by either side in this controversy, and the only incident connected with the demand for the appointment of eligible persons was the selection of a gentleman whose part in an election resulting in the unseating on petition of the member returned had been such that the presiding judge had scheduled his name and suspended him from the exercise of his privileges as an elector.

Outside the two Houses of Parliament the political events were of little importance. At the Colston Banquet (Nov. 22) at Bristol, the Attorney-General (Sir Charles Russell) ranged himself with Mr. Asquith, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman and others in favour of "Home Rule all round." He wished to see the principle of the Irish Home Rule Bill extended to England, Scotland and Wales, leaving the Imperial Parliament in the position of federal link between the various partners in the existing Union. On the same night, at Chelsea, Mr. Labouchere, a more independent Radical, supported by Sir Charles Dilke, insisted vehemently on the duty of evacuating Egypt, on the wickedness of the Matabele war, on the folly of increasing the navy, on the necessity for abolishing the House of Lords, and on the wisdom of finding pensions for every working man who had reached the age of sixty-five years.

The meeting of the Conservative Associations at Cardiff (Nov. 28) gave Lord Salisbury an opportunity of putting forward in reply the programme of the party of which he was the recognised chief. In his first speech he insisted strongly on the necessity of reinforcing our navy at a time when other nations were so greatly increasing theirs. Admitting that the rulers of Europe were certainly as averse to war as our own, he pointed out that no one could foresee what would be the result of any misunderstanding arising between them at a time when the magnitude of their national preparations was so threatening. He asked the people of Cardiff to realise what it would mean if a foreign Power got command of the British Channel, and levied a heavy fine or ransom on the richer towns. As to the political enterprise in which the Government was engaged, Lord Salisbury said that they reminded him of certain horse-breeders who broke in colts by galloping them round a ploughed field. "I think it is somewhat on that plan that Mr. Gladstone is subjugating the House of Commons. Or, it is like the punishment of prisoners who have to work at a crank, knowing well that nothing will come of their exertions." As for Home Rule, Lord Salisbury asked whether, supposing Mr. Gladstone departed on a tour to Patagonia, any of his colleagues would so much as touch the subject with the tongs. Turning then to Mr. Justin M'Carthy and Mr. John Morley's suggestions for bringing force to bear on the House of Lords, he reminded hearers that in January of that year Mr. Justin M'Carthy said that if the Lords threw out the Home Rule Bill it would be introduced in an autumn session, and then there would



such an agitation against the House of Lords that they would not dare to reject it a second time. The House of Lords had thrown out the Home Rule Bill. It had not been introduced in an autumn session, and the public was as tranquil as if the House of Lords had done perfectly right. As for Mr. John Morley, he had threatened the House of Lords with force; but he had omitted to say where the force was to come from; was it to be brought from Ireland, as Tyrconnel had proposed to bring it? Were we to have an invasion of Kernes and Gallow-glasses, otherwise, of the men of the hill-side? Or was all this hectoring only a Chinese mode of tailing-off? The Chinese, as was said, when they could not capture a port, took it out in "shouts and grimaces."

On the following day (Nov. 29) Lord Salisbury was entertained by the Cardiff Conservative Association. On this occasion he devoted himself chiefly to the subject of the division of classes, reprimanding the Gladstonian Party for endeavouring to increase and intensify, instead of endeavouring to mitigate and remove, that division. He said that the House of Lords had not always been so united as it now was against the Liberal Party. Under Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston it had supported the Liberal Government when the House of Commons deserted the Liberal Government. But Mr. Gladstone had raised so many cries with a tendency to set the masses against the classes, that he had almost compelled the vast majority of the House of Lords, and even the greater number of his own peers, to side against him. Lord Salisbury instanced the attempt in the Employers' Liability Bill to break down even those voluntary arrangements entered into between employers and employed, which had succeeded perfectly, and introduced the best feeling between the two classes; and, again, Mr. George Russell's attempt to recommend the Parish Councils Bill by running down squires and parsons, and praising up the agricultural labourers. Another instance, he said, was the Welsh Land Commission appointed by Mr. Gladstone to take up all the grievances against Welsh landlords; and further, the attempt to disestablish and disendow the Church of Wales. The proposed Registration Bill, Lord Salisbury thought, would be for the benefit, first, of the vagrant classes of the community, and next, of "that amiable section of the electorate who wish to represent people who may be absent, or may be dead." In contrast with this stirring up of strife, Lord Salisbury declared that it was the Conservative policy to insist on fair-play for the large populous centres like Cardiff, and not to allow masses of voters to be added to the constituencies in England without conditioning that the representation of sparsely populated districts, like the Irish counties, should be deprived of their surplusage of power. "If you would ask me," said Lord Salisbury, "the difference between what is, in my conception, the mission of the Conservative Party and what is the unfor-

fortunate tendency of the party to which we are opposed, I should say that it is our mission to diminish differences, and to encourage confidence between the different classes of the community, and it is, I will not say the intention, but the unfortunate fate of our opponents that at every step they exasperate and exaggerate these differences."

On the evening of the same day Lord Salisbury reached Newport, where he again spoke; dwelling, as especially to a Welsh Nonconformist audience, on the survival of the irritable temper which former grievances excited, long after those grievances, had been removed. "Bear in mind that if you find great resistance, great discontent with what is, it very often does not represent any real opinion as to the actual and existing state of things. It is the echo and tradition that have come down from other times, when really there were grievances which had to be resisted. But the effect of such grievances is not only upon the time in which they exist. They come down from age to age, and men, many men, are now jealous and grudging of other classes, not because they suffer anything from the times, not because they are in any danger of suffering anything, but because they carry on unceasingly the tradition which they have received from their fathers, and reflect the politics and the personal feelings which were only justified by the politics of the past."

There was probably slight expectation in Lord Salisbury's mind that he would win back any of the Welsh constituencies to the Conservative side; but the idea of holding the annual gathering of the Conservative Association in the midst of their enemies was not without a show of reason; for Cardiff itself had in the previous year elected as its mayor the most prominent capitalist of the neighbourhood, the Marquess of Bute, notwithstanding his avowed Unionist opinions.

The Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, had several opportunities of granting the use of Trafalgar Square for public meetings, and the results showed that his concession to the popular demand was fully justified. No disturbances had taken place, and even the most timorous shopkeepers of the neighbourhood had been able to dwell in peace. A demonstration by a body of anarchists (Nov. 11), to commemorate the deaths of the "Chicago martyrs," led to wild talk, and one speaker, alluding to the Barcelona outrage, attributed it to poverty, and expected something of the kind in London before long. Mr. Asquith, when taken to task about allowing the diffusion of such opinions under Government sanction, made light of the whole affair, and declared that it was safer for men to express their views openly than to propagate them secretly. A week or two later, however, he found it advisable to modify this unrestricted right of prophesying, when the Commonwealth Society asked to be allowed to hold a meeting in the square. The organ of this society Mr. Asquith informed the House of Commons (Nov. 28)



justified the massacre of innocent people as a legitimate method for the attainment of its ends; and he laid down the principle that he would always forbid a meeting for an unlawful purpose, wherever it might assemble; but he would not forbid one because he did not approve of its objects. The anarchists, even those who had a vague knowledge of the principles they advocated, were, however, a very small body, and without weight in the counsels of ordinary working men.

It was otherwise with the rioters at Featherstone, whose attack upon Lord Masham's collieries was only quelled, after loss of life, by the intervention of the military. On the action of the authorities on this occasion party feeling ran high, especially in Yorkshire, and the Government, in order to extricate itself from the dilemma of having either to uphold the law or to irritate their working men supporters, appointed a Committee of Inquiry to investigate the circumstances. The committee was distinctly a strong one, presided over by Lord Justice Bowen, a sound Liberal; Mr. Haldane, Q.C., M.P., an advanced Radical; and Sir A. Rollit, a Yorkshire Conservative of great ability. The committee, after investigating the matter and examining witnesses on the spot, and civil and military authorities in London, agreed upon an exhaustive and unanimous report, which was likely to be invaluable for future guidance. They found that in the first place much blame was due to the Watch Committee and others in allowing a district, notoriously in a disturbed state, to be denuded of police on account of the race meeting at Doncaster; they further found fault with the absence of any arrangement by which a magistrate could be found when required for special duties; and they remarked upon the absence of the chief constable from the district at so critical a moment. Having said thus much on the particular circumstances of the case, they went on to lay down certain principles of general application. They found that the Ackton Hall Colliery was in the kind of danger which justified the soldiers in firing, and in fact compelled them to do so; and that, the firing being legal, the death of the innocent (supposing the two men who died from their wounds to have been innocent) must be accounted accidental. The committee then went on to describe the law with great lucidity, declaring that soldiers had precisely the same right and duty to prevent riot which all other people possessed; but the Riot Act only made the refusal to disperse within one hour a felony; and that the presence of a magistrate, although highly advisable, was not legally essential. The committee added a somewhat curious suggestion, derived apparently from the late Mr. W. E. Forster, that it might be advisable when soldiers were firing on crowds to use a weapon less formidable than the modern rifle.

The only bye-election before the close of the year was that at Accrington, occasioned by the acceptance of the Recordership of Manchester by the sitting member. In view of the

fact that the accuracy of the figures was subsequently disputed, very little reliance was to be placed on any inferences. Mr. Leese, who stood again, was returned against his former opponent, Mr. Herman Hodge, but, according to the official poll, by 5,822 against 5,564 votes, or a majority of 258 only. At the general election Mr. Leese had polled 6,019 and Mr. Herman Hodge 5,472 votes. So that apparently the Gladstonian candidate had lost about twice as many votes as the Unionist had gained. Mr. Hodge had certainly shown signs of hedging in the Employers' Liability Bill, although he ultimately had decided to stand by the contracting-out clause. Mr. Leese was throughout strongly Ministerialist, and his supporters were said to be enthusiastic in favour of the Government bill. At any rate the enthusiasm, supposing even some error in the return, showed no evidence of having been strong enough to gain votes from the other side, and the election was consequently negative evidence as to the interest taken by a distinctly working men's constituency in a measure which was ostensibly brought in for their benefit.

The Accrington election, in fact, was typical of the whole political situation. The close of the year saw both political parties, after an unprecedentedly prolonged session, in practically the same relative position which they occupied at the commencement. The Ministerialists showed an unbroken front—none of the schisms which had been predicted had gathered to a head, and Mr. Gladstone's majority, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish, was held together by the strongest ties of self-interest. Each section was anxious to obtain something which, without the active help of the other two, was beyond its grasp; whilst those English Liberals for whom the Newcastle Programme contained attractions, such as Local Option, Land Law Reform, and the like, knew that they must give loyal support to the separate demands of their allies if they wished to obtain their combined support. Under Mr. Gladstone's unrivalled leadership this alliance had been successfully maintained. But it was difficult to say that any other advantage could be claimed by the Ministerialists. The Opposition had shown as much spirit and pertinacity in attacking as the Ministerialists in defence. Of the great measures promised and foreshadowed in the Queen's Speech, and introduced in the beginning of the session with a lofty disregard to the value of time, not one had taken its place in the Statute Book. The Home Rule Bill, after occupying more than seven months, had been rejected by the lords by a majority unparalleled in the history of Parliament, and it must be added with the full consent of the people, for not a word of popular protest was raised against this decision of the "irresponsible" legislators. Two months more had been spent in the laborious discussion of two measures which were regarded as non-contentious, and the year closed before the fate of either had been sealed. The session began on the last



lay of January, and was still unfinished on the last day of December, and so little was popular opinion aroused by this protracted debating that not a single meeting was held in any part of the country to urge the Legislature to hasten its ways. The only apparent outcome of the weary ten months through which Parliament had been sitting was a languid interest in their proceedings, much as if they had been those of a school board or a county council. Yet within the walls of Westminster momentous issues were at stake—the question of how far a strong and homogeneous minority was justified in thwarting the wishes of the majority, and the still more important question of the rights of a majority to silence the opposition of the minority. On the one hand, Mr. Gladstone's firmness and scrupulousness had saved him from the dangerous advice of some of his followers, who measured the feelings of the country by their own impatience; and, on the other, Mr. Balfour's tact and taste often saved his friends from acts of wilful imprudence, which could only exasperate their opponents without in the least benefiting their own cause. In fact, Mr. Balfour's management of the Unionist Party as leader of the Opposition was one of the most noteworthy features of the political history of the year, but it was nothing in comparison with the marvellous spectacle of a statesman of eighty-four conducting the business of the House of Commons, and responsible for the Government of the country and the empire. Ever watchful and ever adroit, he could join in any discussion, and was always ready to crush or to conciliate his opponents, as seemed most expedient. The congratulations which Mr. Balfour offered to Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons on his eighty-fourth birthday were perhaps the words which in after years will be best remembered of the countless speeches which were uttered in the longest recorded session of the British Parliament.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

#### I. SCOTLAND.

EACH succeeding year had brought proof that Gladstonians as well as Unionists desired to maintain the existing Parliamentary relations between the two countries. The Scottish Home Rule Party, if not altogether voiceless, was completely thrown into the background by the persistent use of Scotch platforms, made by both parties, to discuss questions which concerned England and Ireland as much as Scotland. The Unionist demonstration at Edinburgh in the month of March, presided over by the Marquess of Tweeddale, was met by a counter-demonstration,

at which Mr. Ed. Blake, an Irish Nationalist, the chief speaker, bade his "disestablishment" hearers take courage from the example of Ireland. A week or two later Mr. Goschen, at Glasgow, claimed for the North of Ireland Loyalists the sympathy of the Scotch Presbyterians, and then Lord Randolph Churchill, at Perth, congratulated his hearers on the steady growth of Conservative opinions in districts which had hitherto been regarded as Liberal strongholds. These and subsequent meetings have been referred to elsewhere, and were perhaps more important as evidence of the solidarity of the two kingdoms when discussing political questions than for any specially new points brought forward.

At the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland there was a more distinct expression of feeling upon the two questions of Church Disestablishment and Irish Home Rule. In both the Established and the United Presbyterian Churches the feeling of the synods was expressed that the proposal "to cut up this great empire into little bits, in order to give spiritual despotism a freer hand," was fraught with a danger to all the churches. In the Free Church Assembly, which celebrated its jubilee, the allied causes of Home Rule and Disestablishment were regarded with marked sympathy, and a letter was read from Mr. Gladstone, in which, after expressing full sympathy with the occasion, he gave it as his opinion that the men of 1843 were "the genuine representatives of the Scottish Reformation."

Scotland was not without its labour disputes during the year, but the most important, the coal-workers' strike in the Lothians, which extended over more than two months from the beginning of October, ended disastrously for the men. In view of the rise in the price of Scotch coal following on the prolonged strike in England, the miners demanded an advance of  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on their wages. In some districts the masters offered to concede one-half of this demand, but the men declined these terms. A little later an advance of sixpence a day, and in some cases of a shilling a day, was offered, but without result; and at the beginning of December 33,000 out of a total of 45,000 pit-workers and others were idle. The men, who had no funds with which to conduct a protracted struggle, at length (Dec. 11) surrendered, after a useless loss of 150,000*l.* in wages alone.

## II. IRELAND.

The history of Ireland during the year might be briefly summed up as a year of promise and apprehension. Whilst the three southern provinces were endeavouring successfully to show how quiet and satisfied they could be under a Government which reflected their own wishes and aspirations, the northern province was equally anxious to prove how steadfastly it clung to the English alliance, and possibly also to the ascendancy which it regarded as its right. The official visit of



the Lord Mayor of London, a Roman Catholic and a Unionist, to assist at the inauguration (Jan. 1) of the Lord Mayor of Dublin, a Protestant and a Nationalist, was in itself of good augury, whilst the presence of soldiers in the procession marked a further return to harmonious actions between the municipal and military authorities. As the time approached, however, for the introduction of the Home Rule Bill, the two parties set about parading their forces, in order that the parleyings of their leaders might seem to represent the views of their respective followers.

The Unionists at Belfast and Armagh assembled in large numbers to support the Marquess of Londonderry, who for a time had held the office of Viceroy. He told his hearers (Jan. 17) that two courses lay before Mr. Gladstone: either a drastic measure which would fill the Irish Home Rulers with enthusiasm, or a milk-and-water measure which would not alarm their English sympathisers. In his opinion Mr. Gladstone would adopt the latter course, because the Irish Home Rulers would grasp at anything they could get, while the English Home Rulers would probably be offended at anything too strong. But whether drastic or feeble, Lord Londonderry was certain that the Irish Unionists would oppose it; for Ulster, which had been made by the union, would be ruined by separation. Mr. W. Redmond, on behalf of the small Parnellite group, speaking on the same day at Cork, protested against either trusting Mr. Gladstone or thanking him till he had made it quite clear what he promised to do for Ireland. A few days later, it appeared that even the wish of the Government to act in accordance with the aspirations of the Home Rulers was subjected to the restrictions of the existing law. Mr. Morley, in his desire to render evictions as harmless or as inoperative as possible, had issued an order forbidding the police to grant protection to civil process servers after nightfall. The inspector of the police in Kerry was the first to obey this order from his superiors in Dublin Castle, but those interested in allowing the law to take its course moved the Court of Queen's Bench to declare the inspector guilty of contempt of court. The judgment of the Lord Chief Justice and his two colleagues was unanimous in declaring that the police must be judges of the necessity of acting at night, and showed that the Chief Secretary had claimed and exercised "the dispensing power" which, since 1688, had been regarded as illegal and unconstitutional. The matter was subsequently discussed in Parliament, and eventually was allowed to drop, but the attempt by Mr. Morley to assume a power above and beyond the law was regarded as a serious mistake on the part of a Liberal statesman. Unfortunately too County Kerry, next to County Clare, was perhaps that in which the law-abiding population had the greatest need of protection. With regard to the latter county, Mr. Justice O'Brien, whilst holding the spring assize in that

district, found juries so terrorised that they would not return verdicts of guilty even in the clearest cases, and he declared security for life and property no longer existed in County Clare the law entirely failing, through the conduct of the jurors, to reach the perpetrators of crime.

It must have been disappointing to the Ministry and their supporters to find that the Irish Home Rule Bill, when explained to the House of Commons, awoke no display of grateful sympathy in the country it was framed to benefit. Meeting to support and to welcome it were so rare and so little frequented that they were unheard of outside the districts where possibly they may have been held. On the other hand, the opponents of the measure were at once active and vociferous. The first reading of the bill was scarcely obtained before a meeting, estimated at 15,000, was held at Belfast, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, to protest against its scope and object. The passing of the bill, they unanimously agreed, would be the greatest calamity that would happen, as it would lead to the total separation of Ireland from England and the consequent ruin of Belfast. The people of Belfast meant to keep one queen and one parliament, and the President of the Methodist College declared that if the bill passed they would be justified in resisting by force the transfer of their allegiance to another power to which they felt no loyalty. The General Synod of the Church of Ireland, at a special meeting (March 14), went even further, and indicated by their vote an unforeseen source of danger. A resolution was moved by the Archbishop of Dublin, and carried unanimously, to the effect that "a measure of total separation would be preferable to the ignominious terms of apparent independence and actual political vassalage under the bill." The assembly was composed of Protestants drawn from all parts of Ireland, and was consequently the expression of men who, isolated in a population alien in creed and politics, had most reason to cling to the English union.

A more significant demonstration, although limited to the people of Ulster, was arranged to take place on the eve of the debate on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill. It was held at Belfast (April 4), to which people flocked from all parts of the northern province. Many Catholics were present, drawn chiefly from those who had a property stake in the county, but the great mass Ulstermen. Upwards of 100,000 men were said to have taken part in the procession, which occupied four hours in marching past Mr. Balfour and his supporters. In the evening there was a meeting at the Ulster Hall, at which Mr. Balfour was the principal speaker. The chief aim of his address was to express his sense of the value of such a demonstration to those who were bent upon opposing "the pernicious proposal of separation now before the House of Commons." To the Ulster farmer it meant taxation; to the Ulster artisan loss of employment; to the Ulster man of



business it meant the choice between ruin and self-banishment. The wealthy, the industrious, and the law-abiding portion of the population of Ireland were to supply money for the less orderly, less industrious, and less law-abiding section. Dealing at length with absence of finality in the scheme, and declaring that Mr. Gladstone wished British bayonets to be used, not against rebels, but against the upholders of the empire, Mr. Balfour declared: "I admit that the tyranny of majorities may be as bad as the tyranny of kings, and that the stupidity of majorities may be even greater than the stupidity of kings; and I will not say, and I do not think any rational or sober man will say, that what is justifiable against a tyrannical king may not under certain circumstances be justifiable against a tyrannical majority. But, ladies and gentlemen, I hope and believe that this is the utterance of a mere abstract and academic proposition, and that the circumstances which would justify such a state of things never will arise in this country. I hope it and I believe it."

After a triumphal progress through Ulster, Mr. Balfour reached Dublin (April 8), where he met with a reception which did the utmost credit to the citizens of the Irish capital. Although there were, doubtless, differences of political opinion, the preponderance of one or other form of nationalism was beyond question. It was therefore the more noteworthy that the Unionists were able to give Mr. Balfour a striking reception, dragging his carriage through the streets by torchlight after he had delivered a strong party speech in Leinster Hall.

Unfortunately, equal good feeling and good temper were not displayed in various parts of Ulster, especially in Belfast, when the news of the second reading of the Home Rule Bill became known. Attacks were made upon the Catholics, who had lighted bonfires to celebrate the event, which, had they ceased with the night, might have been regarded as merely justifiable demonstrations on both sides. On the following day, however, Catholic workmen at the great shipbuilding yards were molested, and even some Scotch Presbyterian workmen, known to be Home Rulers, also were attacked. The police had to charge several times to disperse the rioters, and eventually the military had to be brought to protect the assailed workmen. The municipal authorities were, however, warmly seconded in their efforts to restore order by the employers and the great Unionist organisation, both being anxious to prove themselves opposed to any form of tyranny or any yearning for the old days of Protestant ascendancy.

It was not the policy of the Unionist Party on either side of St. George's Channel to allow the enthusiasm which had been aroused to slumber. As the Easter holidays had been utilised by Mr. Balfour in making a visit to Ulster, so the Whitsuntide holidays were turned to similar account by Lord Salisbury. It would have been difficult to arrange anything more impres-

sive than Mr. Balfour's reception had been, but in welcoming Lord Salisbury there was not the slightest appearance of any slackening of the enthusiasm which had greeted his nephew. In his first speech (May 24) Lord Salisbury dealt more especially with the prospects of the Home Rule Bill, then before the House of Commons. The Unionists were moving amendments, he said, not with the view of improving a measure essentially and intolerably bad, but with the hope of getting its various vices and blots so thoroughly riddled in the discussion, that the British public, which had not fully realised its importance, and was only just beginning to grasp its dangers, might become fully aware of them before an appeal to the country could take place. Lord Salisbury seemed to have but slender hope that Mr. Gladstone's majority would not keep together, even through the difficulties of the ninth clause and the financial clauses. The Gladstonians fought, he said, with halters round their necks, and if they allowed the Government to be defeated, they lost all chance of carrying their great measures. As to the future, Lord Salisbury insisted that the question of the reform of the House of Lords could not be raised at a time when a definite duty was required of the existing House of Lords. "You cannot swap horses when crossing a stream." As for the threatened agitation against the House of Lords, it would fail. This was not a case, like that of the first Reform Bill, where the nation was on one side and the House of Lords on the other. The great majority of the English people and the most prosperous of the Irish provinces were ranged behind the House of Lords in this case, and therefore the House of Lords, in standing firm, would express the national sentiment of the great majority of the people most nearly concerned, even taking Ireland and England together. Of Mr. Gladstone's boast that the Liberal Party had always eventually carried its points, Lord Salisbury said that that only applied to suffrage questions, and that this was not a suffrage question, but a question of national safety and constitutional tradition, and that the Liberal Party had often been defeated on such matters, as when Mr. Fox identified the Liberal Party with the cause of Napoleon in France.

In conclusion, Lord Salisbury denounced in strong language the Irish Catholic policy of Archbishop Walsh and Mr. Healy, but in a tone rather too much in sympathy with the Orange Party views of his audience. His most effective part was the term he applied to Mr. Gladstone of "the universal yielder," meaning thereby that no other great statesman had proved in the end so universal a political provider for those pertinacious opponents whom he had begun by resisting and even denouncing.

On the following day (May 25) Lord Salisbury made another speech in the Ulster Hall, in which he pointed out that, so far from the Union having been a failure for Ireland, it had enabled Ireland to tide over two great economic catastrophes such as



have sometimes swept away from the face of the earth great masses of the Eastern populations in China or India,—the great potato-famine of 1847, and the great shock to the agriculture of the West which had followed upon the full introduction of free-trade. "I have ventured," he said in conclusion, "being in the presence of men of light and leading from all parts of Ireland, and especially from the more loyal part of it, to point out that we are not fighting a policy of despair,—that this agitation, nourished as it is largely by faction, and mainly by foreign gold, has come as a cloud across our path, and towers dark and dangerous upon us now; but that when it has passed away, as we have full confidence and certainty that it will pass away, there lies before Ireland, under the institutions that were framed nearly a century ago, a full and fair promise of growing prosperity, progress, and civilisation."

Lord Salisbury passed from Belfast to Londonderry, where in the Guildhall he made one of his most brilliant speeches. He began by expressing his wonder that when British colonies had been purposely planted in the North of Ireland to be the nucleus of the English rule there, and had shown such heroism as Londonderry showed in fighting for it, the details of a measure that, like the Home Rule Bill, was most distasteful to them, should not have been canvassed most elaborately and minutely before the people of the United Kingdom, before being proposed to Parliament for its acceptance. That, however, had not been the case. "Ireland has been invited to meet her future fate much on the terms on which a Turkish bridegroom is invited to meet his bride—namely, that he shall not know her features till the day when the ceremony is to be performed." Even when after seven years of mystery the bill was at last brought in, the two most difficult and important provisions in it were still left undefined. No one knew what was to be the final form of the clause for seating Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament; and no one knew what the financial clauses were to be, for they were to be postponed till all the rest of the bill was carried. Apparently, said Lord Salisbury, the first step for the enriching of Ireland was to be the halving of all the salaries of the various Irish services. Moreover, Ireland could not raise anything extra by taxation, unless England also increased her taxation, without driving her citizens across the channel to take refuge in a less-taxed country. A semi-detached house, said Lord Salisbury, is habitable, though uncomfortable; but a semi-detached empire can hardly prosper. Lord Salisbury had nothing to say against the Catholic Church as a Church. It was the special use which the Celtic priesthood made of that Church, and which would not be tolerated in France,—where such elections as those in Meath could not have taken place,—that would render Ireland under Home Rule so unfit a country to protect the liberties of a Protestant population.

The passing of the Home Rule Bill by the House of Commons, and its rejection by the House of Lords, brought no display of feeling, beyond a few local bonfires, of which no trace was left on the following day. The exceptionally good season had produced a state of almost prosperity in many parts of the country, too often subjected to every form of agricultural misfortune. This, combined with the hearty co-operation of the political leaders and priests with the Government, produced a state of tranquillity, which the inevitable loss of the Home Rule Bill did not disturb. That the result was foreseen, was evident from a speech made by Mr. Harrington before the event. He told his colleagues at the National League meeting that the majority of the English people being against the bill, the Lords would be justified in throwing it out; and he also foresaw that it would be months—if not years—before the bill again came before Parliament.

After the fulfilment of the first part of his forecast, Mr. Harrington found satisfaction in attacking (Sept. 26) the other section of the Home Rulers for their indifference to the true interests of the Irish people. He accused Mr. Wm. O'Brien of endeavouring to palm off on the people of Cork "the lying argument" that the Parnellites had done all in their power to wreck the Liberal Party. Every man of common-sense in Ireland knew that the Home Rule Bill was dead, and that any attempt to revive the question must be by a new bill. Mr. Harrington then referred to the eviction of the De Freyne tenants in North Roscommon. "Only a few years ago, if such things had taken place in Ireland as had recently occurred in Roscommon, there would have been hundreds of soft-headed Englishmen over in the country, and photographs of the scene would have been taken for the purpose of being shown, by means of magic-lanterns and otherwise, all over England." "Where," he went on, "was Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, who had identified himself with the 'Plan of Campaign'?" Mr. Shaw-Lefevre had given a personal pledge to the tenants of the Louth estate that he would see them brought back to their homes. Had he kept his word to the tenants on that estate?"

Almost simultaneously Mr. Wm. O'Brien, unconscious of Mr. T. Harrington's attack, was receiving at Cork a deputation of evicted tenants, to whom he gave what comfort he could when they expressed their "bitter disappointment that the Government had failed to carry out their solemn promises to introduce a Reinstatement Bill into Parliament this year." No idea, said Mr. O'Brien, could be gathered from the newspapers of what they had been doing to get the Government to move. "To the Government themselves, it was a question upon which their very existence depended that a Reinstatement Bill should be passed as quickly as it was humanly possible for it to be done." The Government were pledged to make the question their own in the following session. It was hard and cruel that



the evicted tenants should be forced to wait, but the only alternative was turning out the Government. But "was there a man present who would ask them to undertake such a horrible responsibility as that of driving Mr. Gladstone to his grave, and bringing Mr. Balfour and the landlords back to rule in Dublin Castle?"

It was only natural that the Parnellite leaders, although their followers were apparently but few, should take advantage of the forbearance of the McCarthyites to harass the Government, and should accuse them of want of patriotism on the ground of their alliance with Mr. Gladstone. At Milltown, Co. Dublin (Oct. 22), Mr. Harrington said that the Anti-Parnellites had sanctioned the proposal to drop Home Rule during the ensuing session, and to let Mr. Gladstone push forward measures popular in England. He declared that the Irish people had never been consulted about any such bargain, and that they would not endorse it. The evicted tenants and the "political prisoners" (the dynamiters) were, he said, abandoned, and all because the most "incapable and stupid leaders" with whom people were ever cursed had given themselves into the hands of an English party. The same evening, Mr. Redmond at Cork said that in demanding the release of the dynamiters, "they did not stop to inquire, and they did not care whether they were guilty or innocent." They knew that Irishmen never gained anything except through the efforts of men similar to those whose release they demanded. He himself never approved the use of explosives for the bringing about of justice; but Mr. Gladstone having admitted that it was by acts of this kind that the eyes of Englishmen had been opened to Irish wrongs, those who had adopted these methods ought to be released before Ireland and England could make peace. Mr. Justin McCarthy was so far stimulated by these very frank declarations, that he at once began making appeals for subscriptions for the evicted tenants, while the Parnellites desired to force Mr. Morley to take up as a Government measure their proposals for the relief of the same patriots.

The policy inaugurated in the earlier part of the year by the Conservatives of joining hands with the men of Ulster was pursued by the Liberal Unionists at a later date. Early in November the Duke of Devonshire was made the object of as cordial a welcome by the people of Belfast and the neighbourhood as had been accorded to Mr. Balfour and Lord Salisbury. There was nothing especially new in the duke's speeches, but there was throughout the assurance that the Liberal Unionists would stand as steadfastly to the Union as the Conservatives, as long as Ulster was the centre of Irish loyalty. He pointed out that Mr. Asquith, while maintaining that it would be absurd to dissolve on the refusal of the House of Lords to pass the Home Rule Bill, had proclaimed the hearty willingness of the Government to dissolve if the House of Lords rejected "One

man, one vote." This was equivalent to admitting that country was *not* with the Government on Irish Home Rule though it was with it on the question of "One man, one vote." As for Ireland itself, the Duke of Devonshire observed there was absolutely no exultation when the Home Rule passed the Commons, and absolutely no excitement or sign of resentment when the House of Lords peremptorily threw it out. There had never, he said, been such concealment as there was concerning the intentions of the Government regard to Home Rule in the ensuing session, Mr. Gladstone asserting that it would reappear above the waves in which it had been overwhelmed, and Mr. Morley and Mr. Asquith assuming that it would be shelved altogether. The position of the Government was almost as dark and tortuous about Home Rule as the plots of the Jacobites in the early part of the eighteenth century. "Never till now," said the duke, "had such secrecy been the policy of an English statesman."

The tranquillity which had characterised the year in Ireland was towards its close broken by the renewed activity of the secret societies of Dublin. One or two attempts were made to blow up barracks in the suburbs of the city, and a man was shot dead in the streets, under circumstances which led the authorities to believe that the murder was the work of revolutionaries. The murdered man was the member of a secret society who had become suspected by his confederates who consequently decided upon his removal. Two men were arrested on suspicion, but after being detained for some weeks were ultimately discharged for want of evidence, and the year closed in Ireland in complete calm, due in great measure to the good understanding established between the Government and the representatives, lay and clerical, of the people; but also in some degree to the conciliatory attitude adopted by the Chief Secretary and the officials of Dublin Castle.



## FOREIGN AND COLONIAL HISTORY.

### CHAPTER I.

#### FRANCE AND ITALY.

##### I. FRANCE.

ON the threshold of the new year, the Government of the Republic, confident of the clear-sightedness of a nation which stands in respect honour, right, and truth, can look forward with calmness to the future."

In these words were couched the most important passage of President Carnot's speech to the diplomatic body on New Year's Day, in reply to the allocution of the Papal nuncio.eldom, however, had the utterance of official optimism to be promptly and cruelly falsified by subsequent events. Scarcely had it been made than it became known that a fresh campaign against the Republic was being opened by the combined forces of the Monarchists, the Boulangists, and the Anti-Semites, to whom, by some strange irony of fate, the most advanced parties of revolutionary socialism were stretching out their hands. The serious charges, however, brought against the leaders of the Republicans, deeply impugning their honour, seemed only too well founded, and the chances of their being able to repudiate at least a guilty knowledge of the corruption in high places seemed most impossible. The hour of the Orleanists' opportunity seemed so close at hand that the Comte de Paris hurriedly called to Europe his son, the Duc d'Orléans, who had been sent on a penance-journey, to the Somali coast. The Government was, however, not to be taken unawares; numerous suspected persons were arrested, and a former Minister of Public Works, M. Baihaut, was arrested on charges of bribery and corruption. Almost simultaneously the Socialists showed increased activity in the south, where a strike of the iron-workers of Rive-de-Gier was embittered by the application of the law of Nov. 2, 1892, which restricted the work of women and children in various occupations.

The opening of the Chambers (Jan. 10), coinciding with that of the Panama investigation, was marked by the resigna-

tion of the Government, brought about by internal disunion. M. Carnot at once entrusted M. Ribot with the formation of a new Cabinet, and in view of the fact that the crisis had been for some time anticipated, the distribution of portfolios was quickly made. M. Ribot took the Presidency of the Council, and became Minister of the Interior, in succession to M. Loubet, whilst M. Bourgeois was shifted from the Home Office to the Ministry of Justice, and M. Develle replaced M. Ribot at the Foreign Office. The most important changes were at the War Office and Admiralty, where the two civilians, M. de Freycinet and M. Burdeau, were respectively replaced by General Loizillon and Admiral Rieunier. A similar fall was also in store for the President of the Chamber, M. Ch. Floquet, who after a short but sharp conflict was forced to resign the chair in favour of M. Casimir-Périer.

No time was lost in setting about the business of the session, but in the first place M. Hubbard, the Radical deputy for Seine and Oise, attempted to obtain from the Ministry a statement with regard to the date of the new elections. M. Ribot declined to say anything on the subject until the budget had been voted, and in this view he was supported by 320 to 187 votes. Neither side was altogether satisfied by this division, but the Opposition for the moment transferred elsewhere their hostility to the Government, and commenced in their journals a campaign both against M. Carnot, whose resignation they hoped to bring about, and against M. de Mohrenheim, the Russian ambassador, whose influence they wished to misrepresent. The only outcome of this plot was the conveyance across the frontier of three foreign journalists—a German, a Hungarian, and an Italian—who, as foreign correspondents, had lent themselves to these intrigues and made themselves the mouthpieces of the French malcontents.

The Socialists as a party held themselves aloof from these quarrels, professing the most patriotic aims. At a meeting, however, held at the Tivoli-Vauxhall, for the purpose of uniting the various sections of the Socialist Party upon a common basis, the Anarchists obtained a place on the platform and finally brought the meeting to a conclusion without arriving at any programme. Negotiations were, nevertheless, continued with the more advanced members of the Radical Party, and an understanding was arrived at in view of the approaching elections. The various sections of the Republican Party meanwhile adopted very different tactics, and instead of following their former policy of conciliating the different outlying groups in the Chamber, decided to make a majority of their own which should be independent of either Monarchical or Radical support. There could, however, be no question of a dissolution until the budget had been voted and the Panama trial had been brought to some conclusion.

This latter affair occupied universal attention; it was simul-



aneously under investigation by the Commission, in the law courts, and in Parliament; and the real case was complicated by a number of side issues, in which personal feeling played an important part. M. Clémenceau, who had for so long been a terror to Ministers of all shades, suddenly found himself put on his defence by M. Andrieux, who openly accused the Radical leader with having had knowledge of the list of deputies bribed by M. de Reinach to vote for the Panama Company. This list, it was affirmed, which contained the names of 104 deputies, was passed on by M. Clémenceau to his friend and henchman, L. Cornelius Herz. The Ministry at once applied to the English courts for the extradition of M. Herz, who was traced toournemouth; but although he was formally placed under arrest, the state of his health was such that his doctors forbade his removal to London, where alone the application for his extradition could be heard. Notwithstanding various attempts to bring M. Herz before the magistrate, nothing was effected throughout the year, the French doctors sent to report on his case being as unwilling as their English colleagues to expose him to risks of removal.

Meanwhile in Paris matters were being pushed forward more rapidly, and all the former Ministers and Deputies, with the exception of those charged with being implicated in the conspiracy to defraud the public, were remitted (Jan. 25) by the investigating magistrate to the public prosecutor. The three against whom no *prima facie* case was established were M. Emmanuel Arène, a Corsican deputy, M. Jules Roche, formerly Minister of Commerce, and M. Thévenet, formerly Minister of Justice.

In the Chamber, a most important incident arose on the discussion of the Estimates of the Minister of Public Worship. The statements made both by M. Develle (Minister of Foreign Affairs) and M. Dupuy (Minister of Public Instruction and Worship) showed that the reconciliation of the clergy—and specially of the Pope—to the Republic had made notable progress. A good many Republicans, indeed, and some of them reckoned as the more moderate, found this progress too rapid, and took umbrage at the advances made by the Government towards the rallied Monarchists.

On the other hand, the line adopted by the Government towards those members of the Conservative Party who had engaged in a campaign against the savings banks was not wanting in energy. Vague rumours were put about the country suggesting doubts as to the security of the sums placed in these banks, and these so disturbed the minds of the small shopkeepers and labourers, that in many places there was a persistent withdrawal of deposits. The demands were promptly met, and no actual panic ensued, but a very considerable displacement of funds was necessary to meet the run upon the local savings banks, from which upwards of 100,000,000

frances in excess of the deposits were withdrawn in the course of two months. Nor was the Government altogether without anxiety as to the re-investment of the sums thus withdrawn, for if the depositors placed their savings in banks of doubtful solvency, and a collapse were to follow, the army of the discontented and the unfortunate would have been seriously swelled. The Government consequently requested the Chamber to give power to the tribunals to punish by fine or imprisonment whoever, by false or calumnious reports, intentionally spread in public, might incite depositors to withdraw their money from public banks or other national establishments destined to receive the savings of the working classes.

The debate on the bill was very animated, but urgency was voted, notwithstanding a bitter attack on it by M. Paul de Cassagnac, to whom the Prime Minister replied in scarcely less vigorous language, and the bill was passed by 337 to 41 votes. In order, moreover, to show distinctly its feelings on this disgraceful system of defamation, of which the Republican Party was the object, the Chamber brought forward the new Press Bill, which had been already adopted by the Senate.

By the beginning of February the debate on the budget had reached a critical stage. On the eve of a dissolution neither party was anxious to impose fresh taxes, whilst the reduction of expenditure seemed almost equally impolitic, notwithstanding the inevitable deficit which the Finance Minister had to face. The new liquor law had been voted with more enthusiasm than foresight at the time of its introduction, and was already showing disastrous effects upon the revenue, and the Ministry forced to provide means for meeting the irreducible demands on the State budget, decided to impose fresh duties upon patents, Bourse transactions, and velocipedes.

The decision of the magistrates to remit to the assize court the cases brought against MM. Baihaut, Sans Leroy, Antonin Proust, and others, gave rise to a debate in the Chamber, the Boulangists complaining of the selection made by the magistrates of those committed for trial, whilst others equally implicated in the Panama scandals had been granted a discharge. On this occasion (Feb. 8) M. G. Cavaignac, who for a moment had held the portfolio of the Marine, spoke very strongly against the theory of State reasons, advocated by M. Floquet, the former President of the Chamber, according to whom it was the duty of the Government to intervene in the business of financial companies, so far as the subvention of the press was concerned. This, however, was not the view of the Chamber, which, following M. Cavaignac, unanimously voted the following order of the day: "The Chamber determined to support the Government in the repression of all acts of corruption, and resolved to prevent the return to Ministerial tactics of which it disapproves, passes to the order of the day." The Monarchical Party pretended to see in this declaration a



knowledge on the part of the majority of the inherent weaknesses of a Republican régime.

The Ministry, however, showed no disposition to shrink from the task imposed upon it by public opinion, and generally known as *la lessive du Panama*, and in this policy found itself supported by the magistracy. The Court of Appeal, in pronouncing judgment in the case of the directors of the Panama company, accused of misappropriating its funds and of violating the laws governing public companies, condemned MM. Ferdinand and Charles de Lesseps to five years' imprisonment and 10,000 frs. fine, and MM. Eiffel, Cottu, and Fontaine to two years' imprisonment, coupled with heavy fines. The sentence passed on the aged promoter of the Suez Canal was not carried into effect, and in fact he was unable to realise the charges brought against him; but his son, M. Charles de Lesseps, surrendered himself at once, and was kept in prison for some months.

The resignation by M. Le Royer of the post of President of the Senate, which he had held uninterruptedly for eleven years, was due to purely personal causes, but it gave that body the opportunity of making some reparation to M. Jules Ferry for the unmerited disgrace into which he had fallen, and for the neglect with which for so many years he had been treated by his former colleagues.

A few days later the Senate received the budget from the Chamber of Deputies, and at once referred it to a special committee, but on this occasion the Senate declined to vote the various estimates and financial arrangements with precipitancy, and without due consideration as it had been forced to do on several occasions previously. It was therefore found necessary to take a provisional vote (Feb. 28) of another twelfth of the year's budget.

But if the Chamber was determined to act with deliberation, the Ministry was determined to give proof of its energy. In the majority of public departments, the countless army of employees had been showing every year more and more impatience of restraint and more opposition to discipline. M. Ribot, therefore, addressed to all prefects and titular heads of departments a circular in which he called upon them to assist him in enforcing a stricter observance of the rules by which the public service was governed. It cannot be said that much practical good resulted from this circular; the evil against which it was directed was too deeply seated for such delicate treatment, and as a body the civil service was too large and too much united by self-interest to submit to the orders of any passing Minister.

Moreover, the Panama scandal occupied all the attention of the public, and permitted other matters of possibly greater importance to pass unnoticed. A thrill of greater excitement than ever was occasioned by the publication in the *Figaro* of the statements made to the magistrate conducting the inquiry by

MM. Floquet, Clémenceau, and de Freycinet. No steps were taken to discover and punish the persons by whom these documents had been communicated to the press, although a few days later the Panama question came before the Chamber, in the shape of an application from the holders of "bonds to bearer" to have legal assistance at the public expense, on the ground that the company was already in liquidation. The Government without directly refusing the demand urged upon the Chamber the heavy expenditure this course would throw upon the tax-payers at large. A somewhat more exciting incident was the deposition made by Madame Cottu, the wife of one of those charged with crimes in connection with the Panama Company. She declared that an agent of the secret police had offered to act as an intermediary between the D. Lesseps family and the Government, which, afraid of the things the former could reveal, desired to put an end to the whole affair. Madame Cottu, after some deliberation, consented to an interview with the director of the secret police, M. Samoury, who, according to her story, declared that her husband should at once be set at liberty if the name of a deputy of the Right, compromised in the affair, were given up. M. Samoury, on being brought before the court, admitted the interview, but declared that he had not spoken in the name of the Government and still less in that of the Minister of Justice.

The Minister, M. Bourgeois, however, was unwilling to remain in office a single day, lest the least suspicion of an act which was absolutely opposed to his sense of honour should in any way weaken the Government. He, however, reserved to himself the rights of meeting the charge as a simple citizen in whatever way he thought best. Consequently, he presented himself (March 13) before the court, and asserted in tones which carried conviction that he had authorised no one to make any promises in his name, and that he had been brought into the matter without the least cause or reason.

At the same moment almost the Government, which had been perceptibly weakened by the resignation of M. Bourgeois, was made the object of a violent scene in the Chamber. M. Déroulède and M. Millevoye, two Boulangist deputies, overstepping all the bounds of fair debate in their personal attacks on their colleagues, disregarding repeated warnings from the President, were at length formally censured. M. Cavaignac, who was at this time endeavouring to attract public attention, took the occasion to vindicate the claims of political honesty, and thereby gained applause from all sides, whilst M. Burdeau drew from the incidents of the day a sermon on the danger of mixing up politics and ethics. He therefore invited the Chamber to devote its energy and attention to the completion of the democratic programme long promised to the country, and to allow the courts of law to pursue their course in peace. The



Chamber thereupon gave the Government by 288 to 214 a vote of confidence; and two days later M. Bourgeois resumed his portfolio, at the pressing solicitation of his colleagues, and in order to enable him to reply to the interpellations of which notice had been given.

It was all the more strange after this expression of confidence that another crisis, arising out of an apparently trivial matter, should have proved fatal to the Ministry. The sudden death of M. Jules Ferry, in great measure referable to an injury he had received from an enraged opponent who had not stopped short at attempted murder, was the source of general regret and mourning among nearly all classes of politicians. It was therefore only natural that the Ministry should determine that the funeral of the President of the Senate should be at the public expense. A credit of 20,000 francs was therefore asked for, and notwithstanding the protests of M. Baudry d'Arson, the Chamber decided to hold no sitting on the day appointed for the ceremony.

M. Ferry's successor in the presidency of the Senate was M. Challemel-Lacour, who held similar views to M. Ferry, with regard to the constitutional prerogatives of that body in dealing with financial questions. This selection was destined to be the proximate cause of a fresh crisis. On the motion of M. Boulanger, the reporter of the Budget Committee, the Senate struck out of the budget several heads of expenditure, and further, refused to include in the budget of revenues the reformed liquor licences and duties, as voted by the Chamber. The original proposals of the Government on this subject had, it must be allowed, been strangely altered and mutilated by amendments, put forward on behalf of the northern and western departments, where the majority of the distillers were located.

Under these circumstances the budget was returned (March 30) to the Chamber, where M. Lockroy moved to maintain the privileges of that House, by restoring the budget to the form in which it had been originally sent to the Senate. M. Tirard, on the other hand, urged the Chamber to accept the disjunction of the two points at issue—the budget and the liquor law reform, and this appeal, to avoid a conflict between the two Chambers, was supported by the Cabinet, which, moreover, determined to regard the vote as one of confidence. The Chamber, therefore, having by 247 to 242 rejected the proposed separation of the two questions, the Ministers found themselves forced by their own wilfulness to tender their resignation. This sudden collapse of a Government which had taken office with the special object of bringing the judicial proceedings arising out of the Panama scandal to a close, gave rise to much conjecture. The misunderstanding between the Senate and the Chamber might, it was readily admitted, have been easily removed, and as the result showed, ended in the capitulation of the latter body. It was thought that the resignation of

MM. Ribot and Bourgeois had possibly been brought about by the intrigues of others who were more compromised than those two Ministers in the miserable business.

The formation of a new Ministry was, therefore, all the more difficult, as the late Cabinet had fallen on a constitutional rather than on a political question, whilst the majority who had carried the hostile vote was made up of elements too radically discordant to furnish the basis of a new administration. This difficulty, indeed, furnished the only reasonable explanation of the way in which the portfolios were offered and names suggested. M. Méline, the leader of the Protectionist Party, was first deputed to form a Ministry, and after some delay it was announced that his efforts had been successful. At the last moment, however, M. Poincaré, who had been offered the Ministry of Finance, withdrew his adhesion to M. Méline's policy, and the work had to be begun afresh. At length, M. Dupuy, who had held office as Minister of Public Instruction in the Ribot Cabinet, was able to present to the President the following list: M. Dupuy, President of the Council and Minister of the Interior; General Loizillon, War; Admiral Rieunier, Marine; M. Viger, Agriculture; M. Terrier, Commerce and Colonies; with M. Delcasse as Under Secretary in special charge of colonial matters; M. Viette, Public Works; M. Poincaré, Public Instruction; M. Guérin, Law and Justice; and, finally, M. Peytrat, Minister of Finance. In this combination neither of the two officers had seats in either House, and the Finance Minister was the only Senator.

The new Premier, M. Dupuy, had been first a schoolmaster, and afterwards a professor of philosophy, and in unfolding the modest programme (April 6) of his Government, he favoured the Chamber with a discourse on the virtues of patriotism and economy, exhorting the deputies "to give the country the impression of the steady progress of Parliamentary work *en s'en tenant résolûment à un ordre du jour qui couronne dignement la législation*," and he concluded by urging them to vote forthwith not only the budget of 1893, but that of the following year, without further hesitation.

Judged by the standard of its individual members the new Cabinet was distinctly Radical in tone; and at first it was its obvious wish to give satisfaction to the advanced party, but the responsibilities of office soon modified its principles. It readily accepted the resolution of the Chamber to find the basis of an understanding upon financial questions between the two Houses, and both of them shortly afterwards adjourned to give the Ministry the opportunity to carry out its promise.

The prolonged Ministerial interregnum had been marked by the most unbroken calm, although the Comte de Paris, in view of the approaching elections, chose this moment for reorganising his committees in the departments. The "Ralliés" chose the same time for meeting to take counsel together, whilst a



ird party met at the house of the Baron Hély d'Oissel, under the presidency of the Prince d'Arenberg, to form a central committee of the Republican Right, which proposed to take up a thoroughly independent line during the elections, and to start its own candidates when opportunity suggested.

At the same time another section of the Republican Party, the old "Left Centre," reconstituted under the name of the "Liberal Union," addressed a circular to its supporters denouncing all attempts to make small cliques or groups, and urging the necessity of pitting the "Liberal" Republic against the Radical and Socialist Republic. In view of this campaign, the *Journal des Debats*, under the advice of its chief proprietor, M. Léon Say, was completely transformed, was issued twice a day at a reduced price, and edited in a more popular spirit, it aimed at rallying the upper middle-class to the Liberal Party. In reality the main object of the leaders of this party was to repeat the former manœuvre known as the "union of the centres," and they counted also upon the success of the "Rallied" to give them the requisite strength.

The old majority, however, was not disposed to abandon the leadership without a struggle, as its spokesman, M. Casimir-Périer, the President of the Chamber, indicated very clearly in his speech at Troyes. He showed that the Monarchical parties were nothing but staffs of officers, and that it was left to the Republican Party to attract the great body of stragglers of the defeated army. "One cannot," he said, "pass from one side to another retaining the rank of general, . . . bystanders look with doubt upon a conversion of which they see the reward." M. Casimir-Périer then sketched the programme of any future Chamber, and expressed his firm conviction that it would be both Republican and Democratic.

At this moment too Republicanism was everywhere dominant; even Catholics, whilst wishing to rule the Republic and to make it abjure its errors, called themselves Republicans. The clergy threw themselves heartily into the movement. The impetuous Bishop of Annécý, M. Turinaz, issued a confidential circular to his clergy urging them to obtain 2,000 subscribers of 50 francs each to form a fund of 100,000 francs to be used for strictly Parliamentary purposes within the diocese. The circular was, however, unfortunately published in a Paris newspaper and became the subject of much bitter discussion. M. de Mun, the chief spokesman of the Clerical Party in Parliament, defined more openly and distinctly the position of Catholics in a speech made at the Council of Toulouse. "There are two ways," he said, "of undertaking the struggle with Socialism—by alliance with the capitalists or by union with the people. Well, I am for union with the people."

The chief organ of the Orleanists, *Le Soleil*, expressed the greatest hostility to this attitude of an old and trusted ally, declaring that, to use language analogous to that adopted by the

leaders of the militant Socialist Party, aiming at the destruction of society was little better than openly preaching civil war. As a matter of fact, however, the Socialists cared little for allies of this sort; setting about organising themselves with the object of winning and of dividing amongst them the spoils of victory. Under the direction of a triumvirate, composed of MM. Pelletan, Jaurès, and Millerand, and with *La Petite République Française*, Gambetta's old paper, as their organ, they made ready for the general elections with much confidence as to the result.

The triennial renewal of a third of the Municipal Council of Paris (April 16) was unmarked by any important display of public feeling or favour. At the first ballot 42 out of 80 of the outgoing members were re-elected, and a week later the Council was reconstituted almost in its original form, with the exception of two or three seats gained by the Socialists. One change for the better was noteworthy in the renewed Council, the majority having come back pledged to devote more time to real work and less time to political questions and intrigues.

On the reassembling of the Chambers one of the first questions put to the Ministers was one in the Senate on the pardon recently accorded to M. Turpin, who had been sentenced in the previous year for disclosing secrets connected with the manufacture of dynamite. The names of several general officers had been mixed up with the affair, and it was whispered that Turpin's pardon was their condemnation. M. de Freycinet endeavoured to extricate himself as usual under a cloud of vague words and genial smiles, whilst in the Chamber the Minister of War, M. Loizillon, spoke more openly and decidedly, declaring that General Ladvorat, whom M. Déroulède had more especially attacked, was regarded as an excellent and loyal officer, on whom the Government proposed shortly to confer a mark of its confidence and favour.

The serious matter of the session was the passing of the budget. The Ministry had met with more than one serious obstacle in its efforts to come to an understanding with the Finance Committee of the Senate. The chief difficulties arose from the proposed tax on Bourse transactions, from the patents accorded to large shops or stores, and from the sale of liquors. On this last point no agreement seemed possible, and the clause was finally dropped; but on the others, verbal or formal modifications were found acceptable to both parties. The Senate, moreover, endorsed the improved control of the railway companies, voted by the Chamber, and at length (April 28) the budget of 1893 was passed in its amended form, and the estimates for 1894 were forthwith taken into consideration. A slight delay, however, was caused by a question addressed to the Minister of Public Works by M. Maurice Lasserre, with reference to the gratuitous distribution, during a workmen's congress, at the doors of the "Bourse du Travail" of a pam-



plet urging workmen on railways and elsewhere to join in a general strike. The Minister had caused this pamphlet to be seized by the police, and had further appealed to the railway companies to take proceedings against any of their servants who had taken part in the distribution of these papers. A Socialist deputy upon M. Lasserre's reply attempted to raise a general discussion, but the Chamber refused; and the Minister, finding his hands thus strengthened, determined to forbid the Blanquist manifestation organised for May Day. The Workmen's Exchange (*La Bourse du Travail*) was closed, but the Socialists of both groups, the Blanquists and the Alemanists, decided to hold an open-air meeting in front of the closed building. The law referring to public meetings in France required that notice should be given to the authorities at least four hours before the meeting was to take place, and that it should be held in a covered and enclosed space. These conditions not having been complied with, the crowd was summoned to disperse. This the "demonstrators" declined to do, and were encouraged in their resistance by M. Vaillant, a member of the Municipal Council and the chief of the Blanquist Party. A collision ensued, in the course of which M. Baudin, a Socialist deputy, was seriously knocked about, and was finally dragged into the barracks of the Château d'Eau by the police. In like manner noisy demonstrations at Marseilles were encouraged by the "adjuncts" of the mayor—MM. Cadenat, Lévy, Poulain, and Vaulbert—but the Prefect of the Department summarily suspended them from office, and after an inquiry, in which it came out that these officials had intended to seize the town hall and the *préfecture*, and to proclaim the Commune, they were dismissed by the Minister of Justice. Similar disturbances took place at Lyons and Nîmes, but it was generally recognised that May Day demonstrations had at once lost their prestige and their terrors.

The resolution and firmness displayed by the Government had, however, to be justified before the Chamber; and an interpellation on the events of the day having been raised by MM. Dumay, Baudin, Thivrier, and Millerand, gave M. Dupuy an opportunity for showing his qualities, and the huge majority by which a favourable order of the day was voted showed that in his vindication of public tranquillity he had obtained the approval of the Chamber.

Energy, however, was not the only thing required for a Government on the eve of a general election. A programme was demanded alike by its supporters and its opponents, and the *fêtes* at Toulouse were found an available occasion for the President of the Council to announce the views of his Cabinet. He declared that the Monarchists, who had recently given their adhesion to the Republic, had not rallied to it, but were resigned to it, and that it was therefore out of the question to give them any voice in its destiny. The Ministry, M. Dupuy declared,

would preside over the elections, but it would not coerce them; and he laid down three points on which he hoped to unite Republicans of all shades—laws to regulate the relations of capital and labour, to endeavour to soften the rigour of economic laws by a coefficient of humanity; laws to lighten fiscal burdens, and laws to place on a sounder footing mutual and other associations of working men. With regard to Socialism, M. Dupuy declared that it must make its choice to have either peace or war with society.

To the majority of the Republican Party this programme seemed somewhat vague, especially as at the same time M. Goblet, at Bordeaux, whilst reproaching the Government as being equally without a home or a foreign policy, distinctly offered to the Socialists such advantages as they might find in an alliance with the Radicals. That the latter as a political force was in course of dissolution seemed probable, inasmuch as M. Dupuy, who had found a seat in the Chamber as a Radical, was advocating the policy and doctrines of the Opportunists, whilst M. Goblet, originally a member of the Left Centre, was now bidding for the support of the Socialists. It was left to M. Constans, in his speech at Toulouse, to express even more definitely the Republican views of the Government, asserting that the foremost need of the country was order (by which he meant authority), together with religious and social peace. To arrive at these, he said, it should be the aim of Government to increase the number of citizens interested in the maintenance of the rights of property, by ensuring their participation in that property. He named as measures of which the enactment was pressing, the revision of the syndicate law, the establishment of pensions for aged workmen, and the lowering of the land-tax.

Meanwhile the Chamber was approaching its end amidst painful struggles and convulsions. The law regulating the conditions under which foreigners should be allowed to reside in France was allowed to put aside a far more pressing measure the reform of the workmen and servants' registries (*bureaux de placement*). The scheme proposed by the Government only aimed at substituting for an existing monopoly the monopoly of professional syndicates. In the course of the debate on this bill, which was ultimately postponed, a Boulangist deputy seized the occasion to read from the tribune a newspaper article by M. Yves Guyot, in which the former Minister of Public Works rehearsed some of the bad uses to which the Bourse de Travail was put. M. Guyot, in reply, stood by every word he had written, and declared that in one room of the Bourse de Travail the sweepings of the population of Paris were accustomed to meet together, and that it was not for such purposes that the building had been provided. The Committee of Management, little accustomed to such plain speaking called a meeting to protest against the ex-Minister's language



ut nothing came of this somewhat tardy awakening to the scandal he had signalised.

An almost equally profitless debate arose on M. Joseph Reinach's motion to create a separate Ministry for the colonies, but that on the state of affairs in Madagascar (May 16) attracted more notice. M. de Mahy, the deputy for Réunion, asserted that the French Protestant clergy in Madagascar, and consequently their co-religionists in France, openly opposed the establishment of French influence in Africa and the Indian Ocean. The Minister for Foreign Affairs denied there was any ground for such a charge, and M. Boegner, the director of Protestant Missions at Paris, supported the official denial, without, however, inducing M. de Mahy to withdraw one particular of his charge. The intervention of the Archbishop of Bordeaux in a trade dispute of the bakers and their journeymen was of greater interest. In his address to the men, the archbishop held out the promise of active assistance, whilst exhorting them to give proof to the world of the well-earned character for patriotism and honourable dealings which the trade guilds of past times had won for themselves. This letter, following so immediately on the Pontifical rescript, *de conditione opificum*, marked the effect produced upon the French clergy by the policy of Leo. XIII. which they had for so long opposed.

Many interesting questions were raised by a bill introduced by the Government relating to the revision of certain electoral districts, consequent upon the modifications shown by the recent census to have become necessary. M. Hovelacque wished to introduce a more sweeping reform, and with this view proposed that every deputy should be the representative of 100,000 electors. This proposal, which was finally negatived, would have reduced the number of deputies by at least a third, and would moreover have given an overpowering influence to the larger cities. The zeal of the reformers, however, was not checked by this vote, for M. Bizarelli occupied three days in the discussion of his amendment, which would have excluded not only the election, but even the candidature of any one holding a paid public office or charge. Upon a proposal by M. Turrel this disability was further extended to ministers of religion; whilst M. de Douville Maillefeu, in his anxiety to weaken the influence of the railway companies, carried the principle still further by excluding from the Chamber all persons holding, or employed by others holding, any form of contract with the State. For a time it seemed as if the Chamber was bent upon a *reductio ad absurdum* of its powers, the wildest proposals of both Socialists and Conservatives being alternately presented and adopted. At length the President of the Council was forced to intervene in the cause of common-sense, and to show how, under pretence of making universal suffrage independent of the governing body, the result would be to limit the

choice of the electors to persons of private means (*rentiers*). With very little debate the Chamber then (June 1) threw out, by 263 to 206 votes, the clause which had inserted these fanciful restrictions.

In like manner, on the motion of the Government, a proposal to do away with general elections was rejected; the suggestion of the proposers being that in future one-third of the Chamber should be elected each year; but, as M. Dupuy pointed out, such a radical change was not one which could with advantage or authority be discussed by a Chamber of which the powers were on the point of extinction. This argument was held to be irrefutable, and the resolution was negatived. The debate on this question, however, was marked by a regrettable display of vindictive feeling on the part of the defeated Boulangists. M. Clémenceau, as the leader of an important section in the Chamber, was naturally expected to express his views on the subject. M. Déroulède at once endeavoured to prevent the Radical leader from being heard, denouncing him in Ciceronian terms as the most sinister man in France. M. Millevoye followed in a similar strain, announcing that he would forthwith place before the public documents of the gravest character. A few days later, the *Cocarde*, a militant journal of the most aggressive type, revealed the mystery. M. Millevoye, it appeared, had purchased from a man named Norton, a mulatto, born in the Mauritius, certain papers, said to have been stolen from the English Embassy, proving that several leading French politicians had been bought over by England. M. Burdeau, whose name had been mentioned amongst those receiving bribes, brought the matter to a crisis. At a sitting of the Chamber (June 22) he insisted that M. Millevoye should not leave the House until he had produced proof of his infamous charges against French deputies. This proposition was unanimously endorsed, and M. Millevoye found himself obliged to read from the tribune the documents on which he had based his charge. It needed but little acumen to recognise at once the worthlessness of these astounding revelations, which proved to be the work of some one ignorant alike of contemporary politics and English spelling. The Chamber, by a majority of 282 to 2, passed an order of the day, branding as odious and ridiculous calumnies the statements read in the tribune. The matter next passed into the law courts, and the chief editor of the *Cocarde*, accused of being the accomplice of a forger, was condemned to a year's imprisonment, whilst Norton himself, the author and vendor of the libels, was sentenced to three years' penal servitude. The part played by the Ministry in this miserable business was not altogether satisfactory. The President of the Council, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, had had cognisance of the documents, and had accepted them as authentic. During the debate they had presented a sorry spectacle, so that a few days later the Senate was able, without



protest from the other House, to express in plain terms the very indifferent esteem in which they held the heads of the Government. The occasion arose on a wholly distinct incident. Since the days of the empire the Republicans of the Department of the Seine and Oise were accustomed to meet together to celebrate the anniversary of General Hoche's birthday. Gambetta on more than one occasion had attended the banquet, and other popular leaders had at times taken advantage of the opportunity it offered of putting before the world their professions of faith. This year the gathering had been organised by the advanced Republicans, who had intentionally abstained from inviting any of the "Rallied." The Prefect of the Department was therefore ordered by the Cabinet to absent himself also, but a short time before the hour of the banquet he received by telephone not less peremptory orders to take part in it, and upon his refusing he was at once called upon to resign his office. The matter naturally came before the Senate in due course, and by the single vote of M. Guérin, the only member of the Cabinet who was also a senator, the Government obtained the voting of a bare order of the day, without a word approving of their conduct, the majority, in feeling at least, endorsing the remark of M. Monis, who recommended the President of the Council not to mistake violence for vigour. This warning was not altogether ill-timed, for a few days later disturbances took place among the students of the Quartier Latin. A ball at Montmartre, of which some of the incidents overstepped the bounds of decency, had resulted in the prosecution of certain students. M. Bérenger, a senator, had taken the matter up, and with some warmth demanded that such licence should not be permitted, especially in the public streets. The prosecution of several students was thereupon commenced, and after several months' delay ended in the conviction and punishment of some of the ringleaders. Against this tardy display of rigorous control their fellow-pupils protested by noisy gatherings, which the police dispersed with such excessive violence that in one of these skirmishes a young man standing in the doorway of a *café* on the Place de la Sorbonne was so seriously maltreated that he subsequently died. This act of brutality served only to exasperate the students, promptly joined by a number of professional rioters, who for several evenings in succession attacked unoffending passers-by, overturned omnibuses and kiosques, and committed all sorts of mischievous outrages. The police seemed to have been altogether without orders and control, for they as frequently attacked the victims as the assailants and carried off both to prison with equal indifference.

The Ministry naturally had to bear the odium of the disorders of which the Sorbonne district had been the scene, but with great cleverness they succeeded in turning public attention to a more dangerous centre of disturbance. By order of the Home

Minister the Bourse de Travail, which had become a centre of revolutionary Socialism, was closed without warning (July 6). In the inevitable interpellation which followed (July 8) the Ministry obtained a vote of confidence by 343 to 134 votes. The troubles, however, were not yet ended, for on the following morning it was declared that M. Peytrat, the Minister of Finance, the most Radical member of the Cabinet, had resigned. Four and twenty hours later, however, it was announced that in view of the budget discussions, which his withdrawal would have delayed, he had consented to resume his functions, but the Prefect of the Police, M. Lozé, who had been in a way responsible for much of the recent disturbance, was replaced by M. Lépine in his important post.

The Radical Party, however, was not disposed to allow the opportunity thus offered them of attacking the Government to pass without protest. A manifesto was issued, signed by the majority of the Paris deputies, municipal councillors, and a few senators, in which the action of the police and the attitude of the Government were alike blamed in violent terms, but so far as the consequent discussion in the Chamber was concerned, the position of the Cabinet was not changed. The Municipal Council of Paris then altered their tactics, and it was proposed by one of their members, and supported by a very large number, that in consequence of the general mourning, caused by the acts of the police, the national *fête* of July 15 should not be celebrated. The preparations, however, were too far advanced for this vote to have any effect, and the *fête* was neither more nor less brilliant, even in the Quartier Latin, because of the events of the previous month. This national *fête* day further furnished one of the most active members of the Panama Commission, M. Pourquery de Boissevin, with a reason for again bringing forward the well-known Radical resolution in favour of a political amnesty. In the first instance, he proposed to limit his motion to those who had been mixed up with the recent Paris troubles, but it was at once made known that in the event of M. de Boissevin being successful other deputies would endeavour to enlarge the scope of the amnesty. Notwithstanding the doubtful circumstances under which many of the arrests had been made among the students, and the haphazard way in which the sentences had been passed, the Chamber decided by 224 to 169 votes not to interfere with the discretion of the Government.

The real underlying cause of this reluctance to embarrass the Ministry was the necessity of voting the budget of 1894 before the close of the session. Beyond discussing the affairs of Siam, and passing an Act for the reorganisation of the colonial army, the sole aim of the Chamber was the speedy despatch of the budget. A very few points raised difficulties or debate; the famous reform of the licensing laws having been passed by the Senate, it was now easy to add it on to the



but a few deputies, eager to achieve popularity, pro-  
and carried the remission of all taxes on wine, beer, cider,  
and frumenty. This caused such a complete dislocation  
financial proposals of the Government, that it was sub-  
ly decided to disconnect once again the Liquor Bill  
e purely administrative enactments of the Government.  
dget for 1894, like its two predecessors, was one of  
tion and expediency. The receipts were estimated at  
1,032 francs (137,321,246*l.*), and the expenditure at  
20,623 francs (137,320,825*l.*), leaving an apparent surplus  
400*l.*—a narrow margin to meet any unforeseen claims.  
receipts, as usual in French budgets, were drawn chiefly  
direct taxation, the direct taxes (customs and excise)  
ing to 465,000,000 francs for France and 13,000,000  
or Algeria. Special taxes, which were in the nature of  
ontributions, such as lands in mortmain, the duties on  
s, horses, velocipedes, billiard-tables and clubs, were  
d at 35,000,000 francs additional. The chief sources of  
taxation, which produced no less than 2,050,000,000  
were; registration fees, 548,000,000; stamps, 162,000,000;  
customs—a very varying and uncertain source—  
000; the *régie*, 602,000,000, and sugar, 203,000,000.  
ainder of the revenue was made up from the monopoly  
vernment working of various services and trades, such  
hes, gunpowder and tobacco, whence 401,000,000 were  
the post-office showed a profit of 165,000,000; the  
h, of 35,000,000; the telephone, of 7,000,000, and the  
main, of 47,000,000. On the other side of the account  
nditure included:—

on the debt (funded and floating),	1,284,000,000	frs.
estimates,	- - - - -	633,000,000
estimates,	- - - - -	266,000,000
Works,	- - - - -	256,000,000
nstruction,	- - - - -	243,000,000

These charges, that for public works showed the most  
inary expansion. In the previous year the guaranteed  
paid to the railway companies had been 82,000,000 only,  
onsequence of the increased facilities given to traders  
improved services offered to travellers the Government  
had risen to 136,000,000, and it was expected that this  
mark the highest level, and many complaints were  
with regard to the reckless waste and extravagance  
arked the administration of this branch. The budget  
c Instruction still showed a tendency to increase as  
ims were put forward on behalf of free education, and  
the total of the year only showed a steady but slight  
upon its predecessor, the estimates were now ten times  
an in 1870, when after the close of the Franco-German  
stood at 24,000,000 only.  
session was brought to a close (July 23) with all de-

spatch, in order that the electoral campaign might commence and end as quickly as possible. Amongst the platform speakers with which the country was flooded, a few deserved recognition outside the districts in which they were spoken. At Albi the President of the Council, M. Dupuy, found it advisable to speak of the "Rallied" less ironically than he had done months previously at Toulouse; at La Châtre-sur-Loire Godefroy Cavaignac kept himself well in evidence by speaking in the name of the old and somewhat used-up Republican Union, and M. le Comte d'Haussonville presented strongly the cause of the irreconcilable Monarchists. In all these cases the speakers directed much of their eloquence against the "Rallied" Republicans. It was not likely that these would remain loyal. Their leader, M. Piou, vehemently attacked the old Republican combination, and urged upon the electors the necessity of making an honest choice, by which he meant that they should lay for the electors between Conservative Republicans and Socialists. The Archbishop of Bordeaux, Cardinal Darbois, declared that it was the duty of all Catholics to give up their adherence to the Republic, but definitely refused to do so on this occasion the Pope addressed a letter to the French, in which he formally condemned the attitude of the Catholic Monarchists. "In the actual situation of France, a return to the old form of Government is impossible without bringing about serious disturbances."

The Radicals likewise put forth their platform. One of their former leaders, M. Méline, said that it was worth the trouble to write so much in order to bring about a change and in the name of the General Organisation of the Republic Jules Guesde sketched the policy of the Socialists, without reference to any of the schools between which the electors were divided.

The elections (Aug. 20) passed off without any serious disturbance. There being no longer any question of the maintenance of the Republic there was no manifestation of the current of public opinion. In 1885, and even as lately as in 1889, there were some displays of party feeling, quarrels of local committees or the like, but between the supporters of rival candidates the electorate looked on with an air of calmness, of scepticism. The districts of the greatest disorder were those where the candidates were M. Pichon, M. Clémenceau's colleagues; and at Draguignan, where M. Clémenceau was a candidate, there was considerable disturbance of the public peace. At the first ballot the Ministry secured seats, and for the first time since 1885 majorities over those obtained in 1885. The election of the Chamber, which in consequence



population consisted of 581 instead of 576 members, was as follows: Republicans (supporting the Government), 311; Radicals, 122; Right, 58; Socialists, 49; and Rallied, 35. The most noteworthy absentees from the new Chamber were MM. Clémenceau, Floquet, Maujan, Pichon, from among the Radicals; M. Paul de Cassagnac from the Monarchists, and M. Piou and the Comte de Mun from the Rallied; whilst M. Goblet, retaining his seat in the Senate, was returned for the First Arrondissement of Paris over M. Yves Guyot. The success of the Socialists was perhaps the most marked feature of the elections, and their tone was more hopeful and eager than on any previous occasion, although the general result possibly meant only that the Republicans would take no retrograde step now that the Republic was finally established.

The most painful incident arising out of the election ballots happened at Aigues Mortes, where numerous Italian workmen were employed in the salt-works. In a dispute between them and their French fellow-workmen, two of the latter had been killed. This aroused the whole French population, which at once, siding with their own countrymen, attacked the Italians, and caused the deaths of upwards of thirty, besides inflicting serious injuries upon many others. There was at once an outcry raised in Italy against this breach of the comity of nations, and at Rome and elsewhere manifestations were made against the French. In the end, diplomacy was called in, and the Mayor of Aigues Mortes and the Prefect of Rome were both suspended, and an appearance of peace patched up between the two countries.

If the trouble at Aigues Mortes were due to the unpremeditated collision of workmen of different nationality, the same could not be said of the great strike in the Department of Le Nord. This had been planned and prepared by the workmen's syndicates anxious to avenge the defeat to which they had been forced to submit in July. The actual cause was scarcely avowed, and its leaders were unknown. The official leaders of the workmen's party in the district, the deputies, Basly and Lamendin, openly declared their reasons against the suspension of work; but the former, finding himself suddenly accused of treason, and fearing to be swept out of sight, resigned his place as President of the Miners' Syndicate in the Pas de Calais. A few days later (Sept. 14) a "general" strike was proclaimed by the association, by which they meant, or at least hoped, that the step they had taken would be followed by the miners of Belgium, England and Germany, and that the pitmen of the three countries would make common cause. The coal strike in England was in full swing, although only certain coal-fields were affected. Nevertheless, M. Basly, in telegraphing to the delegates of the Belgian syndicates, was able to inspire them with the belief that a cessation of work in the Belgian pits would lead to most important results.

Nothing, therefore, was wanting to give the strike in the Pas de Calais a considerable importance, but in order to make it seem unanimous, even in that disassociated district, it was found expedient to have recourse to coercion. The roads were carefully watched and patrolled, non-strikers were stopped on their way to their work, and dynamite was resorted to to bring home to such their duty to stand by their less laborious comrades, and, as a crowning effort, the most popular lecturers and newly-appointed deputies were brought down from Paris to strengthen the weak-kneed, and to convert the openly indifferent. The uselessness of all these efforts became painfully apparent as time went on; the general committee redoubled its prayers, its patrols, and its telegrams, the Belgians turned a deaf ear, and the English seemed to be gradually returning to work, and above all, the miners of Anzin, against whom a strike-patrol had been despatched, were covered by the military, and St. Etienne, with the whole basin of the Loire, declined to take up the quarrel, recalling the way in which they had previously been treated during a strike of these same pitmen of Artois.

The obstinacy with which the unfortunate miners followed their thoughtless leaders was worthy of admiration. For forty-six days they prolonged a contest of which the result had been inevitable from the outset; the pit-owners may possibly have temporarily lost upwards of 1,000,000 francs in the shape of profits, but the coal remained in their pits to be extracted at a more propitious moment. The men, however, had lost upwards of 5,000,000 francs in wages, and had thereby not only exhausted their savings, but had proved that although the total annual production of the coal district had been reduced by one-tenth, prices had not been affected in such a manner as to bring hope of further relief to the workmen. Happily the strike in the Pas de Calais was marked by even fewer outbursts of lawlessness than that in Yorkshire, thanks to the prudence and activity of the young Prefect, M. Gabriel Alapetite, who two years previously in somewhat similar circumstances had given proof of both tact and courage. Only one life was lost during the course of the strike, and in this case it was due to the resistance offered to the police sent to arrest a man on a charge of rioting.

The "Russian Truce," as it was termed, suspended all political discussions for a full month. The Russian squadron under Admiral Avelan, reached Toulon (Oct. 13), and there enjoyed a foretaste of the *fêtes* prepared for them in Paris and elsewhere. The stay of the ships was prolonged for over a fortnight (Oct. 29), of which time a week was spent in Paris by a number of the officers and men, who became the objects of the unceasing *fêtes* and ovations, and on their departure were overwhelmed with beautiful and valuable presents of every description. The death of Marshal MacMahon during the sta



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presidency, the Radicals put forward M. Henri Brisson, who had formerly held the unstable position of Prime Minister. He was roundly defeated by the nominee of the Moderates, Casimir-Périer, and, thereupon, the President of the Chamber laid before the Chamber the Ministerial programme for the next session. The most remarkable passage was that in which he declared war against the Socialists. "We repudiate the policy which under various titles, collectivism, and the like, is substituting the anonymous tyranny of the State for the initiative and the free association of citizens; we shall repress every attempt at agitation, and every act of violence by whoever may be the authors or leaders. MM. Millerand, two leaders of the Socialist group, at once asked permission to interpellate the Government on its policy, and the immediate discussion was voted by 291 to 171, the Radicals being anxious to postpone it for a short time."

The debate absorbed public attention during the winter. M. Jaurès having explained (Nov. 21) the Socialist programme, M. Lockroy, two days later, repudiated the version of the programme which he did not go so far as to adopt the old Radical programme of revision of the constitution, separation of Church and State, and a progressive income-tax. MM. Barthou and Delcassé were the mouthpieces of the Moderates, urging that there was already a majority to support the reform proposed; and everything seemed to foreshadow the triumph of the Government. At the last moment, however, a crisis arose. At a Cabinet Council (Nov. 22) the morning of the last day's debate, the three Radicals, MM. Peytrat, Viette, and Terrier—handed in their resignations. At the urgent request of the President of the Chamber, they were to be kept secret until after the division on the interpellation. By some mischance, however, they were leaked out before the final vote was taken. A noisy and disorderly Chamber, recriminations were bandied, and at length the whole Ministry announced its retirement.

This crisis was as difficult to surmount as it was sudden in its growth. M. Dupuy, notwithstanding the request of the President, declined to reconstitute the Ministry. M. Casimir-Périer, whose popularity in the Chamber was clearly shown by the majority to which he was elected President, was next appealed to, and equally declined. M. Méline, the leader of the Protectionist Party, was then approached. He was able to reckon upon a majority in the Chamber, but on matters of policy, he commanded no confidence. Moreover, it was quite unnecessary for him to burden himself with the Ministerial portfolio so long as others would do it. The laws necessary to protect agriculture and commerce were next approached, with this mu-



er took to form a Cabinet and failed. The crisis was becoming acute, when M. Poincaré, a personal friend of M. Casimir-Périer, intervened, possibly at the instigation of the President, and urged upon the former the serious consequences of his persistent refusal to take office. M. Poincaré's arguments were not, however, much strengthened by the attitude taken by other friends of M. Casimir-Périer, who intimated that M. Carnot's anxiety to induce M. Casimir-Périer to accept the Premiership was in order to remove from his path a dangerous competitor for the Presidency of the Republic, for which election would take place in the course of the following year. M. Casimir-Périer, however, accepted the mission thus thrust upon him, and after a short delay was able to lay before the President the following Cabinet: M. Casimir-Périer, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Millerand, Public Instruction; M. Burdeau, Finance; M. Antonin Dubost, Justice and Public Worship; M. Marty, Commerce and the Colonies, with M. Delcassé as Under Secretary for the Colonies; M. Viger, Agriculture; M. Jonnard, Public Works; M. Raynal, Home Office; General Mercier, War; and Admiral de la Roche, Navy. Six of the members of the new Cabinet had never before held office, *viz.*: MM. Casimir-Périer, Marty, Jonnard, Dubost, and the heads of both branches of the Council. M. Viger was the sole survival of the previous Ministry, and M. Spuller was the only senator. Never since the time of Gambetta in 1882 had there been such a complete revolution or a change of administration. This was probably due to the fact that M. Casimir-Périer, on accepting the task of forming a Cabinet, had insisted upon having his hand absolutely free, and had reserved for himself the actual direction of affairs in which he was responsible to the nation.

The Ministerial programme when read to the Chamber on the 10th of January showed the presence of a dominant spirit in the new Ministry. A revision of the system of taxation, especially of the land tax, a modification of the succession duties, the establishment of agricultural credit banks, and the simplification of legal procedure were the chief promises of the Government, which were all things guaranteed the maintenance of public order. The only sign of opposition on the opening day was the support given to the amnesty proposal of M. Paschal-Grousset, formerly a member of the Commune, and now a Socialist deputy. The motion was negatived after a short debate by a majority of only 10 votes, thereby giving the opponents of the Government some grounds for hope. The following day, however, the election of the President of the Chamber gave the Moderates and Radicals a better opportunity of measuring strength, and the election of M. Dupuy, by 251 votes, against M. Brisson, who received only 149, showed that the Government could, on critical occasions, count upon a considerable majority of Moderate Republicans for support. Subsequent events went to improve their position;

for two days later (Dec. 6), whilst the election of M. Mirman, a young professor at Rheims, who had stood as a Socialist, was under discussion, an Anarchist, named Vaillant, threw from the strangers' gallery a bomb into the midst of the deputies. By chance the bomb struck a pillar of the building, and exploded in the air instead of on the floor of the House, and Vaillant himself was wounded, as well as some thirty or forty persons in various parts of the building. With scarcely a moment's hesitation, the President of the Chamber and the President of the Council, who had remained seated in the general excitement, invited the House to continue the debate, and in this way restored confidence to the assembly.

The results of this outrage were promptly shown. A reaction in favour of order and tranquillity manifested in quarters which had hitherto been most troublesome. The Government seized the opportunity (Dec. 11) to push forward four special bills intended to assert the rights of society against the Anarchists. Three of these aimed solely at increasing the powers of the Government (1) to deal with press offences, by imposing preventive imprisonment for the propaganda of anarchy, and for defending crime; (2) to extend to Anarchists the penalties of the code enacted in the case of ordinary criminals; and (3) to modify the existing law on the manufacture of explosives. The Government further requested, and obtained a credit of 800,000 francs to augment the police force in Paris and the provinces. The vote on the first bill showed the revulsion of feeling which had taken place in a few days. By 413 to 63 votes the Ministry found itself armed with almost dictatorial powers, and at the same time could look to the formation of a new Ministerial Party.

That this was not merely a chance majority, due to passing panic, was shown when M. Basly, the Socialist deputy, moved for a Parliamentary inquiry into the strike which had taken place in the Departments of the Nord and the Pas de Calais. The motion was negatived by 401 to 131, but at the same time the Chamber showed its readiness to inquire into the general condition of labour, although it refused to appoint a standing committee, to which labour questions should be referred, and with this view nominated two committees—one to inquire into the labour question, and the other into that of provision for old age.

The only other incidents of the session, which closed just before Christmas, were a protest against the high rate of duties levied on French wines entering Austria; and a bill giving a premium to home-made shale oil. In other words, a greater measure of free trade for French exports and greater protection for French products were almost simultaneously demanded and promised.



## II. ITALY.

King Humbert, when receiving on New Year's day the *corps diplomatique*, took occasion to congratulate himself on the fortunate state of the country in its foreign relations. Fortified by the Triple Alliance, Italy at the same time was on friendly terms with all the other European Powers. The financial situation, however, was unfortunately less promising than the political, and the year was further destined to be signalised by the *Panamino* or bank scandals, a heavy fall in Italian funds, and the outbreak of socialist and agrarian riots which needed the most stringent means of repression.

The necessity for retrenchment was as evident to all the world as the impossibility of effecting it without inflicting injury to powerful private or personal interests, little disposed to offer themselves as a sacrifice on the altar of patriotism. The outcome of the year, therefore, was to show the impossibility of combining a necessary cutting down of expenses with the ordinary methods of Parliamentary Government, and the need of a dictatorship to extricate the Treasury from its difficulties.

The Giolitti Cabinet was undoubtedly animated with the best intentions, and searched on all sides for the means of lightening the burdens of the budget. Signor Martini, Minister of Public Instruction, was the first to set an example by reducing from 22,000,000 to 12,000,000 lire the payments to the numerous universities, survivals of the older and disunited Italy. He pointed out how Messina, with forty-four professors, had only 216 students, whilst in the faculty of letters there were actually seven professors for six students. In other places the higher grade schools and colleges were almost deserted. The Sicilian deputies, laying aside their political differences for the moment, protested vehemently against the proposed sacrilege; they drew to their aid the deputies from Sardinia and from the central provinces, where many of the teaching bodies were threatened, and this coalition, supported by the votes of those who habitually voted in opposition to the Government, rendered all attempts at economy in this direction futile. In like manner, other Ministers proposed reductions in their respective budgets, but in every case they were rendered powerless by the combination of the threatened victims.

A still more burning question which was forced upon the Ministry was the proposed fusion of the various banks possessing rights to issue their own notes. After long and tedious negotiations, it was at length decided that the National Bank should absorb the powers exercised by the Banca Romana, the Banca Toscana di Credito and the National Bank of Tuscany. The Government would gladly have brought into the same group the Bank of Naples and that of Sicily, reserving temporarily only to the northern and richer provinces their various

credit institutions and mortgage banks, of which good use had been made by the more industrious race. In virtue of this convention, the delegates of the Banca Romana, Signori Tanlongo, Torlonia and Lazzaroni, signed the terms of the proposed fusion with the National Bank; but in the course of an inspection of the Roman branch of the Bank of Naples, the inspectors appointed by the Minister of Finance discovered a deficit of nearly 2,500,000 lire. The cashier was at once arrested, and the inquiry pursued in various directions. It was then found that the Governor of the Banca Romana, Commendatore Tanlongo, was personally indebted for a sum equal to the cashier's deficit, whilst upwards of 40,000,000 were locked up in doubtful speculations or lent to insolvent persons.

The Opposition at once seized upon the weapon thus furnished, and the Marchese di Rudini forthwith gave notice of an interpellation. The full extent of the scandal thereupon became the property of the public. General Menabrea, whose name had been mentioned as one of the debtors to the bank, appealed to the Senate for a commission of inquiry before which he might justify himself. This the Senate refused to accord, and the whole discussion of the bank scandal was consequently left to the Chamber of Deputies. The Government, profiting by the unlucky experience of France in a similar matter, opposed the appointment of a Parliamentary inquiry, but matters had now gone so far that a full discussion was no longer avoidable; and it seemed that the longer the delay the greater would be the scandal. Further investigation (Jan. 26) led to fresh discoveries of maladministration in the Banca Romana, and on the following day it was announced that the Banks of Leghorn and Tuscany had refused to accept in payment the notes of the Banca Romana, on the ground that such paper had no legal currency in their province. The refusal seemed to be the starting-point of a general and senseless panic, which extended to the depositors in the Government savings banks—the establishment at Rome being called upon to pay away an average of 400,000 lire a day for some days. The newspapers, instead of attempting to allay the popular alarm, fostered it by sensational articles—the two extremes of the Chamber coalesced to upset the Ministry—and Signor Crispi, laying aside the reserve he had maintained for some days, once more descended into the political arena. He resumed the directorship of *La Riforma*, of which paper he became the sole proprietor, and sacrificed his antipathies of the past to those of the present, and frankly joined hands with Marchese di Rudini.

Signor Giolitti then found himself face to face with a coalition and a critical situation. In the long debate he gave proof of singular tact and courage. Determined to give way to the demand for a Parliamentary inquiry, he showed that he was in no way disposed to shelter the



dered the arrest of the Commendatore Monzilli, the head commercial branch in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, and consequently specially responsible for the supervision of the banks. He was charged with having in on the occasion of an inspection of the Banca Romana, his chief, Signor Micelli, the Minister of Finance, by lying the true state of affairs, whilst possessing at the report which showed that serious abuses had been committed. Signor Giolitti, moreover, vaguely hinted that the retirement of the Ministers of the Treasury, Public Instruction and Commerce would place at his disposal three portfolios, as there were many aspirants among certain groups upon whom the Ministry could not count with certainty. In the tribune, Signor Giolitti graphically traced the probable consequences of a Parliamentary inquiry—which, if voted by the Chamber, would, he maintained, follow—amongst which not the least to be dreaded was that all the sound credit institutions would be hopelessly paralysed. The strength of Signor Giolitti's arguments, or the persuasiveness of his tongue, obtained the approval of the inquiry by 274 to 154, although Signor Nicotri, Signor Crispi, and the Marquis di Rudini, had for the moment opposed the overthrow of the Government.

A few days later, Signor di Rudini slightly changed his position, demanding an inquiry into the acts of the Government; but Signor Giolitti was not to be so easily deceived, perceiving at once that if granted it would be inevitable, to extend the scope of the inquiry to the present, and thus to reach by an indirect way the main road which the main road had been barred. The Chamber rejected the Minister's arguments, and the motion passed *sine die*.

The crisis, however, was not yet over. A few days after the speech of the Ministry in the Chamber, the Minister of the Interior, Baron Mich. Lazzaroni, nephew of the Minister of the Banca Romana, and one of the leading figures who was mixed up with a number of the transactions of the Banca Romana, was arrested. The Chamber was unable to reach a decision, but the King, anxious to settle the financial affairs, set himself personally to investigate the causes of the financial crisis, and found that the Government had expended 1,000,000 lire of the Civil List, if the Government's estimate of the budget could be re-established. The Chamber of Opposition then turned to the King, and requested him to weaken its authority. The Chamber then turned to the King to fortify Biserta was discussed, and the King declined even to ask for a vote of confidence on the question. A few days later, Signor Crispi, the Minister of the Interior, resigned on certain grounds, and was succeeded by Signor Crispi, before the Military Commission, and the state of the Italian army.

order to support his own military bill, had given a very unflattering picture of the state of the Italian army, and had hinted that in the event of a war very little was to be expected by Germany from its co-operation. These remarks having been reproduced by the press of Europe, the national pride of the Italians was deeply wounded, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, General Brin, had to make the best of a disagreeable situation, but without satisfying his questioner.

The turn of Austria came next when the leader of the extreme Left, Signor Barzilai, supported by a member of the extreme Right, Signor Carmine, brought up a speech made by the Archbishop of Vienna in favour of the temporal power of the Pope. The speech had been made, without any protest or rebuke, in the presence of the sister of the heir-apparent, two Ministers and several high functionaries of state. Signor Carmine, comparing the conduct of Italy with that of her ally, reminded the Chamber that Signor Seismit-Doda had been dismissed by Signor Crispi, then Prime Minister, for having taken part in a banquet at which "irredentist" toasts had been drunk and speeches made, and one paper ironically suggested that the Minister of Foreign Affairs should demand the dismissal of the two Austrian Ministers. The Chamber again supported the Cabinet, but it was felt nevertheless that the part played by Italy in the Triple Alliance was a very subordinate one, as much on account of the disordered state of her finances as because her military organisation had failed to keep pace with the requirements of modern warfare.

One of the chief defects of the Italian army, common indeed to all Parliamentary States, was the age of the generals. General Pelloux, the Minister of War, attempted to pass a law by which the limit of age for different grades should be more rigorously enforced, but the Senate refused to entertain the idea, and the Minister, unwilling to make the question one of confidence in the Cabinet, withdrew his bill.

Meanwhile the administrative commission, appointed to investigate the situation of the banks, was pursuing its inquiries with unflagging industry, urged forward by the encouragement of the press, by Parliamentary interpellations, and by such painful incidents as the death in prison of the deputy Zerbi, who had been implicated in the scandals. At length the report was ready and presented to the Chamber. It declared that the National Bank and the two great credit institutions of Tuscany at Florence and Leghorn were altogether blameless and thoroughly sound, but that the banks of Sicily and Naples, and the Banca Romana, were either seriously involved or absolutely insolvent.

This report at once gave rise to an important debate, the Left and the more extreme Radical Party uniting with Signor Nicotera in insisting upon the necessity of a Parliamentary inquiry. The Ministry, however, stood firm, and resisted the



posal to enlarge the powers of the existing commission, and giving its five members authority to obtain the names of those deputies whose bills were being held by the banks. After three days' debate it was however arranged (March 22) that a Parliamentary commission should be nominated consisting of seven members representing each Parliamentary province and as far as possible each of the great provinces of the Kingdom. The President of the Chamber, Signor Zanardelli, undertook to make the selection of deputies to serve on this tribunal of honour, but his task was by no means easy, four of the members originally selected by him declining to serve. All difficulties were at length overcome, and at the first meeting of the commission Signor Boselli was elected chairman by his colleagues.

The Easter holidays promised to give some short respite to the much-harassed Ministry, but the explosion of bombs in Rome and the provinces came as an unwelcome reminder of the responsibilities of office. Some papers attempted to make the Clerical Party responsible for these outrages, and others endeavoured to trace in them the hand of the Vatican itself. The public organs naturally protested against these calumnies, and were as absurd as they were baseless. The attitude of the Pope, moreover, and his relations with the sovereigns and the heads of foreign States were marked by a cordiality altogether in contrast with the policy of his predecessor. It was this friendly attitude which gave such *éclat* to the celebration, at the end of March, of Leo XIII's episcopal jubilee. The magnificent festival given in Rome attracted large crowds, not only of pilgrims from the remoter parts of the country, but of friendly sympathisers of all nationalities, and of other religions, who were anxious to offer their homage to the beneficent influence of the Pope's calm, prudent and conciliatory policy.

Two months after the Papal *fêtes*, the Royal *fêtes*, celebrating the King and Queen's silver wedding, were the occasion for a further display of loyalty, but, in view of the financial condition of the country, it was determined to make the *fêtes* as little as possible the excuse for sumptuous display and heavy expenditure. The German Emperor, however, paid a visit to Rome, and took occasion to draw closer the bonds of the Triple Alliance, which, in view of financial straits, Italy had seemed anxious to loosen. The Emperor took every occasion to flatter the national self-love of the Italians; he laid a wreath on the tomb of Victor Emmanuel, and another on the monument raised to the soldiers who fell at Dogali in Abyssinia. On the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of Rome, by his orders one of his aides accompanied by Prince Ruspoli, the syndic of the city, attended on these acts of courtesy, the Emperor assisted at a number of military and naval reviews at Rome, Naples and Spezia. This was an unusual infraction of established custom in Italy and in other constitutional countries, the sittings of Parliament were

adjourned over the *fêtes*; and deputies and senators were, therefore, unable to associate themselves officially in the display of popular enthusiasm. On the other hand, by this precaution, visitors were spared unpleasant reflections on the state of political parties in Italy.

May day passed without any serious breach of order, but the troubles of the Government were but delayed. The necessity of passing a budget in some form was inevitable, and it was taken up forthwith (May 3) upon the meeting of the Assembly. The debates were extremely embittered, and on the estimates of the Minister of Justice difference of opinion rapidly degenerated into personal quarrels, ending in the Keeper of the Seals demanding satisfaction from Signor Pugliese, and Signor Nicotera claiming similar salve for his honour from Signor Cefaly. At the same time dangers threatened the Ministry from another quarter. The Senate had never been reconciled to the arrangements by which so few of its members were entrusted with portfolios by Signor Giolitti. To this was added the increasing unpopularity of Signor Bonacci, the Minister of Justice, arising out of his attitude towards the banks. To this second cause was immediately due the crisis which threatened the Cabinet; the Senate by 138 to 133 votes refusing to pass the Minister's estimates. This vote, taken by secret ballot (May 13), caused the more surprise as it had been the custom in the Italian Chambers since the establishment of Parliamentary government to accept the budget as presented by the chief of each department. Since 1848 no such refusal had been known, either in the old Sardinian kingdom or since the union of the various States under one sovereign. Moreover, by article 56 of the Constitution it was held that any bill rejected by one or other of the two Chambers could not be brought forward again in the same session. As, therefore, the rejection of one section of the budget involved the whole question of Ministerial responsibility, Signor Giolitti had no other course than to convey to the King the resignation of the whole Cabinet.

The crisis lasted several days, but at length Signor Giolitti was able to reconstitute his Ministry (May 26) by substituting for Signor Bonacci Signor Eula, first president of the Court of Appeal at Rome, and by placing the finances in the hands of the Senator Gagliardo. By this double concession to the Senate its good-will was to some extent assured, and Signor Giolitti was able to exact in return a promise that the budgets of the various departments should be voted. He further insisted upon the reorganisation of the issue banks before the vacation; and in order the more to strengthen his position obtained from the Chamber a vote of confidence which was carried by 227 to 72, notwithstanding the opposition of the Marchese di Rudini.

For the time the position of the Ministry seemed secure. The Senate, after a prolonged and critical debate passed



(June 3) the Pension Bill, of which the dangers had at one time seemed serious. Even the success of Clericals in the municipal elections in Rome, where eleven of their candidates were returned against seven Liberals, was in a great measure neutralised by an important vote taken two days later. Signor Giolitti having placed on the orders of the day his proposal for the reorganisation of the banks of issue, Signor di Rudini, supported by the deputy Cavalotti, the leader of the extreme Left, moved that this should not be done until the report made by Signor Cocco Ortu had been distributed among the members. The Prime Minister, however, insisted upon his proposal being made a question of confidence, and with the support of Signor Zanardelli, the President of the Chamber, it was adopted.

The Opposition, however, was in no humour to abandon the contest. Signor Bovio, a member of the commission of inquiry, bitterly attacked the Government (July 13) for having taken a vote on the reorganisation of the banks before discussing the report of the commission, and the Chamber at length became so unruly that the President was forced to put on his hat and to suspend the sitting. On the Chamber resuming, Signor Cavolitti supported Signor Bovio's motion, but the President of the Council, having been informed of what was passing, appeared in the Chamber and declared that the commission not having brought its labours to a conclusion it was impossible to present its report, and that Signor Bovio had no authority to speak in its name.

These scenes in the Chamber were followed in a few days by the trial of the persons inculpated in the *Panamino*. Bernardo Tanlongo and his son, Cesare Lazzaroni, chief cashier of the Banca Romana, and his nephew, together with two of the higher officials in the Ministry of Commerce, were charged with peculation, fabrication of false notes, and corruption. There was a general outcry in the press and among the public because no senator or deputy was included amongst the accused, and because the permanent officials seemed to be made the scapegoats of others higher in authority. No steps, however, were taken to extend the charges, and the struggle was once more shifted to the Chamber. On the final stage of the Ministerial Bank Bill Signor Bovio moved (July 9) that no deputy who had been compromised in the recent disclosures should be allowed to vote, and as a natural preliminary that the report of the commission should be made public in order that the names of those involved should be known beforehand. Signor Bovio declared that by this motion he had no intention of making personal charges; but the President of the Council, notwithstanding the opposition of the extreme Left, held to his point that no steps would be taken until the commission had presented its report, and finally the Bank Bill was passed by 222 to 135 votes.

In the Senate the Bank Bill met with little opposition, but

its passage was marked by a further change in the Ministry of Justice, Signor Eula having died suddenly and his place taken by another senator, Signor de Santa Maria.

The Parliamentary recess, however, brought but little repose to the Ministry. The monetary crisis, which for some time had been imminent, suddenly assumed a serious form. Gold and silver money almost wholly disappeared from circulation. In Tuscany and Naples some manufacturers were forced to pay their workmen with tokens, which were received as currency in the neighbouring shops. Even in the large cities small change could not be procured in the *cafés* and restaurants, except in the form of tickets, which were worthless elsewhere, or in postage stamps. The Government did its utmost in endeavouring to bring about an international conference of the States of the Latin monetary union, and was successful in inducing their representatives to meet in Paris, where a satisfactory arrangement was promptly arrived at. It was decided that the various States, France, Belgium and Switzerland, should withdraw from circulation all the smaller silver pieces bearing the effigy of the Kings of Sardinia and Italy, and forward them to the frontier, the Italian Government undertaking to pay for such coin in Treasury bills bearing  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest, payable in gold or five-franc pieces.

Scarcely, however, had the better understanding between France and Italy been quickened into life by the cordial relations of the members to the monetary conference, when two serious incidents once more clouded the international horizon. By some strange fatuity the Italian Cabinet decided that the Prince of Naples should attend the German military manoeuvres, during which the Emperor's head-quarters had been fixed at Metz. As might have been anticipated the French press bitterly animadverted on this display of partisanship. By a strange coincidence, on the same day (Aug. 15), a labour dispute of exceptional violence broke out at Aigues-Mortes, in the Gulf of Lyons. A party of Italian labourers employed in the salt-works of the district quarrelled with their French fellow-workmen, and in the fight which ensued several of the latter were dangerously wounded by knives and stilettoes. On the following day the populace of Aigues-Mortes rose against the immigrant Italians and organised a systematic attack upon their abodes, hunting them thence into open fields and savagely attacking them. Seven Italians were killed and thirty-four others seriously injured in or about the town. When the news reached Rome serious troubles were at once anticipated, but beyond breaking the windows of the French embassy, the crowds both in the capital and at Genoa, Messina and Naples, where French demonstrations were made, satisfied themselves with giving vent to their feelings in words more than by acts. Enough, however, was done to give the French Government the materials of a counter-claim to the Italian demands for the



brutal outrages at Aigues-Mortes. For the latter the French Government ultimately consented to pay 400,000 francs to the victims and their relatives, whilst 30,000 francs were paid by Italy to France for the repair of broken windows and wounded vanity.

The irritable state of French opinion was still further displayed in the semi-panic which a few days later seized upon the inhabitants of Corsica and Dauphiné in consequence of the hospitable reception accorded by the Italian navy to Prince Henry of Prussia, who was representing his imperial brother at the naval manœuvres. On this occasion the King, in toasting the German Emperor, spoke of him as his best friend, and this act of courtesy the inhabitants of the frontier departments at once interpreted as the prelude to an immediate declaration of war. In so far that a campaign would have withdrawn public attention from the internal difficulties, there was a certain excuse for such a panic, for during the autumn the embarrassments of the Home Government were growing daily greater. At Rome and Naples the noisy crowds which had demonstrated against France next appeared under the guise of anarchists, against whom the Government had to protect public buildings as well as the public peace, whilst in Sicily the law was openly set at defiance over large tracts of country, and brigandage once more became rampant. Signor Crispi, during his tenure of power, had hoped to cope with this state of things, more or less chronic, by founding the League of Patriots, who would be responsible for public safety in the island, but he had found himself outflanked by the extreme Left in the Chamber, and by the bands of workmen (*fasci dei lavatori*) organised by the Socialists under the direction of the deputy Signor Felice. For the moment, however, the financial difficulties of the country threw all others into the background. Signor Giolitti attempted boldly to grapple with the situation. He persuaded the Minister of War to allow the return to their homes of the troops retained after the expiration of their normal service, the King made a display of friendliness towards France by his interest in Marshal MacMahon's health, and the Minister of Marine was instructed to reduce the *fêtes* organised in view of the visit of the English fleet, to the proportions of a friendly welcome.

Signor Giolitti followed up these acts by a speech delivered at Dronero in the province of Coni, where, in the presence of all the Ministry, 80 senators and 240 deputies, he took occasion to review (Oct. 10) the policy of the Government. He recognised the acuteness of the economical crisis through which the country was passing, and attributed its origin to the fatal financial policy which in past years had allowed expenditure to be undertaken without due regard to the revenue to be realised. In fulfilment of this policy the Treasury was now forced to purchase ahead every six months from 120,000,000 to 150,000,000

lire in bullion to meet the interest on the debt. His immediate proposal was to insist upon the payment of all custom duties in specie, and to establish an equilibrium on the budget by means of a revised tax upon successions and by a progressive income-tax upon all persons in receipt of more than 5,000 lire (200*l.*) per annum.

The reply to this appeal was a general rising in Sicily. The condition of the rural population of that island was almost intolerable; living in one of the most fertile countries of Europe, for centuries the granary of the Roman Empire, the people were actually dying of starvation, in consequence of the wretched working of the farms. The sweating system was of general application, and the indefinite number of middlemen between the proprietor and the labourer reduced to a vanishing point the profits of the one and the wages of the other. The increased demands of the tax-payers added to the general misery, and as taxes were at all events the more obvious cause of the distress, it was natural that against them the discontented should make their protest. Risings and riotings were reported from all sides, the tax-gatherers' offices were wrecked, and bands of brigands took to the mountains and held the villages in constant terror. By degrees the disturbances reached the larger towns, and the Government found itself forced to order troops from the mainland and the fleet to take up a position before Palermo.

It was under these conditions that the winter session opened. At the very first sitting of the Chamber (Nov. 23) the Ministry had to submit to a defeat, but the matter which brought about the crisis was neither the state of the finances nor the disorders in Sicily, nor the affairs at Aigues-Mortes, but on the well-known question of the banks. The report of the Commissioners of Inquiry established the fact that the greater portion of the papers seized in the house of Signor Tanlongo, the most important of the accused, had been put out of sight by the Government, and the President of the Council, although fully aware of the charges brought against Signor Tanlongo, had kept his name on the list of senators. The fall of the Giolitti Cabinet was inevitable, without either debate or vote, and, like the Dupuy Ministry in France almost at the same moment, it disappeared without even the appearance of Parliamentary conventionality. The Minister, whilst attempting to explain the false position laid bare by the report, was violently interrupted, and the President of the Chamber, Signor Zanardelli, finding it impossible to restore order, brought the sitting to a close. Signor Giolitti on leaving the Chamber at once proceeded to the Quirinal and placed his resignation in the King's hands.

The crisis lasted for some days, but at length Signor Zanardelli consented (Nov. 28) to form a Cabinet. On the following day, however, the unexpected suspension of the Credito Mobiliare, one of the most flourishing institutions in the country,



showed the absolute urgency of immediate financial retrenchment, which was impossible in view of the demands of the chiefs of the army and navy. Signor Zanardelli, after many attempts to overcome the difficulties in his path, withdrew from any further action, and on the following day (Dec. 8) Signor Crispi was recalled from Sicily by telegraph and accepted the task of forming a Government, which after great labour he succeeded (Dec. 14) in definitely constituting. It was in every sense a Cabinet of "Left," in which he reserved for himself the Home Office, allotting the Foreign Office to Baron Blanc, and the War Office to General Mocenni, whilst Signor Sonnino again assumed the Finance Department.

The Ministerial statement read (Dec. 20) to the Chambers differed in nearly every respect from declarations usually given on such occasions. The Government made no attempt to conceal the gravity of the situation, but appealed to all parties, in the name of their common country, to suspend while their conflicts and to proclaim a "Truce of God," and concluded by declaring further taxation to be inevitable. In proof of its belief in the restoration of order, the fleet was recalled from Palermo, but, as was shown, somewhat prematurely, for a few days later disorders again broke out, calling for strong measures of repression. The soldiers of the class of 1889, who had already been discharged, were hurriedly (Dec. 26) recalled, a state of siege was proclaimed, and the Military Governor of Palermo was armed with special powers. Signor Crispi, who had started for Naples in order to be nearer the disturbed provinces, was obliged to return hurriedly to Rome, and to concert with his colleagues on the measures necessitated by the grave state of public affairs.

## CHAPTER II.

### I. GERMANY.

THE chief feature in the history of the year in Germany was the conflict on the Army Bill brought in by the Government in 1892 ("Annual Register," 1892, pp. 232 to 236). At the sitting of the committee on the bill on January 11 Count Caprivi made an important speech upon the general political situation as showing the necessity for the bill. After declaring that enmity existed neither between monarchs nor between Governments, the imperial Chancellor compared the military strength of the Triple Alliance with that of France and Russia, remarking that, in all probability, a military arrangement existed between the two latter Powers. He next dwelt at length upon the natural difficulties attending any coalition. In an attack upon the Triple Alliance, the chief onslaught would doubtless be directed

against Germany, as the strongest member of the alliance. As experience had shown, it was advisable for Germany to take the offensive; but this required a considerable numerical superiority. The long eastern frontier, in particular, could only be protected by offensive tactics. Good policy meant short wars, with quick victories and lasting results. All this could only be attained by assuming the offensive; but the Triple Alliance was in a minority in regard to numbers. Germany's present forces were no longer sufficient, in view of the increased strength of her opponents. The Federal Governments were, therefore, unable to take the responsibility of defending Germany with the country's present armaments.

The renewal of the Triple Alliance, the Chancellor continued, after its expiration must, indeed, be hoped for, but at the same time it was not absolutely certain. The chief object of the alliance with Italy was to secure Austria's southern frontier against France. There was no doubt of the efficiency of the Austrian and Italian armies, although some weakness might, perhaps, still exist in organisation. Comparing the military position of Germany with that of France, the Chancellor based his remarks upon a memorial drawn up in 1879 by the late Field Marshal von Moltke, the main points of which he read to the members of the committee. The following was the most important passage of this memorial: "We are able to ward off an attack from France, otherwise the German empire could not exist at all. Even if we were to lose the first battle, we should have, on the Rhine, a line of defence unparalleled by any other in the world. Moreover, we have Metz and Strasburg. If, however, two neighbours unitedly opposed us, we should require the assistance of another Power."

In conclusion, the Chancellor referred to the French political situation, as to which he said that France was in a state of ferment. It was true that there was no prominent statesman in that country at the present moment; but the probability of a dictatorship being established was not excluded.

In a subsequent speech the Chancellor defended the Government for consenting to two years' service, remarking that the late Emperor William was reluctant to change the institutions with which he had been victorious, and that General von Verdy's project could not have been carried out without three years' service, and would have cost 117,000,000 marks. If the measure were not passed there would be a void that would have to be filled, and some one might perhaps recur to General von Verdy's scheme, of which he read a short abstract, in order to show how widely it differed from the present plan. He added: "In May 1891 the Emperor ordered the preparations for army reform to be resumed, and they have since been going on uninterruptedly at a quickened pace. The Government demands nothing more than the increase now proposed, because neither the population nor the finances admit of any-



thing greater. But it will suffice to place Germany in a position towards France similar to that of 1870, and to enable her effectually to take the offensive."

Count Caprivi proceeded to dilate upon the defence of South Germany, and declared the former system of frontier defence to be impracticable now-a-days, since war had returned to "an elementary form." He also described in detail the probable strategy of the next war, especially as against France. "Germany has not adopted the system of frontier fortresses, partly for financial and partly for military reasons. The more fortresses we build, the more soldiers must we have to man them, and these soldiers would have to be withdrawn from offensive operations. The French will form several armies on the outbreak of a war, and it is, therefore, not impossible that they will advance from different points. The best defence is the offensive. If we are victorious, the whole French army will, as in 1870, fall back to defend Paris. The victory then, however, must be complete, and, therefore, we must be strong. The vanquished French will probably rely at first on their fortresses, and we must unconditionally invest Toul, Verdun, and a third fortress, for which purpose three divisions would be needed. The barring forts are a skilful innovation, and some of them must be taken by us. This we hope to do in not too long a time, within either two or eight days. For this purpose we need the siege artillery, and we shall have to cross the Meuse in view of the enemy. Paris and its forts have a circumference of eighteen miles, and more than eighteen army corps would be necessary to encircle the capital. But, as such an investiture is out of the question, Paris will have to be taken by a front attack, and this necessitates large numbers of troops. Sebastopol proved the difficulty of a front attack on such a fortress." He repeated his description of the horrors of war in one's own country, even for the soldiers, and laid stress on the fact that it was precisely this which the bill was intended to prevent. He denied that the demands for the army were an unceasing drain, and declared that nothing more was being asked for than compensations for the reduction of the term of service. The postponement of the bill for a year was impossible, as every year's delay weakened the army by 50,000 men. As a result of rejuvenating the army, the older men would not be called upon at the outbreak of hostilities. In conclusion, he repeated his former statement that the Federal Governments were only restrained by considerations of economy from insisting on further urgent reforms.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Count Caprivi, who advocated the bill with great force and ability, both in committee and in the House, and the support which he received from the Emperor, the second reading was rejected on May 6 by a majority of 210 to 162, and the Reichstag was immediately afterwards dissolved. It had not only refused to sanction the

proposed augmentation of the army, but also the sums provided in the budget for building six new war vessels, and an appeal to the country had become indispensable. During the electoral campaign which followed, the German Emperor, on the occasion of the unveiling of a statue of his grandfather at Görlitz, said (May 17) that what the Emperor William I. had won and created he was determined to maintain. The task which lay before them was to assure the future of the fatherland. To attain this object the defensive forces of the empire must be increased and strengthened, and consequently he had appealed to the nation to furnish the means. In face of this grave question, upon which depended the very existence of the fatherland, all other questions sank into the background. For its solution unity was essential. Whatever else there might be to divide the German people and divert men's views into different channels had to be laid aside at a time when the future of the fatherland was at stake. In conclusion, the Emperor said: "May all parts of the monarchy loyally support the crown and dynasty, and may all the German races stand firmly by their princes. I exhort all German men to hold fast to the memory of the great events of twenty-three years ago, when German unity was cemented with their mingled blood, and to safeguard the future of the fatherland."

The confused state of parties in the election was illustrated by the fact that about twenty parties, large and small, were in the field with candidates. They are as follows: The Old Conservatives, the Free Conservatives, the National Liberals, the Liberal Unionists, the Liberal Democrats, the South German Democrats, the Social Democrats, the Centre, the Secessionists from the Centre, the Anti-Semites, the Poles, the Guelphs, the Danes, the Mecklenburgers, the Artisans' League, the Land Reformers, and the National Party. Almost all these parties were sub-divided; the Anti-Semites, for instance, into three or even more groups, and most of the non-Radical Parties into Agrarians and non-Agrarians, Protectionists and Free Traders. In some constituencies as many as seven candidates were in the field. The number of Particularists with a strongly Anti-Prussian tendency increased all over Germany. Even in such small States as the Grand Duchies of Mecklenburg, a "German Mecklenburg Party" issued an election appeal, advocating the realisation of the federative idea in the German Empire, and offering the most strenuous opposition to the "pernicious influence" of Berlin and the "degradation" of Mecklenburg into a Prussian province. Similar appeals were published in the old Electorate of Hesse and in the ex-Kingdom of Hanover, both of which States were annexed by Prussia in 1866, and also in several independent German States, especially Bavaria and Alsace-Lorraine. The result of the elections was announced on July 5. The following table shows the strength of the various parties in the new Parliament and its predecessor respectively:—



		Previous Parliament.	Loss.	Gain.
Conservatives . . . . .	74	68	—	6
Nationalists (Free Conservatives) . . . . .	24	18	—	6
National Liberals . . . . .	50	42	—	8
Nationalists (Liberal Union and Freethinkers) . . . . .	36	68	32	—
German Democrats . . . . .	11	10	—	1
Montanians . . . . .	96	105	9	—
Others . . . . .	7	10	3	—
Lists . . . . .	44	36	—	8
. . . . .	19	17	—	2
Semites . . . . .	16	6	—	10
Independents . . . . .	9	6	—	3
S . . . . .	1	1	—	—
Alsace-Lorrainers—				
For the bill . . . . .	8	10	—	—
Against the bill . . . . .	7			

is was practically a victory for the bill, as the heaviest sustained in the election were those of the Radicals, who seen its strongest opponents, and were now reduced to less half their previous number. The Socialists continued to se as in previous elections; the number of votes for ist candidates was 1,800,000, or 372,000 more than in and they won seats from the Radicals in large towns like 1, Breslau, Kiel and Berlin. These gains, however, were rbalanced by those of the Conservatives, National Liberals, oles, all advocates of the bill. A remarkable feature of ection was the gain of ten seats by the Anti-Semites, ag that the agitation against the Jews in Germany was ig in popularity. In Alsace-Lorraine there was a marked se in the number of the votes cast for the Nationalist , the latter being 113,521, while the Socialist vote was , and that of the German Party 73,605.

ie new Reichstag was opened by the Emperor on July 4, 1 the speech from the throne he laid great stress on the ity for passing the Army Bill, saying that "Germany's sed military strength at present compares still more ourably with that of her neighbours than was the case in ast year." He concluded with the following significant : "At the cost of heavy sacrifices we have succeeded in g the German people by a strong bond. The nation rs those who staked their blood and their substance to re this work, and who placed the fatherland on the path itical and economic advancement, which, while being a e of pride and joy to the present generation, guarantees to posterity, if they continue to build in the spirit of their thers, the greatness and happiness of the empire. To ve the glorious acquisitions with which God has blessed the struggle for our independence is our most sacred duty. e can only fulfil that duty towards the fatherland by making ves strong enough to remain a trustworthy security for ean peace. I trust that your patriotic and self-sacrificing

support will not be wanting to me and to my exalted allies in pursuing this object."

The first reading of the bill was moved by Count Caprivi on July 7. "The Governments," he said, "have assented to the very considerable reduction of nearly one-sixth of their original demand. In view of this concession, I cannot understand how people can still assert that the Government insists strictly on its bond. The military situation has changed still more to Germany's disadvantage. France has increased her peace footing by 13,000 men, and passed a new Cadre Act. In Russia the strength of the army has been increased since 1889 by 94,000. A reduction of one-sixth is the utmost that can be agreed to; anything more would inevitably lead to the militia system, and thus endanger the security of the country. The bill now expressly fixes the two years' term for the period of five years during which the bill is to remain in force; the fixing of the term by a modification of the constitution is out of the question. The compensations asked for in view of the reduction in the term of service are indispensable. The Federal Governments declare their adherence to three financial principles—first, further taxation of the Stock Exchange; secondly, a better apportionment of the burden of taxation; and thirdly, the immunity of agriculture, considering the present condition of that industry."

In the debate on the second reading (July 12) Count Caprivi stated that personally he was fully convinced of the practicability of the two years' term, and gave several instances to prove that the three years' term had long been more or less a dead letter. He assured the House that the retention of the longer period would do nothing to cripple the influence of the Social Democrats, and said that its abolition would not make the army less efficient in the event of a war. He further stated that, should war break out at an early date, only those reserve men who had served three years would be called out. Numerous experiments had shown that the standard of shooting would not be lowered by the reduction of the term of service. The increase of the artillery by sixty batteries had nothing to do with that question, but was solely prompted by the great numerical superiority of the French artillery. He concluded by pointing out that the Government had not abandoned the three years' term with a light heart, but had done so because, if it had been retained, the increase of the army would have been much slower and more costly.

On July 14 the bill was passed by a majority of 201 to 185, and the session was then closed. After the division the Emperor sent for Baron Stumm and M. Koscielski, who had throughout been zealous advocates of the bill in the Reichstag. On the former he conferred the Grand Cross of the House of Hohenzollern, and he said to M. Koscielski, who is a member of the Polish Party, that he would never forget that the Poles



I voted for the bill. This expression of gratitude was not deserved, for had the nineteen Poles, who always vote together, gone into the Opposition lobby, the small majority of nineteen in favour of the bill would have disappeared. The Emperor also expressed in a letter to Count Caprivi his "undying gratitude" for the services he had rendered in the matter.

The following statement shows what will be the ultimate effect of the measure:—

When the new Army Act is completely carried out, the strength of the German army will be as follows: To the three battalions of which each of the 173 foot regiments now consists, if a battalion (two companies) will be added, so that, including the 19 battalions of sharpshooters, the infantry will number 8 battalions and 173 half-battalions. Of the regiments, 133 belong to Prussia, 20 to Bavaria, 12 to Saxony, and eight to Würtemberg. Of the 19 battalions of sharpshooters, 14 belong to Prussia, three to Saxony, and two to Bavaria. The cavalry will not be affected by the new organisation. It consists of 73 Russian, 10 Bavarian, six Saxon, and four Würtemberg regiments—465 squadrons in all. In the artillery the reinforcement consists of 60 mounted batteries, 48 of which are allotted to 16 regiments, at the rate of three each. Of these 60 new batteries, 48 belong to Prussia, and the other 12 to Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg. Besides these, three new batteries have been formed, for purposes of instruction, as the second department of the Field Artillery School. The foot artillery will number 37 battalions, in 14 Prussian regiments, two Bavarian, and one Saxon, and one Prussian foot artillery battalion (No. 13), which has taken the place of the former Würtemberg battalion.

Labour questions did not this year come so much to the front in Germany as in previous years. At the beginning of the year, 8,547 miners were on strike in the Saar district, and their number gradually increased, but they were not able to hold out long, as by the middle of January most of them had returned to work.

An interesting official report was published at the beginning of the year giving the results of the Working People's Sick Insurance Fund in 1891, which once more show the beneficial effects of the Act under which this was established. Not counting the miners' funds, the total number of the funds was 1,498—325 more than the year before—and that of the members was 6,329,820; that is, 264,183 above the year before, and 1,602,589 more than in 1885, the first year of the operation of the Act. The membership, which has constantly increased, amounts to more than 13 per cent. of the whole population; but the number of persons benefited by the Act is considerably greater, because many of the funds provide gratuitous medical treatment and medicines, not only to the members themselves, but also to their families. Moreover, the persons insured in

miners' funds, whose number in 1890 was 459,111, are not included in these statistics.

By far the greatest number of the insured, *viz.*, 2,563,132, belong to the local sick funds; then come the factories' sick funds, with a membership of 1,693,517; the communal funds, with 1,041,193; the registered aid funds, with 819,403; the aid funds prescribed by the laws of the separate States of the empire, with 140,036; the guilds' funds, with 61,875; and the builders' funds, with 10,664 members. Claims were made on the funds in 1891 in 2,397,826 cases of illness—that is, 24,524 fewer than in 1890. In 1891 the fraction of a case per member was 0·3 in 1890 0·4. The statistics of 1890 were specially unfavourable owing to the influenza epidemic.

The support which the funds afford their members consists in gratuitous medical treatment, medicines and other means of cure, care at home or in hospitals, money, and contributions towards funeral expenses. The expenditure of the funds in such items in 1891 amounted to 89,548,781 marks, or 5,508,767 marks in excess of 1890. Of this amount, about 17,800,000 marks went to medical men; 14,800,000 in medicines and other means of cure; 41,800,000 in payments to members during sickness; and 14,900,000 in payments to hospitals and contributions to funeral expenses.

The average expenditure per member was 13·02 marks. Besides the communal funds, of which the law does not require so much, the average expenditure of the local funds and the guilds' funds was below this figure—*viz.*, 12·30 and 10·31 marks respectively in 1891, and 11·91 and 9·70 in 1890. That of the factories' funds and the registered aid funds was above the average—*viz.*, 17·01 and 15·04 in 1891, and 16·72 and 14·65 in 1890. The total expenditure of the funds, including investment of capital, was 98,800,000 marks. The aggregate income from contributions and entrance fees alone was 96,700,000 marks in 1891, and 91,200,000 in 1890. Of the receipts in 1891, about 89,500,000 marks were expended for the benefit of the members. As in all the funds, except the registered aid funds, the employers have to pay one-third of the contributions. The working people, except those who had insured themselves in the registered aid funds, received back considerably more than they paid in.

A good deal of time was wasted in the Reichstag in March by investigating some absurd charges made by Herr Ahlwardt, a member of the Anti-Semitic Party, against Dr. Miquel, Herr von Bennigsen, and other eminent members of the House, in connection with the imperial fund for invalided soldiers and the Roumanian railway company. His lame attempts to explain these charges were received with shouts of laughter by the House, and this grotesque effort to start a new Panama scandal in Germany ended in a complete fiasco. The workmen of his constituency at Spandau, however, expressed full belief in his



cusations, and at a public meeting where he repeated them the chairman crowned him with a laurel wreath.

Prince Bismarck, this year as previously, made some interesting speeches in which he exposed his views on current German politics. On June 20 he received a deputation of 3,000 Mecklenburgers, and took the opportunity of stating his opinions to the sentiment of German unity. "My experience," he said, "has been that the opposition to this sentiment has always come from the courts and state officials, who have not yet abandoned their local traditions of the past. In my opinion, it would be foolish to give up one's native country and its sovereign, but of course the empire must not suffer thereby. The efforts at centralisation made by some of my countrymen may be good for theorists and for other nations, but I do not consider them practically adapted to the German character, and do not think all meddling with the boundary line between love of one's native State and attachment to the fatherland is dangerous. Look at Russia and England, where centralisation prevails. Are they happier in consequence, and would they not be much more content if they had more than one centre? The German needs particularism, and if he loses it geographically he makes it for himself in party politics. The latter form poisons the nation at large, for it is much worse than any particularism that ever inspired Saxons, Bavarians, or any other race, against the idea of the empire. I cannot say whether we shall succeed in combating this disease at repeated elections in which each tries to get the better of the rival he hates."

In another speech on the same subject to 400 inhabitants of the principality of Lippe he made the following remarks:—

"The Parliaments of the small German States ought to influence the policy of the empire more powerfully by criticising the resolutions of their representatives in the Federal Council, and the number of their votes in the Federal Council should not be diminished, lest the national German empire should be supplanted by a big Prussia. There are seventeen Federal States which have only one vote each in the Federal Council, and if I deduct the Hanse cities, which differ from the others, there are fourteen. And fourteen votes in the Federal Council are a weighty number, if they keep together. Fourteen votes added to those of Prussia always give Prussia the majority. The Federal Council is thus, as it were, divided into three categories—the small States with one vote each, Prussia with eighteen votes, and the middle-sized States with twenty-four. You see what a weight the small States have, and I wonder that no politician has arisen in one or other of them to turn it to account. All that I am saying to you is, if you like to call it so, a Jeremiad over the fact that the national idea has not caught fire in the Parliaments and Governments of the federated States, as I hoped it would twenty or twenty-five

years ago, and I am, unfortunately, no longer strong enough in body to appear in the Reichstag."

In September, Prince Bismarck became seriously ill, and much satisfaction was produced all over Germany by the news that the German Emperor had telegraphed to him offering to place one of the imperial palaces at his disposal. The prince replied in appropriate terms, but declined the offer, by the advice of his physician, Dr. Schweniger. On November 28 an attempt was made on the lives of the Emperor and Count Caprivi, by sending them parcels containing explosives from Orleans. Fortunately the parcels were handed to the police without being opened. The general opinion was that they were sent by an anarchist, in consequence of the support given by the German Government to France in the measures taken against the anarchist organisation.

On November 4, the bill embodying the new financial scheme for the German empire was laid before the Federal Council. It provides that the federal contributions to the Imperial Treasury, apart from the special sums payable by the individual States, shall in each financial year be limited to a sum of at least 40,000,000 marks below the total amount of the payments made to them out of the imperial revenue from customs, the tobacco tax, imperial stamp dues, and the excise duties on spirits. If the difference between the federal contributions and the payments to the States should in any year exceed that amount, then the empire will retain such surplus, and the payments on account by the customs and tobacco tax will be correspondingly reduced. If, on the other hand, the balance is the other way, a corresponding amount of the federal contributions will be remitted.

Any surplus in the budget of the empire remaining after the balance has been struck is to be paid into a special fund, which is to be used for making up deficits in subsequent years. Should this "Equalisation Fund" reach a sum of 40,000,000 marks, all further amounts paid into it are to be devoted to the redemption of imperial debt. The management of this fund is to be in the hands of the Imperial Chancellor. Each year, when the Federal Council and Reichstag meet, a report is to be submitted to them regarding the condition of the fund.

In the event of there being a deficit in the ordinary budget of the empire, it may be met by additions to the taxes on articles of consumption. In this case a special law will be required determining the articles on which these additional rates are to be levied, as well as the amount and duration of the additions.

This bill, which was framed by Dr. Miquel, the Finance Minister, met with considerable opposition, and no decision upon it had been arrived at by the end of the year. Another question, that of the repeal of the law under which the Jesuits and other religious orders were expelled from Germany, came



for debate in the Reichstag on December 1, when a motion for the repeal of the law was carried by 173 votes against 136; no steps were taken by the Government in consequence of the vote.

The death of Duke Ernest II. of Saxe-Coburg Gotha, on August 22, was an event of special importance to Germany in view of the fact that his successor, the Duke of Edinburgh, was a prince of the royal house of England. On August 25 the new duke issued a proclamation to his subjects assuring them that he will always maintain that loyalty towards the German emperor and empire which his predecessor displayed, and on the question of the duke retaining an allowance for his household in London as a British prince, the German press on the whole upheld the view that this circumstance cannot be regarded as in any way offensive to German sentiment.

Negotiations for a commercial treaty with Russia were commenced early in the year, notwithstanding the opposition of representatives of agriculture, who repeatedly attacked the government on account of its proposal slightly to reduce duty on Russian corn in return for corresponding reductions in the Russian duties on German manufactures. At a congress of German agriculturists, which met at Berlin on February 19, at which about 8,000 persons were present, a resolution was passed, the concluding passages of which were as follows: "The lasting and surest foundation for the power and greatness of our fatherland is the prosperity of agriculture. But the depression of the last few years, combined with the commercial changes that have been concluded, has so shaken these foundations that the very existence of German agriculture appears to be imperilled. Especially in the granting of further facilities for the introduction of foreign imports into Germany, we see a considerable injury to our industry. We therefore address to the Reichstag the urgent request absolutely to refuse its assent to further commercial treaties so far as they reduce the import duties, and to promote the export of agricultural products in order that German agriculture may prosper for the benefit of the whole fatherland."

Subsequently the subject was debated in the Reichstag. Kanitz ascribed all the present depression of German agriculture and industry, including the fall of the commercial value in 1892 by 72,000,000, to the reductions of the customs duties in the commercial treaties. Baron Marschall, Secretary of the Reichstag, pointed out in reply that the exports of cotton goods were worth nearly 26,000,000 more last year than the year before, and Baron Maltzahn, the Secretary of the Imperial Treasury, asserted that Germany is bound to protect and maintain the gold standard, despite the fact that the fall—and the fluctuation—in the price of silver damaged German commerce as well as other interests. It was ready to remedy this defect by any means of doing so which was discovered.

The question was temporarily suspended by the abrupt conclusion of the negotiations with Russia and the war of tariffs which followed (see under the head of "Russia," p. 369). When the negotiations were resumed in October, the agricultural agitation revived, but it was to a certain extent paralysed by the publication, on December 22, of a circular reminding officials of the decree of January 4, 1882 (see "Annual Register," 1882, p. 238), which states that "the duty which, in their oaths of office, they swore to perform, extends to supporting the policy of the Government even at elections"; that, in virtue of the Discipline Law, they can be removed from their posts; and that they are expected "to hold aloof from all agitation against the Government." As many of the officials are agrarians and ultramontanes, the revival of this decree amounted to a threat that if they continued to take part in the agrarian agitation against commercial treaties they would lose their posts.

In the German colonies there was this year a succession of little wars. On January 15 Lieutenant Prince, chief of the station of Tabora, gained a success of great importance to Germany, capturing the fortified town of the chieftain Sikki after a three days' assault. The Germans had one coloured officer and four native soldiers killed, and seventeen wounded. Sikki fell while defending the place. He was an old enemy of the Germans, and had had several encounters with them, including one with the then chief of Tabora, and the German Anti-Slavery Expedition under Count Schweinitz, when he succeeded in beating off the attack on his stronghold. In October he had concluded a treaty with the Germans by which he ostensibly placed himself entirely under their protection; but, as a matter of fact, the troops at Tabora had to be strongly reinforced in order to secure the communication between the coast and the lakes. Another encounter took place in March between the German troops and the natives at Uniangwiza, near Mpwapwa, in East Africa, in which the Germans routed the enemy with heavy loss and captured the fort of their chief Masenta.

The conclusion in November of the treaty between Germany and England as to the demarcation of the Cameroons Hinterland was, on the whole, received with satisfaction by the German press which attached great importance to the fact that the southern shore of Lake Tchad at its greatest width, and the larger portion of Adamawa, were retained in the German sphere of influence.

The convention provides that the point on the Benue from which, in accordance with the Anglo-German agreement of 1886 the boundary line was to be drawn, and which was then reserved for future settlement, shall be fixed in the following manner. From the end of a portion of the Cameroons boundary agreed upon in 1885 a straight line is drawn to the centre of the city of Yola, the capital of Adamawa. Thence a second line is drawn



a point on the left or southern bank of the Benue five kilometres below the middle of the main mouth of the river Faro, which flows into the Benue from the south, and it is from this point that the frontier starts. Southwards the boundary follows the circumference of a circle, having the city of Yola as its centre, and the second line above described as its radius, until it meets the line drawn from Yola to the Cameroon frontier, in accordance with the agreement of 1885. To the north of the starting-point of the Benue the boundary runs as follows: First in a straight line to the point at which the thirteenth degree of east longitude on Greenwich intersects the tenth degree of northern latitude, and thence in a straight line to a point on the south shore of Lake Tchad, situated thirty-five degrees east of the meridian passing through the centre of the town of Kuka. Any rectifications of the frontier thus laid down may be made subsequently by the mutual consent of the two Powers. All places east of the frontier are to be considered in the German sphere of influence, and all to the west in the British sphere. By this arrangement the important city of Yola, and also the large town of Kuka, south-east of Lake Tchad, are secured to Great Britain. The negotiations with France on the same subject had not been concluded at the end of the year. Another point which caused considerable soreness between the two countries was the expulsion of Germans from France. Two of these were German newspaper correspondents, and the only reason given for their expulsion was that they had sent incorrect news to their respective papers. A third was a veterinary surgeon, who was arrested at Rouen on suspicion of being a spy. These incidents were, however, shown to be the result of over-zeal on the part of the French officials, and they were settled by plausible explanations from the French Government. On June 19 a singularly impressive ceremony took place on the Franco-German frontier, on the spot where the battle of St. Privat was decided on August 18, 1870. Many thousands of soldiers of both nations are interred side by side all along the fields stretching from Mars la Tour in the south, to Ste. Marie aux Chênes and St. Privat in the north, to Ban St. Quentin, and almost to the slopes of Fort St. Quentin. On the rising ground rising from Batilly and St. Aill to Ste. Marie aux Chênes the Prussian Royal Guard suffered severely, and a monument recording the struggle stands on German soil close to the village so gallantly held by the French 94th Regiment. The remains of a portion of the Kaiser Alexander Regiment of the guards who fell at Habonville were interred at St. Aill, on French territory, and, at the instance of the colonel and officers of the regiment, an application was made for permission to remove the remains of their comrades and remove them to German soil. The French Government not only gave the permission required, but authorised a deputation of German officers in uniform to cross the frontier and receive the coffins.

and decided that they should be escorted back to the frontier by a battalion of Chasseurs, a squadron of Hussars, and the 147th Regiment of the Line.

The bones of the Germans were placed in six large coffins, and a separate shell was provided for the Frenchmen. The French troops formed three sides of a square on the Amanvilliers Road, the six German coffins being placed in the centre. The German procession consisted of two funeral cars and three open carriages, containing six German officers, among them being Colonel von Schwarz Koppen, the German military *attaché* in Paris. The officers, on alighting, went up to General Jamont, in command of the French troops, and saluted. Colonel Koppen delivered the following address:—

“Colonel von Eude requests me to thank you most earnestly, mon général, as well as you, M. le sous-préfet, and you, Messieurs les officiers of the French army, for your generous co-operation in this pious ceremony, on behalf of the French Government. We are deeply touched at your paying military honours to our gallant soldiers, who fell in action; and we desire on behalf of the German army, but especially in the name of the regiment to which these brave soldiers belonged, to express our gratitude for your highly courteous participation in this solemn ceremony, in a sense of union and humanity. You thus give us a fresh proof of good and sincere military brotherhood, of which we will retain an ineffaceable recollection.”

Colonel von Eude, who commands the Kaiser Alexander Regiment, advanced and laid a wreath on the coffin of the French soldier found in the German grave, saying: “In honour of the gallant French soldiers I beg to convey the thanks of my regiment to the French authorities who so generously guarded a spot dear to our memory.”

General Jamont briefly replied that it was a matter of course between soldiers to honour valour and courage even among their adversaries, and the sous-préfet formally handed over the coffins to the Germans. They were then placed in the cars, and, escorted by the French troops, the *cortège* moved to the frontier, the band playing Chopin's Funeral March. On reaching the frontier the French halted. On the other side a German Guard of Honour was drawn up, under the command of General von Hässler, who, advancing to the edge of the border line, courteously asked leave to present his staff, and asked General Jamont to do the Guard of Honour the honour of reviewing it. The French general readily consented, and, after galloping in front of the lines, and having the officers presented to him, retraced his steps to French soil.

With Russia, notwithstanding the tariff war which broke out during the summer, the relations of the German Emperor and his Government showed a decided improvement. Among the princes who were present at Princess Margaret's wedding in



January was the Czarevitch, who was received with special honours on his arrival at Berlin, and had several conferences with the Emperor.

The German Emperor paid a visit to Rome in April, and had a conversation with the Pope, at which the question of the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany was very fully discussed. The Order of the Black Eagle was on this occasion conferred by the Emperor on Cardinal Rampolla, the Papal Secretary of State, and he also presented a snuff-box, with his portrait set in brilliants, to Cardinal Ledochowski, the hero of the "*Culturkampf*," who was arrested by order of Prince Bismarck in 1874, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and deprivation of his office as Archbishop of Posen and Primate of Poland. The Emperor also visited Spezia with King Humbert, and was everywhere received with enthusiasm by the Italian people. A further symptom of the close alliance between Germany and Italy was the participation of the Italian Crown Prince in the manœuvres which took place in Alsace-Lorraine in September.

## II. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The most important event in Austria-Hungary was the resignation of Count Taaffe, the Premier of the Cis-leithan Ministry, after he had held that post for twelve years with a success unprecedented in the annals of contemporary European Parliaments. The immediate cause of the Cabinet crisis was the conflict between the Germans and the Czechs (see "*Annual Register*," 1892, pp. 251 to 253), which produced a split between the Ministry and the German Party that threatened to bring the Government of the country to a deadlock. In 1892 Prince Schwarzenberg predicted that the growth of Radicalism in the country, combined with the increasing antagonism of the various nationalities, would make changes in the form of government inevitable, and the events of 1893 went far to confirm this prediction. In January a fresh attempt was made to weld the three great parties—the German Liberals, the Conservatives, and the Poles—into a Government majority, but without success. After much negotiation the Government programme was rejected both by the German Liberals, who are the strongest party in the Reichsrath, and the Conservatives; and the Poles, though they promised to support the Government in principle, reserved to themselves the right of deciding upon each new question on its own merits. The main point of the programme was that referring to the question of national education. The Government asserted its determination to adhere to the existing liberal law as to education, but promised in carrying it out to give every consideration to the opinion of the ecclesiastical authorities in regard to the teaching of religion in the schools. This neither pleased the clerical branch of the

Conservative Party, which had hoped that the law itself would be amended in the direction of giving greater power to the clergy in educational matters, nor the German Liberals, who feared that the law would become a dead letter. The latter were also dissatisfied at the vague promises of the Government on the question of the national rights of Germans and Czechs in Bohemia. The negotiations then dropped, and the conflict between the nationalities became more bitter than ever. On May 17 the Bohemian diet was the scene of a disgraceful fight between the German and Czechish deputies. The subject under discussion was a Government Bill for the establishment of a new German court of justice in the town of Trautenau. The bill was opposed by the Czechs on the ground that it was a first step towards the disintegration of the Bohemian kingdom by dividing it into Czechish and German districts. Growing impatient at the arguments of a German deputy in support of the bill, a number of Czechs rushed to the table where he was standing and dragged him from his place. Other Germans came to his assistance, and a free fight ensued between the deputies, the shorthand writers, and the officers of the House. Some of the Czechs seized the inkstands and threw their contents over Germans; others attacked their antagonists with ballot-boxes. Ultimately the sitting was closed, and on the following day the Emperor closed the diet also. These riotous proceedings in the diet were accompanied by serious disorders in various parts of the country. In the town of Kolin a servant was found dead on the banks of the Elbe, and her death was attributed to the Jews, whose houses were attacked by the mob, a number of policemen being wounded in their attempts to protect the Jewish population. Subsequently riots took place under the instigation of the Young Czechs, many of whom were prosecuted for treason-felony. Strikes broke out in Bohemia and near Fünfkirchen, in Hungary, and were suppressed by the troops with some bloodshed. An agitation in favour of universal suffrage, begun by the Socialists at Vienna, spread over the whole of the western half of the empire. At Prague and Brunn fights took place between the agitators and the police, and it was found necessary to proclaim a "minor state of siege," the movement having assumed an anti-dynastic character. At a banquet held in the largest hall of Prague the "Marseillaise" was sung alternately with the Russian hymn, and cheers were given for the Czar and for the Russo-French alliance, and similar demonstrations were made at numerous other Czechish meetings. The clauses of the constitution granting freedom of the press, the right of public meeting, the right of association, and trial by jury, were accordingly suspended in Prague and the adjoining districts.

The situation was becoming perilous, and Count Taaffe made a bold attempt to checkmate his opponents, and at the same time to appease the Socialist agitators, by laying on the



table of the Reichsrath an Electoral Reform Bill which, if it became law, would reduce the German Liberal Party to impotence and transfer a large share of political power in the western half of the empire to the working classes. This startling move was totally unexpected, and far from intimidating the Opposition, it only stiffened their backs. The bill did not give the uniform and direct franchise demanded by the Socialists; but it added about 3,000,000 new voters to the electorate, as it dispensed with all money qualifications in the case of men voting for representatives of the towns and rural districts, while it left untouched the antiquated provisions relating to the representation of the large landowners and the Chambers of Commerce. Thus the 5,402 large landowners would, under the bill, continue to elect 85 members to the Reichsrath and the Chambers of Commerce 22, while the rest of the population, numbering 24,000,000, could be represented by 246 members only. The object of course was to provide a dam to the inrush of the democratic flood; but the result was to displease all parties. The working classes would not hear of the nobles and the bourgeoisie being confirmed in the enjoyment of their special privileges, and the nobles and the bourgeoisie indignantly repudiated an arrangement which, while professing to save their rights, condemned them to remain for the future in a hopeless minority. In his speech introducing the bill Count Taaffe represented that society was threatened with serious dangers by so large a proportion of the people being excluded from political rights, and that the Government had therefore considered it necessary to give the right to vote to all men who can read and write and have fulfilled their duties towards the State. At the same time he was quite ready to give every consideration to the existing position of parties, provided an understanding could be arrived at on the basis of the acceptance of the principle of the extension of the franchise contained in the bill. Herr von Plener, the leader of the German Liberals, violently attacked the bill, which, he said, would lead to a democratic federalism opposed to the Triple Alliance, and urged that no extension of the franchise should be permitted without an increase and redistribution of seats, so as to prevent the tax-paying middle classes from being swamped by non-taxpayers. The Polish leader, M. Jaworski, was not so uncompromising in his opposition to the bill, but he said his party could not accept it unless the right of sending members to the Reichsrath were restored to the provincial diets. Count Hohenwart, on behalf of the Conservatives, spoke in the same sense, and it was now evident that the bill in its then existing form had not the smallest chance of being passed by the House. Moreover the Hungarians, who feared that the establishment of a quasi-universal suffrage in the western half of the empire might lead to an agitation for similar concessions in Hungary, where the Magyar ruling population is far inferior in numbers to the Slavs,

were strongly antagonistic to the bill, which they declared to be a danger both to the dualistic organisation and the foreign policy of the empire. There were several questions, too, such as the state of siege in Bohemia and the bill for the development of the Landwehr and the Landsturm, on which it was important that the Government should not be placed in a minority by the bitter feeling against the Premier, which had been produced by his Reform Bill. Under these circumstances Count Taaffe had no alternative but to send his resignation to the Emperor, who parted with deep regret from a Minister who had been the friend of his youth, and had directed the complicated administration of Cis-leithania for twelve years with marked ability and success.

The new Premier, Prince Alfred Windischgrätz, who formed his Ministry on November 12 after nearly a month's negotiation with the heads of the three great parties, is the chief of one of those great families which in the old German empire were practically in some respects sovereign dynasties. He is an hereditary member of the Upper House in Austria, of which he was vice-president, a magnate in Hungary, and a peer in Würtemberg; and he has immense estates in Bohemia, Hungary, Würtemberg, and Styria. In politics he is a moderate Conservative, and has gained much respect for his straightforwardness and independence among all parties except the Young Czechs and other extremists. The most conspicuous member of the new Ministry was Herr von Plener, who naturally entered office after the defeat of his old enemy, Count Taaffe. The strength of the Polish Party was shown by the appointment of two Poles—MM. Jaworski and Madeyski—as members of the Cabinet, the former as Minister for Galicia and the latter as Minister of Education.

The new Ministry, being for the present secure of a majority, had no difficulty in winding up the work of the session. The establishment of a "minor state of siege" at Prague and in the adjoining districts was approved, the budget, which showed a surplus of 411,542 florins, was passed by acclamation, and the bill for the re-organisation of the Landwehr met with no resistance. This bill provided for a considerable extension of service in the Landwehr, amounting in the case of non-commissioned officers to three years, and for a large increase in the cavalry cadres and the number of officers. The estimated expenses of this increase (which applies to the western half of the empire only, Hungary paying separately for the Honveds, the equivalent of the Landwehr in other countries) was 4,000,000 florins a year, besides 1,500,000 for initial expenses; and when the new organisation is complete the war strength of Austria-Hungary will be raised to 2,000,000, against about 4,000,000 in France, Germany, and Russia.

As regards finance, Austria was during the year 1893 in a most satisfactory condition. The returns of the revenue for



The first ten months of the year showed a net increase of over 2,500,000 florins over those of the same period of the previous year, and there was every prospect that this increase would be maintained. The excess of exports over imports, too, for the same period showed an increase of 25,000,000 florins. The reform of the currency was still not completed, and the purchase by the Government of gold for that purpose to the value of 9,000,000 florins raised the premium on that metal, but there was no reason to believe that the resumption of specie payments would be thereby retarded. The 4 per cent. gold stock, which was issued in 1876 at 57½, was now subscribed for at 98½—a striking proof of the improvement of the credit of the country. In the occupied provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina trade was flourishing, and they were so peaceful that it was decided rather to reduce the number of troops in them by three battalions, leaving thirty-two battalions of infantry, two squadrons of cavalry, and eleven batteries of mountain artillery.

The anarchists have this year been busy in Austria as in other continental countries. In December, a house belonging to a well-known lawyer, Dr. Karl Wolff, of Rakonitz, was destroyed by a dynamite bomb, and a member of the "Omladina" (rejuvenescence), a secret society at Prague, was assassinated. It appeared from inquiries made by the police that the object of this society was to bring about a social and political revolution in Austria, for the purpose of overthrowing the dynasty, and making attempts on the lives of great nobles and capitalists. Among the statutes of the society was one declaring that "traitors to the cause shall die by the dagger."

In Hungary the question of the introduction of civil marriage, which the new Premier, Dr. Wekerle, had placed at the head of his programme (see "Annual Register," 1892, p. 250), caused much difficulty to the Ministry. Three of its supporters—two Roman Catholics and a Protestant—left the Government Party in January, on the ground that they could not reconcile it with their consciences to vote for compulsory civil marriage, and the thirty-eight young aristocrats, led by Baron Atzel, who had obtained seats at the last general election, also showed signs of a refractory disposition on this question. This was followed by a further secession of seventeen deputies of the Kossuth Party who were opposed to the bill. At the same time the Hungarian bishops began a crusade against the proposed measure. Two decrees, issued in 1890 by Cardinal Rampolla, Pontifical Secretary of State, directed against the compromise arrived at between the Government and the bishops on the baptismal question, and disavowing the action of the bishops friendly to the Government, were now officially published for the first time; and one of the bishops issued a pastoral letter directly condemning the bill, and calling upon his flock to appeal *a rege ale informato ad melius informandum*. As about 52 per cent.

of the population of Hungary are Roman Catholics and 20 per cent. Protestants, while the remaining 28 per cent. consist of Greek Catholics, orthodox Greeks, and Jews, this declaration of war by the Roman Catholic Church in Hungary against the bill was a very serious incident, which almost reduced the prospects of its passing to a nullity. Notwithstanding this Dr. Wekerle, whose great knowledge of finance was peculiarly valuable now that Austria-Hungary was making important changes in the currency, induced the Emperor-King in November to consent to the introduction of the Civil Marriage Bill in the forthcoming session of the Hungarian Parliament. This, of course, did not imply his approval of the bill; on the contrary, he was known to be strongly opposed to it; it simply showed that under the circumstances he considered that the question had better be left for the decision of the country. The bill was introduced on December 3, together with another about the religion of children of mixed marriages. The former was to apply equally to all creeds, without distinction. Clause 66 makes invalid any contract of marriage not concluded before the civil registrar, while clause 145 imposes a fine of 1,000 kronen, or about 50*l.*, on a priest of whatever creed who solemnises a marriage in church before the contract has been signed at the civil registry office. The civil ceremony, therefore, is not only compulsory, but must precede the religious ceremony, which is, of course, left to the choice of the contracting parties.

The causes of invalidity under the bill go beyond those established by canon law in many important particulars and coincide with those of the French civil code, with the exception of one or two points taken from the Austrian law. The cases in which a marriage can be contested are also mainly taken from the French model. Persons under twelve years of age cannot contract a legal marriage, while if the contracting parties are under twenty the consent of the parents or guardians is required. Marriage with a deceased wife's sister is allowed, and damages can be claimed for breach of promise. Persons found guilty of adultery can be debarred by the decree dissolving the union from marriage with the co-respondent, and persons found guilty of connivance at the murder or attempted murder of a husband or wife are equally debarred from legal union with the survivor, in the case of death.

The grounds for the dissolution of a marriage by legal process are also more numerous than under the canon law, and civil jurisdiction is exclusively recognised in all marriage cases the jurisdiction of the Church being thus set aside, or, at least not recognised by law. Divorce can be pronounced on ten distinct grounds, of which cruelty and desertion are two, while another is the sentence of either party to five years' imprisonment, or in cases of crime "from mercenary motives" to a term of less than five years—a wide discretion being given to the



judge, without necessitating a jury. Should one party accuse the other of deliberate neglect of matrimonial duties, a divorce can be decreed if the judge gathers from the circumstances of the case that the union is marred by lack of harmony, and the relief to both parties would serve a moral end. Besides a dissolution of marriage, the judge can also order a separation for six or twelve months, during which attempts at reconciliation are to be made in the prescribed form. He can also make the divorce absolute, without the intermediary stage, according to the nature of the case.

Compensation for the breaking off of engagements is to be allowed, but only if claimed within a year of its occurrence. The amount claimed must not exceed the actual expenses incurred for the purposes of the intended union, and only the innocent party can claim the return of presents and other gifts made during courtship. In the various cases of prohibited degrees of affinity, dispensation can be granted by the King, in other cases by the Minister, and only in case of a Roman Catholic in holy orders, or belonging to a monastic order, wishing to contract marriage, can all dispensations whatever be refused.

Another interesting detail is that a judge, in pronouncing a divorce, can permit or prohibit the retention by the wife of her husband's name, according to the circumstances of the case as shown at the trial.

The second bill provides that people wanting to marry may, before the Act of Union, freely agree between themselves, by contract and notice to the public registrar, as to the religion of their offspring, but in the absence of such prenuptial agreement all children must follow the religion of the father at the time of the marriage. Illegitimate children are to follow the religion of the mother, and reservations and obligations as demanded by the Roman Catholic Church as a condition of the ceremony will be null and void. Young persons are only allowed to change their religion if over the age of eighteen.

Much opposition to both these bills was expressed immediately after their introduction, and the debate upon them was postponed until after the New Year. In other respects the Parliamentary history of the year in Hungary was a singularly peaceful one as compared with that of previous years. The question of the Honved Memorial, which in 1892 had produced a storm of political passion that precipitated the downfall of the Szapary Ministry (see "Annual Register," 1892, pp. 248, 249), was peaceably settled by the abandonment of any demonstration in honour of General Hentzi, the opponent of the Hungarian insurgents at the storming of Buda-Pesth in 1848; and in March the Lower House passed a bill granting to its members a fixed salary of 2,400 florins a year, with 800 florins for hotel expenses, and providing that this salary shall not be liable to be seized by creditors.

A remarkable figure in recent Austrian history, Herr von Schmerling, died on May 23 at the age of eighty-eight. As a statesman, Herr von Schmerling's career extended from the time of the German Parliament in Frankfort-on-the-Main, of which he was one of the Austrian members, down to the transformation of the Austrian empire into the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. The deceased statesman was a typical representative of that particular school of German politicians who could not conceive that Germany could possibly exist without Austria at her head. He was, of course, an enemy of Prussia, and of her pretensions to take the leading place in Germany. In 1848 he for several months occupied the post of Minister of the Interior, and afterwards of Foreign Minister of the German Confederation. Undiscouraged by his want of success in that year, he suggested to the Emperor Francis Joseph the idea of summoning the Fürstentag, or Congress of Princes, which met at Frankfort in 1863. The King of Prussia declined, however, to appear, and the project consequently proved abortive. It was this failure that contributed to bring about the war of 1866 which finally decided the German question against Austria.

Herr von Schmerling was not more fortunate in his domestic than in his German policy. He was an Austrian Minister during one of the most critical periods the empire has ever gone through, when the Hungarian question was pressing for a solution. His famous saying, "We can wait," turned out to be a phrase most damaging to his reputation for statesmanship. Moreover, the way in which he undertook to solve the problem of the day, after he found it impossible to wait any longer, proved equally disastrous to his claims to foresight and judgment. It was Herr von Schmerling who invented the "in and out" Parliamentary scheme suggested in England as a solution of the Home Rule question, and Deak's subsequent application of the system to the Hungarian Legislature, for the benefit of the Croats, was only an imitation of it. Herr von Schmerling created an "in and out" Reichsrath, the one with the Hungarians, the other without them, but he had the mortification of seeing that the Hungarians put in no appearance at either, and consequently his system was dead from the first. With the introduction of dualism the career of Herr von Schmerling as a statesman was over. He was thenceforward only able to serve his country in a judicial capacity. He was appointed President of the Supreme Court of Justice in 1865, a post he held till 1891, when, owing to advanced age, he retired into private life. His unblemished character, and his warm patriotic feelings for the empire, which he wanted to see undivided, are generally recognised even by the Hungarians, who at the time of his activity saw in him their greatest enemy.

In foreign affairs, notwithstanding occasional alarms, the year in Austria was very peaceful. Preparations were made for winter manœuvres, as in the event of a war between Russia



and Austria it would probably take place in winter, as that is the only season when the marshy country, situated between the fortresses in Russian Poland, is available for military operations. In January there was a diplomatic difference with France, on account of a charge made by the organs of the French Government in Paris against the Austrian ambassador there of intriguing against French interests, but the usual explanations were given, and the incident had no serious consequences. The relations with Italy, which had become somewhat chilled by the prolonged delay in returning the visit of the King and Queen of Italy to Austria, were to some extent restored to their former cordial footing by the visit of the Arch-Duke Regnier to Rome on the occasion of the celebration of the King of Italy's silver wedding, but this caused much dissatisfaction at the Vatican, which had already been greatly alienated by the proposal of the Hungarian Government to introduce obligatory civil marriage. Another incident which caused some sensation in the political world was the reception by the Emperor Francis Joseph in April of the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, M. Stambouloff. This, however, does not seem to have affected the relations with Russia. In the speech from the throne, addressed on May 27 to the Austrian and Hungarian delegations, the Emperor declared that the relations with all the Powers were "very friendly," thus no longer making the former distinction between the "friendly" relations of the Courts of Austria and Russia, and the "normal" relations of their Governments. Count Kalnoky, in his speech to the Austrian delegation, added some interesting remarks on the question of disarmament. The immediate object, he said, of the policy of every country in the civilised world could only be to ensure peace, and Austria-Hungary, therefore, must labour for the attainment of this end, which was requisite for the internal development of the empire as a nation, as well as for the prosperity and culture of its people. Still it would be a delusion to believe that the so-called "universal disarmament" was likely to be shortly brought about, or, in fact, could be carried out under the present conditions. He believed that great progress would have been made were the existing process of increasing armaments gradually brought to a standstill. Universal disarmament was, in face of the present military organisation, which in nearly all States was based upon the system of conscription and general mobilisation, not so conceivable now as it once had been. So long as the possibility remained of certain circumstances arising calculated to imperil the existence of the State, it was the duty of the Government to continue with all possible energy the work of improving and developing its military organisation and communications, so that the nation might preserve its sense of security against any possible emergency. So long as the other Powers persisted in their military preparations, Austria-Hungary and her allies

were bound to recognise the necessity of pursuing a similar course.

At a subsequent meeting of the delegations, Count Kalnoky said that both the Emperor Alexander and his Government were equally well disposed towards Austria-Hungary, and it could only be a matter of congratulation to find that the already existing good relations with Russia were being still further strengthened. The cultivation of these relations was gradually becoming one of the most important factors in Austria's policy, in order to bring about the cessation of the military tension in Europe, and to put a stop to the increase of the military strength in the various European States, thus realising Austria's desire for a return to a normal state of things. Until that object was attained, he concluded, Austria-Hungary would conscientiously provide for the defences of the country, with due regard, however, to her finances.

This statement produced some indignation among the German Chauvinists, but the Liberal and Radical organs of the other nationalities expressed entire approval of it, and pointed out that the Triple Alliance does not preclude friendly relations between Austria and Russia, which, on the contrary, would be in accordance with the task it has undertaken of maintaining the peace of Europe. Another of the speeches made by Count Kalnoky on this occasion gave for the first time an authoritative definition of the *casus fœderis* in the Austro-German Treaty of Alliance, which, though published five years ago, and copiously commented upon, had been open to doubt on that important point. The first article of the treaty provides for military co-operation in the event of one of the contracting parties being attacked by Russia, and Count Kalnoky stated that a *casus fœderis* would only be established if one of the parties were attacked without previous provocation having been given by that party. The important proviso, "without previous provocation," is not to be found either in the preamble or in the three clauses of the published treaty of October 1879, and it was inferred that this addition, which emphasises the strictly defensive character of the alliance, had been made in the subsequent treaties.

A further symptom of the improvement of the relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia was the extension of the Russian minimum customs tariff to Austro-Hungarian exports from August 1. With England, too, the relations were most friendly, and, on the occasion of the departure from Vienna of Sir Augustus Paget on giving up his post as British ambassador there, the Emperor paid a special visit to Lady Paget—an honour rarely conferred on occasions of this kind. The presence of the Duke of Connaught and the German Emperor at the great manoeuvres in Hungary in September, when they were received by the Hungarians with the utmost enthusiasm, was another proof of the friendship which exists between the ruling family of Austria-Hungary and those of England and Germany respec-



tively. As regards Italy, although the Emperor was deterred by his position as the "catholic and apostolic" sovereign from proceeding there himself, his Minister, Count Kalnoky, had a highly satisfactory interview at Monza in November with the King and his Ministers, the result of which was understood to be that Italy was not to be regarded as in any way hampered by the Triple Alliance in making any reductions in her army which the state of her finances might render desirable.

The only countries in Europe with which Austria had any disagreement during the year were Roumania and Servia. The former, though it did not actively intervene, gave some encouragement to the factious agitation of its countrymen in Hungary, who complained with some justice of the oppression of the Magyars, but demanded concessions for their nationality with the evident object of being united with the Roumanian kingdom. The dispute with Servia was a commercial one, the Servian Government having imposed a considerably higher tariff on Austrian imports than that laid down by the Treaty of Commerce between the two States, and having entered into negotiations for a commercial treaty with Russia on terms unfavourable to Austrian interests.

### CHAPTER III.

#### I. RUSSIA.

INTERNAL affairs in Russia were this year uneventful. The budget for 1894 was, as usual, made to balance exactly, both revenue and expenditure being shown as 1,083,601,000 roubles.

The following are the detailed figures: Ordinary revenue, 1,004,823,000 roubles; extraordinary revenue, 19,765,000 roubles; ordinary expenditure, 981,223,000 roubles; extraordinary expenditure, 102,378,000 roubles. To make the total revenue balance the total expenditure, the sum of 59,013,000 roubles was taken from the sums in hand derived from the three per cent. gold loan of 1891.

Under the head of extraordinary expenditure were the following items: For the construction of railways and harbours, 65,293,000 roubles; for the re-arming of the forces and special reserve for relief to distressed districts, 35,000,000 roubles; for the Siberian Railway, 1,385,000 roubles.

As against 1893, the ordinary revenue had increased by 43,601,000 roubles, and the ordinary expenditure by 33,532,000 roubles.

Under the head of ordinary expenditure were the subjoined items: Service of the Public Debt, 257,877,000 roubles; Ministry of War, 240,336,000 roubles; Ministry of Marine, 51,231,000 roubles.

On December 27 the imperial exchequer had at its disposal

233,413,000 roubles in gold, or in securities payable in gold; 8,942,000 roubles in bar silver; and 50,636,000 roubles in credit roubles and securities payable in credit notes.

An entirely new departure in Russian fiscal policy was taken by the institution at the end of the year of a graduated tax on the rental of inhabited houses. This tax will, for the present, be applied to 220 chief towns in the empire, divided into four classes, according to the estimated value of house property in the various towns. The first class comprises the two capitals, Moscow and St. Petersburg. The second includes ten towns—*viz.*, Warsaw, Wilna, Kazan, Kiev, Kishenev, Odessa, Riga, Rostov-on-the-Don, Saratov, and Kharkov. There are 67 towns in the third class, and 141 in the fourth. All the towns included in these four classes are situated in European Russia and Poland; but the preamble of the enactment contemplates its extension to other parts of the empire. The aggregate population of these 220 towns is about 8,500,000. Not all of them will, however, be affected by the new tax, as the rating is purposely calculated so as to spare the poorer classes of the population. Thus, the lowest annual rental subject to the tax is 300 roubles (30*l.*—32*l.*) in the capitals, and in the other three classes 225, 150, and 120 respectively. Arrangements have been made for a fifth class, in which the lowest taxable rental is 60 roubles, but as yet no towns have been named under this class. That the intention of the framers is to spare the poorer classes entirely is seen also in the exemptions from this tax. Besides the privileged official and ecclesiastical houses, schools, hospitals, and places of business (which last are already subject to a similar impost), the following inhabited houses are partially exempted: Workmen's barracks at manufactories, &c., the lodging-places of the poor, small inns, and night-houses, &c. Moreover, any occupier changing his residence for one at a lower rental will be taxed as for the latter, if the change be made during the first quarter of the year.

The tax is calculated on a rising scale, beginning at about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the lowest taxable rental, and reaching a maximum of 10 per cent. on rentals above 6,000 roubles (600*l.*) 4,500, 3,000, 2,400, and 1,200 respectively in the five classes. It has been estimated, unofficially, that this will produce a revenue of about 4,500,000 roubles (476,000*l.*), 2,000,000 of nearly half of which will be paid by the two capitals. This amount will probably be increased by another million as soon as the tax is collected from towns to be assessed in the fifth class.

Religious persecution continued with more severity than ever. In the Vilna district a determined effort was made to root out the Roman Catholic religion, but the scandal thereby created appears to have reached the ears of the Emperor, and the governor was dismissed. It was decreed that any one speaking Polish (the language of the Roman Catholic inhabit-



ants of the district) in public meetings or places of public resort—gardens, theatres, restaurants, or shops—would be considered guilty of a political offence, and be liable to transportation to Siberia, and most of the Roman Catholic churches were closed. In one of these, at Kroze, the devout peasantry remained for several days and nights to prevent the desecration of the church, and a detachment of Cossacks at length forced the doors by order of the governor, and killed sixty-nine of the people in the sacred building. The law for the expulsion of the Jews, which had until this year been applicable only to Russia proper, was now extended to Russian Poland, and many thousands of them have been forced to leave the country and seek a living elsewhere. Many Stundists (Protestants) were fined or banished for refusing to enter the orthodox Russian church, and a law was issued providing that all the children of Stundists were to be placed under the guardianship of Russian popes and baptised by them.

Notwithstanding the pacific disposition of the Czar, Russia proceeded unremittently with the augmentation of her army and navy. The Baltic fleet was reinforced by upwards of thirty torpedo boats, all built in Russia. In October, orders were given for the formation of fifteen new reserve brigades, which was equivalent to an immediate increase of the army by 150,000 men. Immediately after the new German Army Bill was passed in Berlin, the movement of the troops from the Caucasus to the western frontier, which had been suspended two years previously, was resumed. Large new barracks and provision magazines were erected near the frontier, and the manufacture of the new rifle was accelerated so as to provide the whole combatant portion of the army with it by the year 1895.

Attacks upon English policy in the East were as usual frequent in the Russian press, and of these perhaps the most amusing and typical was the following portion of an article published by the *Moscow Gazette* on the occasion of the visit of the Czarevitch in July:—

“Every one is now at length convinced that Russia alone recognises the sanctity and inviolability of treaties of alliance, while all the other Powers merely use them as weapons for skilful deceit. Every one is convinced that Russia in the future will never bind herself by treaties to any Power, and will thus retain the proud position she holds as the leading Power of the world. There is no doubt that Russia at the present time finds herself more advantageously situated in a political sense than ever before. She is, in fact, now of primary importance to the whole world, having acquired full freedom of action at last by casting off the alliances which always hampered her. This advantage she will maintain, however displeasing it may be to the termagant Powers who aim at the hegemony of Europe, or even of the world. The English undoubtedly dream of the

hegemony of the world, a dream of course favoured by the constant and undeserved success of the underhand intrigues of English foreign policy. But the English will find an impassable limit to their political successes, won by unscrupulous means, in the dignified firmness of Russia, who is offering an unceremonious opposition to the crafty intrigues of Great Britain. It is precisely this firmness of Russia which is causing exceeding alarm to Englishmen, smarting beneath their failure in success in the questions of the Pamirs and Persia, and trembling for India. Not that Russia covets India, or will make any great sacrifices to acquire it; but, while England pursues a policy calculated to injure Russian interests, Russia will not neglect to avail herself of the first convenient opportunity to assist the people of India to throw off the English yoke with the view of establishing the country under independent native rule. "The Afghan Ameer is slipping out of the hands of England, and the English are beginning to feel that they have gone too far in the stirring up of strife. This, then, is the real explanation of the extraordinary attention shown by England to the representative of the Russian Czar."

The only question at issue between England and Russia, however, was that of the boundary in the Pamir district, which was the subject of negotiation between Russia, England, and China throughout the year, and still remained unsettled at the end of it. Colonel Yanoff again made an expedition into the disputed territory with a body of Cossacks, but withdrew at the end of the summer without coming into collision with the Afghans or Chinese.

The negotiations between Russia and Germany for a commercial treaty having proved abortive, the two empires entered into a war of tariffs. At the beginning of July Russia increased her duties on German imports by 20 per cent., and Germany retaliated by raising the duties on Russian imports by 50 per cent. A further increase of 30 per cent. on German imports was decreed by the Russian Government on July 31. The negotiations were resumed on October 1, but had not closed at the end of the year.

Some very compromising documents as regards the action of Russia in Eastern Europe were published in February by the semi-official paper, *Svoboda*, of Sofia. They proved that not only Bulgaria, but all the Balkan countries without exception have been the subject of secret correspondence between the Asiatic Department in St. Petersburg, the Russian Foreign Office, and the Slavonic Benevolent Society, whose chief is General Ignatieff, on the one hand, and the Russian minister and consuls in Bucharest, Rustchuk, Sofia, Cetinje, and other places on the other hand.

The despatches which are morally the most objectionable of all are signed by M. de Giers, and addressed to M. Hitrov at that time Russian Minister at Bucharest. A cipher



telegram, dated June 18, 1887, announces that Colonel Subotin will be sent to Roumania to spy out the Roumanian fortifications under his official appointment as Russian Military Attaché in Bucharest and Belgrade. Further, there are despatches announcing the bestowal of the Russian Order of St. Stanislas on the two Roumanian officers who assisted Colonel Subotin in his spying work. Again, in a report sent by M. Hitrovo to the Russian Foreign Office, it is triumphantly alleged that the Roumanian officers officially connected with the Military Attaché had been those who had rendered the greatest services to the Russians in this espionage. It is also stated that a number of Russian engineers, who were employed in mapping the Roumanian fortifications, the position of the guns, and so forth, were going from place to place disguised as hawkers of printed pictures, chromo-lithographs, and the like.

A subsequent telegram reports that the Russian agents who were employed to convey explosives through Roumania to Bulgaria for the purpose of blowing up a train in which Prince Ferdinand was expected to travel were disguised as Russian fishermen. The despatch dealing with this matter was addressed, on December 23, 1888, by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Bucharest to the Chief of the Asiatic Department at St. Petersburg—that is, from one Russian official personage to another. There is another despatch from M. Hitrovo to the Russian Consul General in Rustchuk, dated August 12, 1881, which, under the pretext of revising the passports of Russians living in Bulgaria, demands that volunteers should be enlisted who were to be employed in bringing about a rising in Bosnia and the Herzegovina. A subsequent despatch, dated September 5, 1881, announced that General Lesovoy and the other Russian officers who were in charge of the rifle magazines in Bulgaria had been ordered secretly to provide the volunteers for Bosnia with arms and ammunition, and that the Russian Danube Navigation Company would bring additional supplies of weapons to the desired points. It further states that the Montenegrin Government had, by request, provided the Russian Consul in Rustchuk with hundreds of forms of Montenegrin passports, as it was inconvenient to provide the volunteers for Bosnia with Russian documents.

The most remarkable incident of the year in foreign politics was the demonstration which accompanied the visit of the Russian fleet to Toulon in September. The visit was preceded by the conclusion in June of a commercial treaty, highly favourable to France, and the French showed their gratitude for this and previous marks of Russian friendship with their usual effusiveness and love of display. In the telegrams exchanged between the Czar and the President of the French Republic on this occasion, great stress was laid on the object of the union of the two countries being the promotion of peace, and nothing transpired to indicate that any

written alliance had been concluded or was in contemplation. Considerable alarm, however, was caused by a report that Russia proposed to acquire a naval station in the Mediterranean. Similar reports were current after the Franco-German War, and the present one appears to have arisen chiefly from the fact that an unusually large Russian squadron was cruising in that sea. Three of the ships of that squadron—the *Emperor Nicholas I.*, the *Admiral Kantzoff*, and the *Pamiat Azova*—are of 8,440, 7,782, and 6,000 tons each, with a speed of seventeen knots, while the largest Austrian vessel is the turret-ship *Crown Prince Rudolph*, of 6,870 tons, and with a speed of sixteen knots.

## II. TURKEY AND THE MINOR STATES OF EASTERN EUROPE.

In the East the country which occupied the most prominent place in European politics during the year was Servia. The menacing attitude of the Radicals, and the consequent danger to the dynasty, produced a reconciliation in January at Biarritz between the ex-King Milan and Queen Natalie with the object of saving the throne for their son. The general election for the Skouptchina was held on March 8, and was accompanied by the usual sanguinary conflicts. Prince Arsene Karageorgievitch, the pretender to the throne, whose wife is the wealthy Russian Princess Demidoff, was said to have distributed a great deal of money through his agents to induce the peasants to support his cause, but the Ministry as usual secured a majority, though this time it was a very small one. It was indeed doubtful whether they had a majority at all, as this depended upon whether the six Radicals who had been returned for the district of Rudnik should be unseated and replaced by Liberals. When the Skouptchina met the Government insisted that the members the validity of whose election was disputed should not be admitted to the House, upon which the Radicals, after an ineffectual protest, left the House in a body, together with the ex-Premier, M. Garaschanin, the leader of the Progressists. The nine sections of the Skouptchina which have to examine the election writs were then balloted for, and as only the Liberal members remained in the House, Liberals only could be elected to them, who could of course declare as many Radical elections void as they pleased. The situation now became untenable, and the young King, probably by the advice of his parents, determined to cut the knot by a *coup d'état*. There was a great reception in the Royal Konak at Belgrade on April 13, to which were invited the two Regents and all the Ministers, the highest military officials, and the members of the household, including the King's former governor, Dr. Dokitch. The ostensible reason was that the King had, a few days ago, passed his examinations with distinction. The young King conversed with his guests in a gracious manner until, at



about ten o'clock, a piece of paper was handed to him by an adjutant. He at once rose—as it was at first believed to propose a toast—and expressed his gratitude to the Regents for their services during the last four years, but added that they would no longer be needed, as from that moment he, the King of Serbia, would undertake to rule the country himself.

The Regents were at once made prisoners for the night, together with all the Ministers of the Liberal Cabinet. Meanwhile the King, with a large military suite, went out and visited the barracks, at each of which he briefly explained the situation, and was enthusiastically received, the troops taking the oath of allegiance there and then. It was three in the morning before the young ruler returned to the palace. Several other arrests were made, some at the theatre and some in private houses. The royal printing office was surrounded by troops, the royal proclamation printed, the telegraph office seized, and orders sent out to the provinces for the administering of the oath to all the garrisons.

On the following morning a proclamation to the people of Serbia appeared, signed by King Alexander, stating that the constitution had of late been placed in sore jeopardy, that the rights of the citizens had been imperilled, and that the constitutional position of Parliament had been so abased that no course was left open for the King but to make an end of this unhappy condition of affairs. His Majesty therefore announced that he had taken the kingly power into his own hands, and declared that from that day the constitution would come into effective force and acquire its full significance. The Skouptchina was at the same time dissolved, and writs were issued for new elections to be held on May 30. At eleven o'clock King Alexander went to the cathedral, where a *Te Deum* was sung in celebration of his accession to the throne. On April 15 the ex-Regents and ex-Ministers were set at liberty, and telegrams arrived from all the European capitals, including St. Petersburg and Vienna, expressing satisfaction at the assumption of royal authority by the young King.

Dr. Dokitch, the King's former governor, was charged to form a new Ministry, and meanwhile the Liberal municipal councillors who had been appointed by the late Ministry were dismissed, and the Radicals whom they had superseded were reinstated. Queen Natalie arrived at Kladova on May 22, and was met there by her son. The general election took place on May 30, and resulted in an overwhelming majority for the Radicals, the Liberals having abstained from taking part in it. The Skouptchina, in its address to the King, asked that the members of the late Liberal Cabinet should be impeached for violations of the constitution and "crimes against the common weal of Serbia," and thanked him for his "heroic act of patriotism." The impeachment was agreed to by a large majority, and the trial began on December 22, but had not concluded at

the end of the year. Meanwhile there was another change of cabinet. In October the health of the Premier, Dr. Dokitch, broke down, and he consequently resigned. General Grutch, who was War Minister under Dr. Dokitch, now accepted the premiership with the consent of the Radicals. He had several times held this post before, besides being Minister for War and diplomatic agent at St. Petersburg, Constantinople, Athens, and Sofia. In politics he is an Opportunist, having at the same time kept on good terms with King Milan and Queen Natalie, the Liberals and the Radicals, the ex-Regent, M. Ristitch, and the young King Alexander. He was generally regarded as a friend

Russia, and as keeping the place of Premier warm for M. Ristitch, the Servian Minister at St. Petersburg. The state of affairs in the country, however, was still very unsatisfactory. At one place a battalion, ordered to join a certain garrison, was unable to leave because the creditors and the tradesmen of the officers objected to their departure. At another the innkeepers refused to supply dinner to the officers, who were unable to settle for it because their pay was in arrears. Defalcations were discovered in the stamp department to the amount of 500,000 francs, in which some officials of the Ministry of Finance, to whom the control was entrusted, were involved together with the officials of the State printing office. The most striking illustration, however, of the prevailing corruption among the officials was the statement made to Count Kalnoky by M. Milanovitch, who was sent on a mission to Vienna in order to settle the differences about the interpretation of the commercial treaty with Austria, that the decree fixing the tariff of the excise duties on various imports was issued because the Servian customs officials allowed themselves to be bribed by importers to accept fictitious invoices, on which the excise duty was calculated.

The young King, elated by the success of his *coup d'état*, made while on a triumphal tour through the country some imprudent speeches which greatly raised the hopes of the Radicals and gave offence to Austria. A communication in the semi-official *Fremdenblatt* of Vienna warned him in various languages of the danger of such indiscretions, and pointing out how prejudicial to Servian interests must be such incidents as the publication of an appeal in one of the Servian Radicals papers for funds to drive the Austrians out of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the reception with military honours on the manoeuvring ground near Belgrade, in the presence of the King, of a well-known Bosnian agitator.

Following upon the commercial treaties with Austria, Hungary and Germany, Servia this year entered into conventions with France and England. The policy indicated in these conventions was that Servia declines to grant the most favourable treatment to those countries with whom the balance leaves her a debtor. With regard to France, the matter was easily arranged, as Servia's exports to France



larger than her importation of French goods. Serbia's imports from England, on the other hand, are valued at 5,000,000 francs, while her export trade to England is stated to be less than a tenth of that sum.

Owing to the heavy balance in favour of Great Britain, Serbia refused to concede to her the most favoured nation clause, and proposed to raise the customs on a number of articles of British origin. In consequence of this policy on the part of Serbia, it was not found possible to come to a definite agreement with Great Britain, but a temporary compromise was arrived at by which England will enjoy the advantage of the most favoured nation clause until the end of 1893. If no understanding were come to by the 1st of January, 1894, it was the intention of Serbia to apply the general customs tariff to the imports from England.

In Bulgaria peace and prosperity continued to prevail, and, thanks to the wise policy of Prince Ferdinand and M. Stambouloff, her government grew stronger both at home and abroad. The principal incident in the earlier part of the year was the expulsion from Tirnova by the municipality of Monsignor Clement, archbishop of that town. The adoption of a mild form of lynch law against the more unpopular clergy is no novelty in Bulgaria. Under Turkish rule the priests of Greek nationality who supplanted the native ministers used to be stoned and mobbed, and had to go about under the escort of Turkish soldiers. Even under the present *régime*, the Bulgarians have made short work of priests and bishops whom they disliked. In 1886, Monsignor Simeon, the metropolitan of Shumla, was, after preaching a sermon in Varna, forcibly ejected from that town, the whole population seeing him out of it, and threatening him with condign punishment if he dared to set foot in it again. On his return to his diocese he had to keep in hiding for a long time in fear of his life. A similar misfortune happened to Monsignor Clement after his notorious address in the Cathedral of Sistovo in June, 1889. The archbishop insulted Prince Ferdinand in the course of his remarks, and some one in the congregation rose and loudly censured the priest for his want of patriotism, amidst the applause of the bystanders, upon which he was turned out of Sofia, and taken under an escort of gendarmes to his residence in Tirnova. He is the chief of the Russian party in Bulgaria, small as that party is at present. He had a hand in the kidnapping of Prince Alexander, and has been more than suspected of being privy to every one of the conspiracies against Prince Ferdinand, though he was twice Premier of Bulgaria, once under Prince Alexander, and once during the interregnum between that Prince's enforced journey and his triumphal return. He also made himself notorious by inviting the people to kneel down before General Kaulbars as the representative of the Czar, and by insolently reminding Prince Ferdinand, on his first entry into Sofia, of the

gratitude which Bulgaria owed to its Russian liberators. As the Sobranje was about to meet at Tirnova for the revision of the constitution, the municipality sent him a deputation to ask him to refrain from preaching revolt against the Prince and the Government. Having refused to give any satisfactory answer, he was lifted into a carriage which had been got ready for the occasion, and driven to a monastery at some distance from the town.

An important step towards the formation of a Bulgarian dynasty was taken in the marriage, on April 20, at the Castle of Pianore, near Pietrasanta, in Italy, of Prince Ferdinand to the Princess Marie Louise of Parma, daughter of the Duke of Parma. The members of the Coburg and Orleans families, to which the bride and bridegroom belong, were present at the wedding, and Prince Ferdinand, in returning thanks to the bridal party for drinking his health and that of his bride, expressed his joy at his union with the house of Bourbon, adding that in his veins also flowed the blood of St. Louis. On May 27, the proposed alterations in the Bulgarian constitution (see "Annual Register," 1892, p. 265), including the provision as to the religion of Prince Ferdinand's successors on the Bulgarian throne, were passed by the Sobranje, and on June 11, the Prince and Princess made their triumphal entry into Sofia, where they had an enthusiastic reception. The elections under the amended constitution took place on July 30, and resulted as usual in a complete success for the Government, only nine candidates having been returned who did not belong to the Ministerial Party. The new Sobranje was elected for five years, and consisted of 161 deputies only instead of 320. There were no disturbances except at Schoumla, where the police had to interfere. Among the newly returned deputies were nine Mahomedans. In November a remarkable ceremony took place at Sofia on the occasion of the removal of the body of the late Prince Alexander for interment in Bulgaria. The Princes of the houses of Hesse and Battenberg were present, and Prince Henry of Battenberg publicly thanked Prince Ferdinand for the opportunity he had given to the brothers of the deceased to see with their own eyes how much his memory was revered alike by Prince Ferdinand, by his Government, and by the Bulgarian people. On November 18 Prince Ferdinand issued the following rescript to the Bulgarian army:—

"To-day died at Gratz the first Prince of Bulgaria, Alexander I., infantry general in our beloved army, and chief commander of the regiment bearing his name. The Bulgarian army suffers a heavy loss. It loses him whose name is closely bound up with its foundation and first development, and who had no easy task, being its leader in the path of honour, discipline, and national dignity. It loses him who was the first to have with his young forces the joy of passing through



the difficult periods and glorious days of the first victories of our brave warriors. The Bulgarian army remembers to-day its fearless leader of 1885. It loses its glorious hero.

"Soldiers! This day is the anniversary of the deeds of our army. Your hearts are filled with the recollection of fallen comrades and pride for the never-to-be-forgotten days of glorious victories. May the memory of the first Bulgarian Prince and commander, who will be inseparably connected with his deeds in our national history, be kept sacred and inviolate. Let us join in wishing that God may receive him with His grace."

The general rejoicings consequent upon the Prince's marriage and the smooth working of the new constitution were disturbed at the beginning of December by the news that a man named Ivanoff had been arrested on a charge of conspiracy to assassinate Prince Ferdinand and M. Stambouloff. The man's trial was postponed until the new year.

The changes effected in the Bulgarian constitution evoked a mild protest in the official journal of St. Petersburg, but though Russia maintained an attitude of passive hostility to the Bulgarian Government, she did not this year apparently interfere actively against it. Prince Ferdinand did not return to Bulgaria from his wedding trip *vid* Constantinople, owing, it was said, to an intimation from the Sultan of his wish that the Prince should adopt another route, as a special embassy was about to be sent by the Turkish Government to the Czar at Livadia. The absence of the Servian diplomatic agent from the festivities which took place on the Prince's return to Sofia was also much commented upon. On the other hand, M. Stambouloff, just before the Prince's wedding, had a private audience of the Emperor of Austria, to which great significance was attached.

In Greece the Tricoupis Ministry resigned on May 10, owing to the failure of the negotiations for the proposed new loan. M. Sotiropoulos, ex-Minister of Finance, was charged to form a new Ministry, which, on June 11, concluded a loan of 100,000,000 francs with Messrs. Hambro, of London. When, however, the Chamber met in November, it became evident that the supporters of the Ministry were in a considerable minority; it resigned on November 9, and M. Tricoupis again entered office. Negotiations proceeded under his direction with the foreign bondholders for a reduction of the rate of interest on the various loans, but had not come to any satisfactory conclusion at the end of the year.

In Roumania the chief event was the marriage of Princess Marie of Edinburgh to the Crown Prince Ferdinand at the beginning of the year. The Czar was represented at the wedding by the Grand Duke Alexis, uncle of the bride. In the Zappa will case ("Annual Register," 1892, p. 268) the court decided to deliver the property in dispute to the next-of-kin, subject to the claim of the Roumanian Academy to a small legacy.

In Turkey the disturbances in Armenia gave rise to renewed representations from the ambassadors of the Powers with a view to the execution of the provisions relative to the Armenians in the Treaty of Berlin. Many hundreds of Armenian Christians were confined in Turkish dungeons, and the trial of the prisoners at Angora was stated to have been conducted with such unfairness that several of the ambassadors at Constantinople interfered in their behalf. On July 10 the young Khedive of Egypt paid a visit to the Sultan at Constantinople and was very graciously received. Throughout the year the greatest harmony prevailed between the Turkish and English Governments on Egyptian questions, and Russia also maintained a friendly attitude towards Turkey, though considerable anxiety was expressed at Constantinople as to the defences of the straits, which were reported by General Brialmont and other experts called in for the purpose of examining them to be practically worthless and quite unable to resist a Russian attack. The Sultan appears to have been fully alive to the dangers of the situation, but the want of funds prevented any material improvement being effected.

## CHAPTER IV.

### MINOR STATES OF EUROPE.

#### I. BELGIUM.

THE year 1893 may justly be reckoned as one of the most important in the history of Belgium, inasmuch as it witnessed the capital question of the revision of the constitution. The Parliamentary commission elected in the previous year in view of studying the proposed reform presented several projects of revision that were discussed by the Chambers in the course of the present year. Amongst the various proposals thus submitted to the Parliamentary vote, the most important were those of the Prime Minister, M. Beernaert, who submitted an electoral franchise, based on a combination of the principles of domicile and intellectual capacity; of M. Nothomb, the Democratic Catholic, who proposed universal suffrage, with some slight restrictions, at twenty-five years of age; of M. Janson, the Radical leader, who demanded universal suffrage pure and simple at twenty-one years of age; of M. Frère-Orban, the leader of the Moderate Liberals, who would refuse the right of vote to all not possessing the elements of primary instruction; and lastly, that of M. Graux, another Moderate Liberal, who wished to exclude those in receipt of public charity, as well as those unable to read or write. In short, the Chamber of Representatives was called upon to discuss fourteen different



schemes of revision, none of which, when put to the test, obtained the requisite number of votes, some finding only a small number of supporters, and others failing to secure the two-thirds of the Chamber necessary for the adoption of the resolution. At length, in presence of riots that were day after day growing more and more serious and alarming, the Representatives adopted the scheme of a Catholic member for Louvain, M. Nyssens; and on April 18, by 119 votes against 14, and 12 abstentions, the important step of the revision was taken, and the principle of universal suffrage, more or less modified, was introduced into the Belgian constitution. The revision of Art. 47 of the constitution, eagerly demanded by the Radical and Working-class Parties, was thus obtained by the united votes of nearly the whole of the Conservative Party (given somewhat reluctantly), of the whole Radical Party, and of an important faction of the Moderate Liberals, whose leaders, however, M. Frère-Orban and M. Bara, voted against the proposal. As for the Catholic leader, M. Woest, who seemed, during the long debates that preceded the final vote, to have lost some of the authority he formerly exercised over his party, he abstained from taking part in the vote.

It will be remembered that the former Art. 47, the revision of which was so strongly demanded by the advanced parties, declared that the Chamber of Representatives should be composed of members elected by citizens paying taxes, as fixed by the electoral law, of not less than 20 florins (42½ francs) per annum. The new Art. 47, based on the proposal of M. Nyssens, ran thus: "The members of the Chamber of Representatives are elected under the following conditions: one vote is granted to every citizen aged twenty-five who shall have been domiciled for at least one year in the same locality, and who does come under one or other of the cases of exclusion foreseen by the law. *One supplementary vote* is attached to each of the following conditions: (1) to those who have attained thirty-five years of age or are married or widowers with legitimate children, or pay personally 5 francs and upwards as house-tax; (2) to those who are twenty-five years of age and who are possessed of an annual income from public funds of at least 100 francs, or are proprietors of property of at least 2,000 francs' value. *Two supplementary votes* are granted to all citizens aged twenty-five (*a*) who are holders of a certificate of superior instruction from either public or private institutions; (*b*) who hold, or have held, any public functions, or occupy, or have occupied, a position, or exercise, or have exercised, a private profession, which imply that the bearer possesses a sufficient degree of instruction, the various functions and positions being determined by the law. No one can possess more than three votes, and the vote is obligatory."

The new Art. 47 was, in fact, a compromise between the various systems proposed during the deliberations; the principle

of universal suffrage was adopted to conciliate the Radicals; the Conservatives (or Catholics) were gratified by the attributing of an additional vote to the fathers of families and to proprietors; and, lastly, the Moderate Liberals, in accordance with their views, found a double supplementary vote granted to intellectual capacity. The additional votes granted to certain citizens were intended to afford protection against the exclusive power of numbers, whilst the limitation of the number of votes to three prevented universal suffrage from being overwhelmed by the plural vote. It was reckoned that the new Art. 47 would create 1,200,000 electors, disposing of 1,900,000 votes.

Besides the revision of Art. 47, other articles of the constitution, some of considerable importance, were also amended in the course of the year, but by these public opinion was but little stirred. The most interesting related to the re-organisation of the Senate. Hitherto the Upper Chamber was limited in numbers to exactly one half of the number of members in the Chamber of Representatives, and were elected by the same electoral body. According to the amended article of the constitution, the Senate in future was to be composed (1) of members elected in proportion to the number of inhabitants of each province, and upon the franchise laid down in Art. 47, with this restriction—voted after some delay—that subject to the passing of a special law the electors should be at least forty years of age; (2) of members elected by the provincial councils, in proportion of two for each province numbering less than 500,000, three for provinces numbering more than 500,000, and less than 1,000,000, and four for provinces numbering more than 1,000,000 inhabitants; the numbers of Senators elected directly by the electoral body still remaining equal to half the number of the members of the Chamber of Representatives. Moreover, whilst Senators directly elected by the electoral body were obliged to pay a certain property-tax, those elected by the provincial councils were entirely free from any pecuniary qualification.

After a protracted discussion the Senate ratified, by 52 against 1 and 14 abstentions, the vote of the Chamber of Representatives, and finally (Sept. 9) the revised articles of the constitution received the sanction of the King; and thus ended, after very nearly three years' duration, the constitutional crisis which could scarcely fail to exercise a most important influence on the political development of the nation.

The question of principle having thus been at length settled, it became necessary to draft a bill embodying the new electoral conditions in concordance with the amendments of Art. 47. The Government, however, before bringing in its bill on the subject appointed an extra-Parliamentary commission to prepare the basis of a scheme. This commission, four-fifths of whose members avowedly belonged to the Catholic Party, presented a



draft proposal, the effect of which was to restrict in a very appreciable degree the concessions made to the nation by the vote of April 18. Nevertheless, the Government deemed it expedient to endorse the work of the commission, and, finally, the electoral law, as presented to the Chambers, appeared shorn of its most Democratic features. The Government bill, for example, refused the supplementary vote to the officers of the army who had not passed through the *école militaire*, to public school teachers, and to Ministers of the Crown. Moreover, making poverty rank with crime, the bill deprived of their right of vote all citizens who had received public assistance within one year of the date of polling.

The Chambers had only begun to discuss the Government bill at the close of the year, which closed before they had completed their task. One curious amendment was carried after a long debate by 65 votes against 50, and 2 abstentions, depriving of their second vote all electors who had been divorced. This vote was obviously dictated by religious rather than by purely political considerations, the Church refusing to admit the principle of divorce.

Reference has already been made to the disturbances which arose shortly before the vote of the revision of the constitution. Exasperated by the slow progress of the Legislative Chamber, the Brussels working men, after numerous indignation meetings, at last broke out in open rioting, in the course of which M. Woeste, the Catholic leader, on the one side, and M. Buls, the Liberal burgomaster of Brussels, on the other, were assaulted and injured. The agitation rapidly spread from Brussels, and in a short time the whole country was in a state of agitation. Universal strikes were proclaimed by the working men, and were enforced in various districts. Violent conflicts between the rioters and the military ensued, ending in the loss of numerous lives, and for a moment it was feared that Belgium was at the eve of a revolution. The vote of April 18 happily put a stop to this disastrous state of things, and order was at once re-established. But the leaders of the workmen's party were able to proclaim (and perhaps not wholly without reason) that the working class had gained this first and important victory by the fear and pressure of a general strike.

An important question that failed to find its solution before the end of the year, although it already threatened to produce a Ministerial crisis, was the introduction into the New Franchise Bill of the principle of proportional representation. The Prime Minister, M. Beernaert, insisted upon the principle as essential, and demanded its being adopted. At the same time it was violently opposed by several members of his own party. Quite at the close of the year no slight anxiety arose amongst the Catholics at the announcement that the President of the Council intended to relinquish office in case the principle of proportional representation were not adopted by the Chambers.

An interesting experiment was made at Brussels at the outset of the year by the Liberal Associations to organise a popular referendum on the question of universal suffrage. The adversaries of the experiment did not fail to contest its legality, but the law not having foreseen the case the Ministry declined to interfere. Under these conditions the referendum simply expressed a wish, and no-ways a decision binding on politicians. The result was that more than 50 per cent. of the electors took part in the referendum, almost unanimously voting in favour of universal suffrage. It may here be remarked that in Switzerland, where the constitution was of old standing, the most important referendum had never brought forward more than 60 per cent. of the electors.

Beyond this important revision of the constitution few events worthy of notice occurred in Belgium in the course of the year, except the retirement of the Minister of War, General Pontus, who was replaced by Lieut.-General Brassine, a firm supporter of the principle of personal military service.

## II. THE NETHERLANDS.

The Electoral Reform Bill presented by the Tak van Poortvliet Ministry was discussed at great length in the course of the year by the Second Chamber of the States General, but without any definitive conclusion being reached. The essential point of the bill was the granting of the franchise to every citizen aged twenty-one, able to read and write, and to support himself or his family. At the very outset of the Parliamentary debates the bill met with more adversaries than supporters. The leader of the Conservative-Liberals, M. Roel, whilst recognising the necessity of a wide extension of the franchise, declared, on behalf of his political friends, that he could not admit the conditions of social well-being, as proposed by the Government. On the other hand, the Liberals appealed to the conscience of the upper classes, urging them to give Parliament more power and authority, by widening as much as possible the basis on which it rested; they, moreover, insisted on the necessity of giving satisfaction to the democratical aspirations of the nation anxious to govern itself. Lastly, M. Schaepman, the leader of the Democratic Socialists, unreservedly, while giving his assent to the essential principle of the proposed reform, added that the bill, as it was presented, was not wholly acceptable, and that the simple fact of being able to read and write was no sufficient proof of electoral aptitude. In short, each of the various political groups represented in the Chamber proposed amendments to the Government bill. M. Tak van Poortvliet energetically took the defence of his measure, and, in a speech which caused great sensation, declared that the question of electoral reform could not be shelved by the Government; the country's interest as well as social justice both requiring change



in a thoroughly democratical sense. The Prime Minister declared his readiness to accept any amendments of a nature to improve the bill, but stated at the same time his firm intention to oppose all amendments intended to curtail its democratical character. It was at length decided by the Second Chamber to refer the bill, together with all the proposed amendments, to a special commission; but, at the close of the year, this body had not yet brought its labours to an end.

Shortly before the opening of the Parliamentary session, public opinion had been greatly interested in the result of a bye-election at Gouda, where it had become necessary to replace a Conservative representative, who some eighteen months previously had been returned by a large majority. Three candidates were in the field—a Conservative, an Anti-Revolutionist, and a Liberal—and it was a question of the keenest interest to learn, at the time when electoral reform was everywhere the topic of the day, the actual opinions of a body of electors on the point. The result of the election was entirely in favour of the projected reform, inasmuch as the Conservative candidate, who was opposed to any extension of the suffrage, was defeated at the first ballot; whereas, at the subsequent polling, the Liberal candidate, who had spoken in favour of the widest possible extension of the electoral franchise, was returned by 1,132 against 999 votes. For this, as in a previous election at Leeuwarden, where the Radical candidate was equally successful, the victory was owing to the united votes of all the democratic elements belonging both to the Right and to the Left parties.

Independently of the capital question of electoral reform, which remained unsettled, few events worthy of notice would have occurred in Holland, had not the Socialist agitation several times, and sometimes most seriously, forced itself upon public attention. For upwards of a year the Government had been face to face with the Socialists. The movement, which had originated in the large towns, had, at the beginning of the year, extended to the agricultural districts, where it had caused serious disorders, and necessitated the intervention of the military. In their struggle against these excesses, the Government found in the magistrature an unexpected ally. At the end of December, 1892, the congress of the Democratic Socialist League had proclaimed the necessity of suppressing private property by every possible means. Legal proceedings were, thereupon, taken against the leaders of the league by the local authorities of Zwolle, where the congress had taken place. The judge, however, decided that there was no cause shown for a prosecution. Against this decision the Zwolle authorities appealed, and the league leaders were prosecuted under an article of the Dutch penal code, which punished, by five years imprisonment at the outside, a member of any association of which the object was to incite to criminal acts.

In August Amsterdam became the scene of serious disorder in consequence of a Socialist meeting which had assembled to protest against the language held during the discussion of the electoral law by certain members of the Second Chamber concerning the working classes. A violent struggle ensued between the Socialists and the police, which resulted in many being wounded on both sides. Quite at the close of the year, after a Socialist congress, fresh riots broke out again at Amsterdam. During the congress much ill-feeling had been shown among its members, and several of the leaders, and amongst others M. Domela Nieuwenhuys, were accused of deriving considerable personal profits from the sale of Socialist publications.

The budget of 1894, like its predecessor, disclosed a deficit of nearly 8,000,000 florins; but the Minister of Finance was able to state that, with the exception of 4,500,000 necessitated by extraordinary public works, all the expenses would be covered by the ordinary means, and that it would not be necessary to resort to fresh taxes.

In the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg the elections for the first time took place in accordance with the new electoral qualification of 15 francs paid in taxes. As, according to the constitution, only one half of the Chamber has to be renewed at a time, it was supposed that the Grand Duke would on this occasion dissolve the whole Chamber, in order that the newly elected Parliament should more accurately represent the nation. Such was, however, not the case, and the new Chamber thus presented the peculiar feature of being elected partly by electors paying 30 francs and partly by other electors paying only 15 francs rating qualification. So far as could be judged, and notwithstanding the considerable increase of the electoral body, the new Legislative Assembly did not prove different to the former one, and the Chamber remained divided into agrarian and industrial members rather than into political parties properly defined.

Quite at the close of the year the Chamber of the Grand Duchy passed a bill on the supervision and treatment of aliens, subjecting them to severe control and authorising their expulsion, if necessary or expedient, by summary powers. With the same object in view, and in consequence of recent events that took place in other countries, the police at the Grand Duchy frontier was considerably reinforced in order to extend a more efficacious supervision of aliens arriving from the neighbouring countries, especially from Germany and France.

### III. SWITZERLAND.

In common with other continental States, Switzerland was forced to endure troubles caused by the Socialist movement. At Saint-Sivier, an important centre of the watch-making industry in the Jura, where social and political questions were



ated with eagerness by the working class, certain well-known foreign Anarchists succeeded during the month of June in inciting the workmen to acts of violence. The energetic intervention of the police, and subsequently of the troops, restored order, but not until some limbs had been broken and much ill-feeling aroused. A few days later far more serious disturbances broke out at Berne in consequence of certain large firms of contractors and builders having employed Italian workmen. The troubles which ensued between the Swiss and Italian workmen more than a hundred were wounded. The principal instigator of these riots on being arrested proved to be a well-known Russian Anarchist, Wassiliew, who had acted as secretary of the working men, having previously obtained naturalisation as a Swiss. For some years he had been actively inciting the workmen against their employers and creating dissension among the various nationalities. Subsequent investigation showed conclusively that he had taken an active part in fomenting the present quarrel, which had led to such disastrous results. At Rome an interpellation in the Italian Chamber showed how keenly the insult offered to their fellow-countrymen was resented. Signor Brin, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, however, was able to state that in the present case the Swiss Federal authorities had energetically indicated the principle of freedom of labour, and had taken special precautions for the protection of Italian workmen.

A few months later the freedom of the Swiss soil was put to another test. An important Socialist Congress, reckoning over 100 delegates from almost every European country, assembled at Zurich (August) with the view of establishing a vast international organisation, and of settling the plan of common political action by the working classes of Europe. The first day of this congress gave rise to some plain but strong speeches, which resulted in the official exclusion of Anarchists from the congress. Their exclusion was voted by the delegates of sixteen countries, those of two others abstaining, and the proposed resolution was supported only by the delegates of one country. In the subsequent proceedings many of the resolutions adopted were of a most reasonable character, including a demand for legislation regulating the work of women and children, the diminution of the number of hours of daily work,

Another highly interesting discussion turned on the attitude to be adopted by the Socialist Party in case of war. No different proposals were submitted to the congress. The first, introduced by the Dutch delegates, represented by the well-known Socialist leader, Domela Nieuwenhuys, was to the effect that the proletariat of all countries should protest against war by a universal strike, and, if necessary, by the refusal of military service. This system was rejected by the delegates of thirteen nations, those of four only accepting it. The eloquent German delegate, Herr Liebknecht, was greeted with great

applause when he declared that a military strike would in any case be intolerable, "as, if it were possible, it would risk placing Europe under the domination of Russian barbarism." The other proposal, presented by the German and amended by the Belgian delegates, although less clear and less well defined, was adopted by the same number of delegates that had rejected the Dutch motion. This resolution was to the effect that the social Democrats of all countries must unite against the increasing influence of the upper classes, for with the suppression of their domination the danger of countries going to war would disappear. The downfall of capitalism meant universal peace, and the duty of the whole of the Socialist Party was to throw its weight with all associations whose aim was universal peace.

The necessity of defending social order against the Anarchists was fully recognised by the Federal Council, and quite at the close of the year a bill aimed at crimes against public safety was presented to the Federal Chambers. This bill punished severely not only public but also secret provocation to certain crimes, even when no evil result had ensued; furthermore, a punishment of at least three months' imprisonment might be inflicted on any one who did not denounce to the authorities persons known to be guilty of having prepared or made criminal use of explosive matters.

The elections that took place in October for the renewal of the National Council did not sensibly alter the character of the Chambers, although they showed the continued waning of influence of the Radical Party. The most noteworthy feature of the elections was the crushing defeat of the Socialist Party, which with difficulty succeeded in obtaining a total number of 30,000 votes out of an electoral body of over 650,000. Whenever the Socialist candidates stood on their own programme they were defeated by crushing majorities, and when, as in the canton of Fribourg, they united with the Conservatives, they were equally unable to secure the victory.

The right of initiative, according to which, if 50,000 petitioners claimed the revision of any article of the constitution, the Federal Chambers were obliged to examine the question, was not allowed to fall into abeyance. In the previous year recourse had been had to the referendum to decide whether Israelitish butchers were to be permitted to kill their cattle in accordance with the teachings of their religion. Contrary to what had been anticipated, and notwithstanding the negative vote of the Federal Assembly, the interdiction of the Jewish method was voted by 190,957 against 126,989, the measure being upheld by 12 cantons and rejected by 11. This result of the referendum was regarded by the more educated of all cantons as a regrettable instance of religious intolerance, but it seemed that sentimentality had less to do with the result than the Anti-Semite movement, which from Germany had spread into Switzerland.



A more legitimate use of the right of initiative was made year, and in a short space of time the trade unions had effected more than the necessary signatures in order to submit to the Federal Chambers as an additional article of the constitution that: "The right to a sufficiently remunerative work is guaranteed to every Swiss citizen by the State." The decision on this question, however, was not taken until after the close of the year—its proposers as well as its opponents being desirous that it should be fully considered and discussed by the nation before being put to the vote.

The Ticinese question was once more, and probably for the first time, forced upon public attention. In March, the National Council, by 66 votes against 63, decided to indemnify the canton of Ticino to the extent of two-thirds (or about 300,000 francs) of the expenses attendant on the presence of the Federal troops during the riots of 1889 and 1890. Subsequently, the Council of States, by a majority of one vote, decided to pay the remaining third, and after deliberation the National Council adopted this decision. In favour of the partial indemnity, it was argued that it was expedient to make the canton bear a part of the expenses, in order to give local governments an interest in discountenancing sectional agitation. For the entire indemnity, it was held that the safest way to definitely bring about peace in the canton was for the federation to assume the whole cost of intervention, and this was, as we have just said, the view which prevailed.

In the course of the year the canton of Schaffhausen voted, by a large majority, the re-establishment of capital punishment. The constitution of 1874 had proclaimed the abolition of the pain of death throughout the whole of the Swiss Confederation. Five years later, in 1879, in consequence of numerous crimes, this article of the constitution was abolished by a popular referendum. This vote did not signify that capital punishment was abolished, but that the different cantons, each possessing its own private penal code, were enabled, if they thought fit, to re-establish the pain of death. Since 1879, eight cantons have taken advantage of this faculty; Schaffhausen took the lead in the course during this year, and various symptoms showed that other cantons were likely to follow its example.

The economical war that had broken out at the close of the previous year, between Switzerland and France, was not brought to an end. The Federal Council, however, was too busy to give heed to the numerous petitions demanding heavier duties on all articles of French manufacture; and as to this wise moderation, the relations between the two countries, although strained, did not cease to be friendly. An incident occurred, however, at Basle, in February, on the occasion of the carnival festivities, which almost brought about diplomatic complications with France. The programme of the carnival had always to be submitted to the local authorities—

approval, it being customary to represent the European personages who have played an important part in the political events of the year. On this occasion M. Carnot, the President of the French Republic, was represented, and his name coupled with most injurious imputations relative to the Panama scandal. The French ambassador, M. Arago, immediately protested with the greatest energy, and the Federal Council, after inquiry, wrote a letter expressing their deep regret for the incident. Thereupon, the French Government, desirous to show its friendly feelings towards Switzerland, withdrew its demands of judiciary proceedings against the offenders.

On the other hand, the good understanding between Switzerland and Germany, which had been slightly impaired some years before by the Wohlgemuth incident, was proved to be firmly re-established by the visit to Berne, in May, of the Emperor William II., in the course of which most friendly feelings were expressed both by the German sovereign and the President of the Swiss Confederation.

#### IV. SPAIN.

No sooner had Señor Sagasta been installed in office than he was called upon to make his arrangements for a general election. In accordance with the traditions of the country his first care was to re-allot all political offices and to replace Conservatives by the friends, adherents and *protégés* of the Liberal Party.

At the same time his opponents were taking up their several lines of attack, and the whole month of January was occupied in the preliminaries of the coming contest. The Spanish Republicans, excepting the Possibilists, held a formal gathering (Jan. 4), at which it was decided to form an electoral league. A few days later a manifesto was issued urging the necessity of combined action, signed by the chiefs of all the sections of the Republican Party, Progressists, Centralists and Federalists, including even Señor Ruis Zorilla. The Opposition founded their grievance principally upon the state of the finances, the deficit exceeding 90,000,000 pesetas, and the receipts in every case, especially from the customs, had fallen below the estimates. The Government was also censured for its diplomatic inactivity, especially in Morocco, where Sir West Ridgeway, the British agent, the Opposition asserted, was supplanting Spain in her traditional rights in that part of Africa.

All this agitation was, however, mere formality. The Ministry could and did decide what seats it required, and partisans and opponents alike had to submit to what was known in Spain as *el encasillado*. Out of 437 seats about 150 were left to the various shades of Opposition, and the remainder Señor Gonzalez, the Minister of the Interior, divided 250 to form his working majority, and divided the remainder equitably as possible among the members of the *Tercera*



sonal followers of the Ministers desirous of rewarding by seats Parliament the more zealous members of their *Grupito*. The most delicate part of the Ministers' duty began when, the number of Government supporters having been fixed, it became necessary to decide upon the candidates. On the present occasion more than 2,000 ardent and convinced Liberals besieged the gateways of the various Ministries, literally laying siege to Ministers and under-secretaries, and often supporting their claims by deputations.

Under such conditions of electoral life the banquets of the republican committees and the agitations of the Carlist juntas might be taken as having no practical weight in the political balance. At the utmost they would influence a few stray votes and render more noteworthy a majority which was assured beforehand. But Spain had for generations passed as the country of illusions, and it was consequently in accordance with its traditions that foreseen results were everywhere celebrated as unlooked-for victories by the Republican Parties.

On the present occasion (March 5), it must be allowed, there were some real surprises. At Madrid, where it had been arranged that two or, at the most, three Republicans should be returned, no fewer than six out of eight seats were carried by their party, of whom the most important were Señors Ruiz Zorrilla, Pi y Margall, Pedregal and Salmeron. It was not surprising that in consequence both the Prefect and Mayor of Madrid thought it advisable to resign their posts. Finally the Ministry found itself strong with 300 supporters, Señor Castelar counted the Conservatives who followed Señor Canovas were 60, the Independent Conservatives 20, the Republicans 27 from Spain and 2 more from Cuba, the Carlists 10, and the Ultra-montanes 5. The new franchise seemed to have had but a short popularity, for the abstentions were more than usually numerous. On the other hand the results were not everywhere accepted with alacrity, and at Barcelona some of the advanced party went so far as to proclaim a Republic.

No sooner, however, was public feeling reconciled to the sudden change in the composition of the majority, than a fresh outburst of indignation was provoked by a Ministerial decree (March 10), abolishing throughout the peninsula the posts of captains-general, and substituting for them seven regional *corps armés*, of which the head-quarters were to be Madrid, Leon, Arragona, Barcelona, Vitoria, Valencia, and Cordova. The principal cities which thus found themselves deprived of their captains-general were Burgos, Valladolid, Coruña, &c., and these protested with much show of reason against their proposed spoliation and degradation.

As soon as the preliminaries of the session had been got through, the Ministry gave notice of a bill to postpone the May municipal elections, in order to revise the electoral register. The real object of this measure, however, was the fear that the

Republicans might obtain a majority in Madrid, of which the city finances had been terribly disorganised by the late mayor, Señor Alberto Bosch; his successor on his installation having found only 769,000 pesetas to meet liabilities amounting to 16,000,000. It was, therefore, advisable to allow public feeling to cool down before taking a vote. With this object in view the Government proposed a postponement of the elections, against which the Republicans naturally protested; but the majority was still fresh and vigorous, as shown by the election of the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo, as President of the Chamber. The Government, moreover, was on this occasion supported by Señor Emilio Castelar, but the Republicans, in no wise daunted, adopted obstructionist tactics. Dividing themselves into relays, they presented twenty-eight amendments and motions of adjournment; the Chamber, in reply (May 10), declared its sitting *en permanence*, and actually sat for fifty-eight hours consecutively. Nevertheless, although the ordinary majorities were 213 to 21, only eleven of the amendments brought forward had been got rid of. The majority at length (May 12) declared the debate closed, and authorised the Government to postpone the elections until after the passing of their measure of municipal law. The twenty-one "stalwarts" on leaving the Chamber were made the objects of a popular ovation—and the action of the police in charging the crowds nearly led to serious rioting.

A Ministerial crisis seemed the almost natural outcome of this debate. The Ministers of the Interior, of Justice, and of War, intimated their intention of resigning in the event of the Minister of Finance insisting upon the reductions he had asked for in their respective estimates. The budget already laid before Parliament was scarcely a source of satisfaction, although on paper it seemed to promise a small surplus. Receipts, 737,416,353 pesetas; expenditure, 737,216,891 pesetas. In remembrance, however, of the ascertained deficit of 76,000,000 in the budget of 1891-2, and of the probable deficit of 47,000,000 in that of 1892-3, the estimated receipts of the Finance Minister could not be accepted with confidence. In order, however, to raise money in some way, Señor Gamazo proposed to levy fresh taxes on explosives, playing-cards, carriages, and State securities. He further proposed progressive deductions upon the salaries of all civil and military employees; and required an addition of 2,000,000 annually to the subventions received from the provinces of Biscay and Navarre. Finally, the Minister proposed to consolidate the enormous floating debt by means of a fresh loan of 760,000,000, at 4 per cent., to be added to the existing National Debt.

Señor Gamazo had further called upon his colleague at the War Office to make reductions to the extent of 11,000,000, and General Lopez Dominguez had given a reluctant assent. On the presentation of the budget, however, Don Canovas de



Castillo had a lengthened interview with the Minister for War, and plainly intimated that whilst he was ready to abstain from opposition to the budget he would not consent to any reduction of the army. The difficulties of the situation were for a moment surmounted, and although the Minister of Justice, Señor Montero Rios, maintained his resignation, his portfolio was assigned *ad interim* to Señor Moret.

The Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne was voted by 203 to 58 votes, but the proposal to raise the contributions payable by the two autonomous provinces of the north gave rise to an immediate outburst of Carlism. Several bands appeared in the neighbourhood of Estella, and at Pampeluna a imposing demonstration, numbering 20,000, assembled to protest against an invasion of their ancient *fueros*.

A debate in the Senate arising out of an application for authority to prosecute Senator Alberto Bosch, formerly Mayor of Madrid, was the first check to the Ministry. By 74 to 68 votes the Senate refused the application, and the Chamber promptly displayed an equal desire to throw over Ministerial control. The debates on the budget showed a desire on the part of the Conservatives to obstruct the progress of business. Thirty members of the party inscribed their names as wishing to take part in the general discussion, presenting at the same time upwards of a hundred amendments. Señor Sagasta at first hinted the possibility of carrying out his reforms and the necessary retrenchments by simple decree, but he at length consented to come to terms with the Conservatives. Don Canovas' conditions were unpalatable to the Prime Minister, but he found it expedient to accept them. The reforms it was intended to introduce into the Departments of War, Justice and Finance were postponed, and a convention was signed with the Bank of Spain to cover its advances by means of a fresh loan.

Señor Gamazo, the Minister of Finance, at first refused to submit to these terms, and threatened to quit the Cabinet unless his budget were integrally accepted. He carried his point so far that it was decided to prolong the session until the budget was voted. A whole month (July) was occupied in this way, and at length, the expenditure estimates having been passed, the Chamber took up (July 19) the budget of receipts, passed a commercial *modus vivendi* for one year with Great Britain, and ultimately (July 27) accepted the Finance Minister's proposals, authorising at the same time the issue of a loan of 750,000,000 pesetas. Señor Sagasta had extricated himself from a difficult position and the Cortes adjourned (Aug. 10).

The Parliamentary recess, however, was far from being a period of rest and tranquillity. The Court, in accordance with its custom, had betaken itself to St. Sebastian for the hot season, and the partisans of local self-government took the occasion to organise in that town demonstrations which soon took the form of riots. Señor Sagasta on arriving (Aug. 28) was hooted

through the streets, stones were freely thrown, the police and subsequently the soldiery were roughly handled, and before order could be restored several dead and many wounded were left upon the ground. This revolutionary movement, which the Government repressed with considerable energy, was subsequently traced to an understanding between the Carlists and the Republicans.

Meanwhile the Anarchists had from time to time been showing their activity in various districts, notwithstanding the wholesale arrests which had been going on for some months. The most serious outbreak took place at Barcelona (Sept. 26) during a review of the troops, when one of the body named Pallas threw a bomb into the midst of the staff surrounding the commander-in-chief. Marshal Martinez Campos was himself wounded, and several officers and spectators were killed on the spot. The culprit was arrested at once, and after a short trial was convicted, sentenced to death, and executed. A few days later another Anarchist, determined to avenge his comrade's death, during a representation at the Liceo Theatre, in the same city, threw a bomb into the middle of the stalls, killing twenty persons and wounding many more.

For a moment, however, public attention was directed to events taking place beyond the frontiers of Spain. The inhabitants of the suburbs of Melilla, in Morocco, took umbrage at the extension of the Spanish fortifications round the ceded town. On two occasions (Sept.) the earthworks which had been thrown up were destroyed during the night, and emboldened by their success, the Arabs, well equipped with arms of precision, attacked next day the Spanish workmen and their escort, and forced them to take refuge in the town. At the news of these insults the pride of Spain was roused—patriotic manifestations were held throughout the country, outbursts of popular enthusiasm took place in every city, and Don Canovas expressed the national feeling when he declared that Spain should push her frontier to the foot of the Atlas. The death of General Margallo, who commanded the garrison at Melilla, brought matters to a climax, and in the outburst of warlike enthusiasm which ensued, the Minister of Finance found little difficulty in raising a further loan of 90,000,000 to cover the cost of a punitive expedition. Marshal Martinez Campos, scarcely recovered from his wound, was named commander-in-chief; although this new crusade had not been brought to a close before the end of the year, symptoms were not wanting to suggest that on this occasion at least there would be no direct struggle between them and Morocco.

The Government took advantage of the state of feeling provoked by this episode, to postpone until the following year a number of Parliamentary difficulties, which threatened to be embarrassing. The Minister of the Interior, Señor Venancio Gonzalez, whose protectionism was considered excessive, was



retire, and his place was taken by Senhor Puigecerver, Minister of Finance and of Justice, and the leader of the radical group. By this change the Ministry were able without remark the new Municipal Bill which Senhor had drafted, whilst an accident which confined Senhor in his room for several weeks was a further and sufficient reason for taking no active measures.

#### V. PORTUGAL.

At the opening of the Portuguese Cortes (Jan. 2) the King went on to announce in the name of his Ministers a reform of the electoral law, a revision of all treaties of commerce, a reduction of expenditure and of the public debts, and a revision of the provisional arrangement of the external debt. These were the means of carrying out this ambitious programme not forthcoming. At the very outset of the session between the Regeneradores and the Progressives, the existence of the Cabinet. The Minister of Finance, Senhor Diaz Ferreira, found his plan vigorously opposed on all sides, and by an overwhelming vote (Jan. 21) he was obliged to present at once a scheme which would satisfy the claims of the holders of the external debt. The Regeneradores and creditors of Portugal had in the meantime formed themselves into a committee in Paris, and had addressed to the Chamber of Deputies a petition, which had referred to the Budget Commission. This petitioned, however, to take any action of the nature of a vote, but the Chamber invited the Government to take on this subject negotiations. To add to the difficulties of this position, the Opposition deprived them of any assistance by declaring that they did not possess the support of the majority of the Chamber, and against them they had not the courage to protest.

For further the powerlessness of the Cabinet, the Opposition advanced themselves in a body before the King, and the nomination of the cabinet officers. In one day they made the necessary system. And the King's strike went on until, Senhor Diaz Ferreira having permission to dissolve the Cortes and having having the King the Cabinet resigned (Feb. 25). After this, Senhor Diaz Ferreira, the leader of the Regeneradores, and Senhor Antonio Costa, the leader of the Progressives, the King sent the Senhor Antonio Costa to the Cortes, and the construction of a Cabinet. Two days after the Ministers were installed in office, Senhor Antonio Costa, President of the Council and Foreign Affairs, Senhor Antonio Costa, Minister of Finance, Senhor Antonio Costa, Minister of War, Senhor Antonio Costa, Minister of the Interior, Senhor Antonio Costa, Minister of the Navy, Senhor Antonio Costa, Minister of the Colonies, Senhor Antonio Costa, Minister of the Penitentiary, Senhor Antonio Costa, Minister of the Public Works.

The new Ministry appeared before the Chamber (Feb. 23) with a magnificent programme, including liberty of the press, Ministerial responsibility, administrative honesty, liquidation of the debt (as far as possible) and no new taxes.

In point of fact the situation was most critical. It was found impossible to collect even the old taxes, and in face of the deadlock the King ordered the Cabinet to take judicial measures against taxpayers in default, and to use every means to collect the taxes in arrear. The Cortes was meanwhile prorogued for a couple of months, in order to allay popular excitement, and to allow the Cabinet time to prepare new measures. Unfortunately, in the composition of the two Chambers, and especially in the House of Peers, the rich manufacturers were sufficiently powerful to prevent a revision of the tariff, or the conclusion of treaties of commerce. The Minister of Finance was consequently thrown back upon the internal taxes: and on these too many experiments had been tried to give hopes of further results.

Luckily, the friendly disposition of Spain towards Portugal offered an opportunity for renewing overtures for a commercial treaty, which owed its existence in an indirect manner to the amnesty accorded to the Republicans who had been exiled in 1891. These, on their return to their own country, found no better outlet for their activity than in fostering kindly relations with their friends in Spain. A convention was, therefore, signed by two Cabinets, and ratified (May 31) by the Portuguese Chamber with little delay.

The Ministry then laid before the Cortes the financial state of the country. The receipts for the current year, 1893-4 were estimated at 43,674,000-milreis, and the expenditure at 44,677,000 milreis. The actual situation was, in fact, far worse than that shown in the Minister's budget, and this was declared to be still further aggravated by the rupture with France. The immediate cause of this misunderstanding was the action of the Portuguese post-office, which, notwithstanding repeated protests from Paris, persisted in cashing at even rates in the depreciated currency of Portugal money-orders issued in France. A suspension of the works in the port of Lisbon followed, on the pretext that the revolution in Brazil had further impeded business in the capital. The usual consequences ensued—the streets of Lisbon and other large towns were paraded by processions of men on strike or thrown out of employment, and, finally, the police and the troops were called in to repress the inevitable disorders which ensued.

To add to all these troubles the vintage was unusually defective; prices rose, but only with the result of stirring up quarrels between the wine growers and the wine merchants. The latter, looking only to their immediate gain, petitioned the Government to be allowed to introduce Spanish wines in transit without paying customs duties, with the object of mixing them



with Portuguese wine to be subsequently exported. Against this policy the wine growers strongly protested, asserting that such a course would effectually discredit Portuguese wines for the future. The cause of honesty which, on this occasion, was so love of self-interest happily gained the day.

The difficulties surrounding the imposition and collection of the new taxes could not be disposed of with equal ease. Amongst these was a tax imposed on all the books kept by houses of business, and extra taxes were levied upon a number of articles made solely for exportation. The Commercial Association of Lisbon, the most important of the Trade Guilds in Portugal, refused to submit to the first-named tax as exorbitant and inquisitorial. The President of the Council in turn threatened to dissolve the association and to replace its action by a Chamber of Commerce. The association thereupon called together a general meeting of its members and threatened to decree a general strike in every branch of commerce. In the face of this menace the Minister found it prudent to give way.

Just before the close of the year the rupture of diplomatic relations between France and Portugal became complete. The conduct of the authorities in the matter of the Lisbon harbour works, the reduction of the public debt, and the implied reduction of two-thirds of the amount due to the creditors, and other less important questions, rendered this step inevitable. M. Bichoud, the French Minister, after vainly attempting to obtain satisfaction for his fellow-countrymen, demanded his passports and returned to Paris. In view of the situation and the approaching meeting of the Cortes, the Ministry underwent a partial reconstruction (Dec. 20). Senhor Hintze-Ribeiro retaining the Presidency of the Council took over the portfolio of Finance, transferring that of Foreign Affairs to Senhor Fr. de Sá, whilst Dom Carlos Lopez Avila became Minister of Public Works.

#### VI. DENMARK.

For Denmark the year 1893 saw some little change in the political situation. The bitter strife of parties, which had lasted for so many years, had ceased, notwithstanding the efforts of the extreme Radical Left to keep it alive. The sensible manner in which the Moderate Left and the Conservatives co-operated for the purpose of bringing about some useful legislation resulted in several desirable measures being passed. On the other hand, nothing in the nature of a fusion between these two parties had taken place, nor was there any immediate prospect of the fundamental differences between them being easily removed. The Estrup Ministry showed no inclination to retire, and as long as M. Estrup remained Premier it was unreasonable to expect more than an abatement of the sullen

opposition which the moderate elements of the Left felt it their political duty to display against the Government. The position of the Liberals was in reality a difficult one, for although they were prepared to go certain lengths with the Government for the purposes of practical legislation, they had nevertheless to maintain before their constituents their position as honest Liberals. Outside the immediate camp of politics the temporary truce was regarded as preferable to the former profitless strife, and in the opinion of some it might eventually lead to an amalgamation of the moderate factions of both Right and Left.

The newly elected Folkething, after a short holiday, resumed its sittings early in the new year. It contained an unusually large number of new members, to whom time and experience were needed to adapt them to the work of Parliament. Moreover previous sessions had been very fruitful of legislation, and had seen the passing of Acts dealing with the most important questions of the last few years. Thus there was not the urgency for unintermittent work which had existed a year or two before. Still the session at its close showed a total of thirty-six measures successfully passed, among which were Acts dealing with preventive measures against cholera, and with the infectious diseases of cattle, besides other bills for the benefit of cattle-breeders. The consular service, State Life Insurance, with the salaries of officials in various branches, were also the objects of co-operative legislation.

On the other hand, the understanding between the Government and the Moderate Left was not extended to several large railway bills which had been introduced, nor to the Army Bill. The Government measure dealing with municipal taxation was also thrown out, and, lastly, it was again found to be impossible to agree about a regular budget. In the earlier part of the session no hopes were entertained that this old-standing and most serious difference between the Estrup Government and the entire Opposition would be surmounted, but at a later period it almost seemed as if the impossible had become possible. An earnest effort was made to bridge over the gulf existing on this point between the Conservatives and the Moderate Left, leaving out of consideration the Radicals, and both parties appeared willing to make mutual concession. A joint financial committee of both the Houses, the first for five years, was agreed to. The majority of this committee, in harmony with the Government, proposed that the difficulty should be got over by authorising the Minister of War to apply several savings made elsewhere to the extension of the artillery and the engineers, which the Government deemed was necessitated by the Copenhagen fortifications. Although this appropriation could have been carried out without any additional military vote, the Moderate Left hesitated to give their consent to such a new departure. It was understood at the time that the Moderate Liberals had laid down as a condition that the



Government should undertake, by an immediate revision of the Army Estimates, not only not to incur any additional expenditure, but to reduce the actual expenditure for army services. This the Government would not accept, on the ground that they had no guarantee that the new military laws would be passed in an otherwise acceptable shape. M. Estrup was consequently compelled to prorogue the Rigsdag at the end of the financial year, no budget having been agreed upon. He was therefore formally obliged to issue a provisional budget in the same manner as his predecessors had done for a long series of years. This act on the part of the Government, which would undoubtedly have provoked serious disturbances in most countries and, on the face of it, been impossible in some, passed almost unnoticed in Denmark, an unmistakable proof that the nation was tired of the protracted and futile political strife.

Although the session ended without any formal reconciliation between the Conservatives and the Moderate Left, which probably the majority of the two parties wished for, the fact of a new provisional budget having been issued by the Government did not give any apparent offence to the Liberals, and the door was purposely left open for future negotiations and co-operation. The spokesman of the Conservatives distinctly stated in the Folkething, prior to the prorogation, that most earnest endeavours had been made in the joint financial committee to remove the obstacles which stood in the way of the Lower House agreeing with the First Chamber on a regular budget, the Landsthing, as usual, having supported the Government. The hope, however, was expressed that in the following session some understanding might be arrived at. The leader of the Moderate Opposition spoke in a similar strain, recommending the House to proceed on the path of conciliation and practical legislation. The experience of the last two or three sessions justified the hope that the maintenance of this policy would in due course lead to a regular budget when a general basis of agreement had been found.

The Rigsdag met again at the appointed time (Oct. 2). The Government again introduced their more important bills, which had been thrown out in the previous session, and added thereto another bill, dealing with the conditions of trade in large towns. This measure, the outcome of the labours of a special commission, materially affected the interests of the towns. The Left, just before the close of the year, introduced a series of bills, dealing with agrarian matters. These measures were the result of an important agrarian meeting, held at Odense, in the island of Fühnen (Nov. 22). At this meeting, which had been arranged some considerable time beforehand, delegates met from all parts of the country, each constituency sending two representatives. These latter were elected without much regard to their political standing, the guiding principle being to select able and well-known farmers. The *raison d'être* of the agrarian

union, formed at the Odense meeting, was easily found in hard times, under which the agricultural interests of Denmark had suffered in common with the same interests in North European countries, although the Danish farmers perhaps made a better fight of it than their brethren in the neighbouring and, more or less, similarly positioned countries. At the meeting in Odense a somewhat vague discursive programme was adopted, and an influential League was elected. It was, however, pointed out from the beginning and with some ostentation, that the agrarian movement was not to be political, although the members frankly stated they intended to bring their influence to bear upon the legislature, and, as the union soon afterwards boasted some 800 members, it expected to exercise considerable weight. It was no doubt, in order to ingratiate themselves with the agitation that the Left promptly laid their various agrarian bills before the Folkething. These bills dealt principally with measures intended to help the farmers financially, and on favourable terms, by the grant of loans on debentures or mortgage land banks, and similar institutions. Other bills purported to lighten the burden of local taxation, in one or two respects for the agriculturists. Whatever the ultimate fate of the agrarian measures, the movement seemed likely to benefit the farming interests, as the leading men of the union were able far-seeing, whilst its programme was framed so as to remove all suspicion of an aggressive attitude towards the commercial and industrial interests of the towns. These latter were at the time somewhat alarmed, and it was seriously proposed to form a union comprising the various towns, in order to counterbalance the effect of the agrarian movement. The Conservative Party for several years had shown exemplary discipline, giving the Government their full and undivided support. Although more moderate and conciliatory sentiments, which had come to the front during the last two or three years, had not given unmixed satisfaction to a few of the most extreme Conservatives, the Right as a party showed no signs of falling to pieces. One or two of their old leaders had been quietly shelved on the occasion of the annual meeting of delegates of the Right from different parts of the country, held in Copenhagen in the month of December, a vote of confidence in the Government framed on similar lines to that of the previous year, was unanimously passed, and M. Estrup was assured that he could rely on his party. The Premier, in his reply to the resolution, pointed out with satisfaction that the Conservative Party had always been of one mind as far as all the main issues were concerned, in spite of the new political movements of the year or two. M. Estrup also promised, on behalf of the Government, to render what assistance was possible to alleviate the burdens of the farming and other classes, where this could be done without prejudice to other interests.



A singular episode which took place in the summer showed the national jealousy of foreign associates. A number of influential men, large landed proprietors, merchants and others, were engaged in promoting a large so-called co-operative society. Its especial object was the handling of agricultural produce and the importation of various articles, and the matter had already been considerably advanced and promised to give important impetus to trade. A cry of alarm was not long in being raised against this proposal. Denunciation became loud, indignation meetings were held in a number of towns, and the rectors were actually forced, by the mere weight of public opinion, to completely abandon the matter.

The works in connection with the large and important Copenhagen free harbour were pushed on with much energy during the year in accordance with the plan and without any accidents. On October 8 the reservoirs were completed, and on November 1 the inlet of the water from the Sound was commenced. The negotiations with Sweden about the establishment of a steam ferry connecting Copenhagen and Malmö, for which a landing-place was set apart within the area of the free harbour, were continued, and seemed likely to lead to an agreement; and lastly the State telephone between Stockholm and Copenhagen was opened (Dec. 6) by King Oscar of Sweden and King Christian of Denmark.

#### VII. SWEDEN.

Although the year 1893 was not by any means devoid of interesting events, the doings of the Riksdag, as anticipated, were not marked by any very salient features. The important decisions of the extraordinary session—the Urtima Riksdag—held in the previous year for passing the military Acts and the land tax had removed two old-standing difficulties, and it looked almost as if the legislators accepted this as a welcome excuse for not incurring further labour. Experience, moreover, had shown that the Riksdag, in the last session before a general election, preferred not to push questions to the front, so that members could meet their constituents in a calm spirit. The principal work of the session was to make provision for the increased expenditure arising out of the bills passed by the previous Riksdag. The Government, moreover, asked for an additional grant for the navy of kr. 2,000,000. The Riksdag, on the whole, received these proposals favourably, although the extra charge for the navy, by joint voting of the two Houses, was reduced by one half, to kr. 1,000,000. The session was altogether a quiet one, and there was nothing approaching the serious conflicts of previous years regarding the tariff, which in Sweden had been subject to frequent changes, the attitude of the different political parties on tariff questions as a

rule playing a most important part in the elections. The higher duty on bacon was retained, and the tax on refined sugar was raised. Further, in anticipation of the claims of the State to share in the bank profits to be applied in relief of the budget, it was decided to increase the capital of the National Bank (the Riksbank) to kr. 50,000,000. The subsidies to the State railways, including the North Main Line, were voted in accordance with the proposed plan, and a number of concessions for private railway lines were granted, but the Riksdag at the same time insisted that it should be consulted, at least upon the more important railway concessions. The Gellivara Luleå Line, which formerly belonged to the ill-fated Swedish-Norwegian Railway Company, having been taken over by the Government, was put into efficient repair, with the result of attracting at once considerable traffic. At the same time, as the railways in North Sweden were being vigorously pushed forward, this part of the country also received other legislative attention from Parliament, the question as to the mineral wealth and resources of the district having been satisfactorily settled. Several matters were left in abeyance, awaiting the decision of the 1894 Riksdag; among these were the proposed earlier meeting of Parliament, and the reform of its procedure, both tending to bring about an earlier close of the session. In connection with the latter question, an alteration in the relations between the Government and the army was also promised; and the creation of a new department of State, dealing with railways and other means of internal communication.

The political differences between Sweden and Norway showed no sign of abatement during the year, except that the former displayed more reserve; the Swedish Government showing an unmistakable inclination to play a waiting game. The King of Sweden had, during the previous year, declined to sanction the course urged by the Norwegian Government, in accordance with which Norway should be at liberty to give notice singly to Sweden that their joint consular arrangements were to cease. The Storting had even voted a sum of money towards the preliminary steps to carry out this proposed dissolution of partnership. But Sweden very properly held that it required two to break a contract which two had made, and King Oscar ruled that inasmuch as it was a joint matter, equally affecting both countries, it consequently should be dealt with by the joint Council of State of the two countries. The Foreign Minister (Jan. 14) stated in a joint Council of State that Norway could not by herself discontinue the joint consular relations, and that these could not be separated from the Department of Foreign Affairs. He further maintained that joint diplomatic representation was a *sine quâ non* condition for the union between the two countries, that the Foreign Minister must always jointly represent them both, and that this office might be held indifferently by a Swede or a Norwegian. This last point was



a fresh concession, and an important one on the part of Sweden, showing how anxious that country was to act fairly towards Norway. The Swedish Foreign Minister, however, said nothing about the eventuality of a separate Norwegian and Swedish consular staff under a joint Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Although this offer of the Swedish Government was wanting in precision in this latter respect—a fact which was recognised in Sweden and by the Norwegian Right—it was looked upon as a formal offer of closer relationship, which Sweden might surely expect her sister on the other side of the Kjölen Mountains to eagerly grasp. The Norwegian Government and their Radical followers, on the other hand, saw a snare in the frank statement of the Swedish Government, and subsequently emphasised their standpoint by a resolution in their Parliament. The Swedish Riksdag, in due course, after some debate (April 12), fully endorsed the action of the Swedish Government, declaring that the Riksdag considered that the questions of the Foreign Office and the Consular Service were interdependent, and that a reform of the existing direction of Foreign Affairs need not necessarily lead to a dissolution of the joint consular arrangement. The Riksdag, however, claimed the right to be consulted before any definite decision should be arrived at.

The consular question was not, however, allowed to rest at this point. The Norwegian Parliament requested (July 19) its Government simply to give notice to Sweden that the joint consular arrangement was to terminate at the close of the year 1894. King Oscar, after some deliberation, declared (Sept. 25) that he would not give his sanction to this resolution. As the money voted by the Storting was made dependent upon the resolution being accepted, it was considered by the King as not passed, and other means were found to provide the requisite funds. On the whole, the leading Swedish politicians acted with laudable discretion in the dispute between the two countries. Sweden testified her willingness to discuss the matters at issue, and was undoubtedly prepared to meet, in a fair and liberal manner, any reasonable claims Norway might put forward. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that a certain party in Sweden showed an inclination to treat Norway *de haut en bas*. This attitude, no doubt, gave rise to much ill-feeling in Norway, and furnished the opponents of the union with useful text for agitation. M. Bostrom, the Swedish Prime Minister, however, was free from the failings of his predecessor in this respect, and it was hoped that the conciliatory policy he adopted would tend to remove the differences between the two countries, for in the same way as the Powers of Europe were instrumental in bringing about the union between Norway and Sweden in the beginning of the century, by might, it was hinted, feel called upon to interfere for the maintenance of that union, and the complications raised in

the interests of those most concerned would probably be the last object to be regarded by the peace-makers.

The respective positions of the various parties within the Swedish Riksdag continued so ill-defined that, by common consent, outstanding questions and reforms were allowed to remain in abeyance pending the coming elections. The somewhat frail and fleeting coalition between the "old agriculturists" (the "Gamle Landtmanna" Party), the representatives of the central towns, and the Radical members for Stockholm, continued to hold with regard to the selection of committees in the Second Chamber, but there were ominous symptoms of an approaching dissolution of the partnership, M. Sledin being approached upon the Constitutional Committee by a reduced majority and M. Munkell altogether left out of the Legal Committee. In the latter case, his non-attendance was the ostensible reason assigned, but at the same time he allowed himself to be elected President of the People's Parliament (the Folk Riksdag) convened some days after the assembling of the real Riksdag which, during its session of a week, pronounced with more energy than tact in favour of universal suffrage. The People's Parliament claimed, moreover, to be consulted by the leaders of parties and heads of the administration, on the ground of being better informed, and more popularly inspired with regard to the suffrage and other fundamental questions. Neither the King, the Prime Minister, the speakers, nor even the party leaders of the Riksdag recognised these pretensions or sought their proffered advice.

The comparative quietness of the session was followed by an active campaign, in anticipation of the general election. The two Landtmanna parties, the old and the new, were read with their respective manifestoes at the close of the summer, each bringing its own special aims to the front, and neither making concealment of its points of difference from the other. The former gave prominence to the advisability of direct and progressive taxation, and recommended at the same time a strict economy in the military budget, so that the proposed reforms and extensions might be brought about without an increase in the military expenditure. At the same time the Old Landtmanna recommended a reduction of the minimum income conferring a Parliamentary vote to kr. 500. The latter refrained from commenting upon the question of a redistribution scheme, fixing the number of country members, and limiting the disproportionately increasing representation of the towns. The New Landtmanna Party, in their turn, had nothing to say on the subject of direct taxation, and were equally discreet in their reference to military questions, but they advocated an extension of the franchise, subject to certain precautions. They also held that the tariff should only be altered when important social considerations required it, and that the interests of the various classes should be duly protected in this respect.



electioneering campaign commenced early in July. M. Nilsson, the leader of the Old Landtmanna Party, defended the policy of his party at a large meeting at Arbra, advocating the use of the alliance between his party and the town radicals. Elsewhere the cry of this party was, "economy and order"; and the New Landtmanna Party was vigorously assailed in various quarters for not having kept faith with its traditions, and with having shown a lack of firmness towards the First Chamber. The new party was also assailed by the Good Templars and the various sectarians. In the end, however, notwithstanding the assistance thus rendered by its friends, the Old Landtmanna Party only succeeded in gaining a few seats, the Swedish peasant farmers in many instances unfavourably impressed by the dealings of the party and the town Radicals. The towns showed little interest in the elections that it was a matter of course that the Radical Party fared no better, considering the cries they could put forward for the purpose of

Such phrases as "universal or materially extended the folly and injustice of the protective "hunger" tariff (of food), to say nothing of the threatened reduction of representation of the larger towns, would, their supporters have shown better results at the polls. In Gothenburg the Liberals were beaten, at Malma and Nordköping the Moderates held their own, and the election in Stockholm (Sept. 14) resulted in the overthrow of the Liberal list in the fourth district, whereby some of their best men were unseated. One M. Sledin, was afterwards accommodated with a seat in the third district, a less conspicuous member having to make room for him. The Moderate town representatives, in fact, were so successful that they hoped to be able to form an independent central party when the Riksdag assembled. The elections to the First Chamber resulted in the defeat of the distinct Freetraders, who had been elected before the question had assumed its subsequent importance. On the other hand, in the new Riksdag the Moderates certainly gained the majority, and the majority were prepared to safeguard the interests of the two countries against the violent attacks of the extreme Radicals. With regard to the important tariff question, which, however, seemed likely to be kept for the future in the background, the respective strength of the Moderates and Freetraders within the Riksdag was 197 members respectively.

In consequence of the increasing interest in domestic reforms, the Riksdag maintained that the representatives of the agricultural districts for the first time held an "Agricultural Parliament" (Nov. 14), at which resolutions in support of the reduction of railway rates, and other measures of relief to agricultural interests, were adopted.

## VIII. NORWAY.

In few European countries was the political situation more strained during 1893 than in Norway, and the year ended as it began, with momentous questions pending, of which no one could foretell the ultimate solution. The respective relations of the two sister countries, Norway and Sweden, within the Union, had of late years given rise to much bitter dissension. The source of contention, ostensibly forced to the front, was the question of consular and diplomatic representation. In regard to both Norway had of late demanded an independence which Sweden, at least as far as the diplomatic representation was concerned, deemed incompatible with both the letter and the spirit of the union. It should, however, be borne in mind that the claim for entire independence under these heads had been extensively put forward and advocated by the Left, or Radical Party, the Conservatives having all along been loyal, both to the Union and to the King of the two countries. If, too, the Radicals as a body clamoured for this excessive independence for their country, it must not be overlooked that some of their most influential leaders had forced this question to the front, and that political and party considerations compelled them to endorse the special programme of the more advanced section of their party.

The year commenced as it were under a truce, the outcome of the resolution of the Storthing, which enabled M. Steen and his colleagues to withdraw their resignations, the diplomatic and consular question having been left in abeyance. This resolution was, perhaps purposely, very vaguely worded, and if only the Radicals had been content to leave well alone their Government might have retained office undisturbed. But the Norwegian Radicals proved a restless party, and they willed it otherwise. The first intimation of the coming storm took the shape of a distinct divergence of opinion on the burning question on the part of the Norwegian Councillors of State, in a joint Council of State, held at Stockholm (Jan. 14). Just a fortnight later the Swedish Government dealt with this question in a very fair and straightforward statement, which contained greater concessions to Norway than had ever been previously offered, granting to the sister country full equality within the Union, but at the same time protesting against the Norwegian demand for an independent Foreign Minister. The Storthing assembled (Feb. 2) and an extreme Radical, M. V. Ullman, was elected President, whereby the majority from the outset intimated the course they intended to adopt. Prior to the meeting of the Storthing a large National Radical meeting had been held, where party feelings had run very high, and where the password for the session was given. In the House the Radicals numbered more than sixty members, their opponents about ten less. Under these circumstances it was no matter for surprise that the Radical majority at the end of February decided that



the consular question should be brought forward independently of all other business of the Union. The leader of the Opposition, M. Emil Stang, some ten days later introduced a resolution expressing sympathy with the views held and the promises given by the Swedish Government, with regard to a general reform of the question of the Union. This resolution, which was supported by the Conservatives and the Moderates, was merely a formal declaration, its defeat being a foregone conclusion. It was not, however, till about a week later (March 17) that the Storting gave effect to the views of its Radical majority by sixty-four against fifty in a full House by adopting an order of the day, introduced by M. Løvland. The Premier on this occasion sided with his most extreme followers and used language well calculated to stimulate those who still might have leant towards moderation. Some of the speeches were distinctly threatening in tone toward Sweden as well as toward the monarchy, for more than one speaker conveyed clearly, if not in actual words, that unless King Oscar saw fit to comply with the demands of the Norwegian Radicals, contrary to the advice of his Swedish counsellors, Norway was prepared to dispense with his headship. The Swedish Riksdag had in the meantime endorsed the position taken up by its Government in the controversy between the two countries, and when King Oscar arrived in his Norwegian capital there was very little doubt that he meant to use his veto against the "Løvland" resolution. This proved to be the case; for when the Ministry laid it before him he decidedly refused to accept it. M. Steen thereupon took a singular and impressive step, in view of the well-known fact that he had behind him a perfectly reliable majority in the Storting. He decided to retire from office without laying the resolution before the King, pleading that he had privately learnt from the King that he was not disposed to give it his sanction. The Steen Ministry therefore resigned. This was hardly constitutional practice, but by doing so they now placed their opponents, and the King, in a difficult position, whilst at the same time escaping from one themselves. They foresaw clearly that King Oscar would have very serious difficulties in finding a new Premier, and in this they had not miscalculated. King Oscar first invited the old Left leader, M. Sivert Nielsen, to form a Ministry, but he declined. The Conservative leader, M. Emil Stang, then took upon himself to form a minority Government, under circumstances which were by no means encouraging. The Stang Ministry, as soon as it was gazetted (May 2), took up a neutral position on the consular question, which they proposed to hold over till the country had pronounced upon it definitely at the ensuing general election (1894). The Norwegian Parliament (the Storting), it should be stated, cannot, according to the Constitution, be dissolved during the period of three years for which it is elected; and it was therefore held by most reasonable persons that the country should be asked to

pronounce more distinctly about a matter, like the consular question, which had been forced into prominence since the election of 1891. M. Stang was aware that he had accepted a difficult and unpleasant task, but he displayed considerable tact and showed plainly that his chief desire was to prevent the machinery of the State from coming to a deadlock. His Radical opponents, however, would admit of no temporising policy and forthwith declared war to the knife, passing without delay a vote of want of confidence. This was only what had been expected, but it proved utterly futile, as the King had made up his mind that the consular question should be allowed to remain in abeyance till after the next general election. The Storthing's reply to this was given in the debate on the budget, when the consular vote was passed, but only on the condition that the joint consular arrangement with Sweden should cease from January 1, 1895. This also proved an empty demonstration, for the Stang Ministry treated the matter as if the vote had not been given and applied a portion of the incidental expenses fund to cover the charges of consular service. It was held in some quarters that this course was hardly constitutional, but it was admitted to be expedient. In this, and other difficulties and dilemmas, the Conservative Ministry acted on the whole with not a little discretion and firmness, and at the close of the session their position was certainly strengthened. Their opponents, on the other hand, were not always happy in their choice of weapons with which to worry the Government. A flagrant example of this kind was the Koren incident, which had reference to the equipment of a few gun-boats, which the Opposition insinuated had been undertaken for motives akin to high treason. Admiral Koren and several other officers were called before the Storthing, but the whole proceedings had a touch of farce in them, and this effect was further enhanced by the appointment of a Parliamentary committee, charged with the full investigation of this petty matter.

The other legislative work of the Storthing was naturally greatly impeded by the temper and state of parties. The Government, for instance, was desirous of doing away with the direct income-tax, which owed its existence to the Opposition, and had been received very unfavourably, even by many of that party. With this view M. Stang proposed to raise the duty on some of the items in the tariff. This was, however, negatived, the Opposition doing their utmost to maintain direct taxation, which had been imposed in order that the import duty on salt and the export duty on timber might be done away with. The minimum income chargeable with income-tax was, however, raised from kr. 600 to kr. 800. Another outcome of the Radical majority was the small, but significant, vote of kr. 100,000 for rifles to the people. On the other hand, several reductions in the budget were carried, intended solely to show the displeasure of the Radical majority in the Storthing with the



existing state of affairs. Most conspicuous amongst these were the reductions of the annual Norwegian grants to the King (kr. 80,000) and Crown Prince (kr. 50,000). An unsuccessful attempt in this sense had been made in the previous session, and its acceptance by the majority of the Storting on the present occasion showed plainly how high party feelings were running. In this connection it may be mentioned that the usual votes for the Legation at Vienna, for the military secretary at Stockholm and the "table money" to the Ministers of State were negatived, and further, four professorships in the theological and legal faculties were abolished.

It was, therefore, no matter for surprise that the Radicals refused to assist their political opponents in advancing the important railway bills, which had been several times before the Storting. In a like spirit the majority declined to countenance the proposals for an extension of the franchise, introduced by the Government. The whole proceedings of the session, indeed, were altogether the reverse of edifying, and it was devoutly hoped by all moderate men, for the sake of the country, that Norway would not see a similar session to that which at length was brought to a close (July 22, 1893).

The bitterness existing between the two contending parties in Norway was much to be regretted, but in justice it must be said that the Radicals were indefatigable in their violent political agitation. Such words as independence and nationality appealed very closely to the somewhat overbearing Norsemen, and common sense had in its path many a tough fight before it could hope to prevail. The Swedish-Norwegian King, under these circumstances, had no enviable task, but King Oscar II. showed throughout both tact and firmness, and although his visits to his Norwegian capital could scarcely be regarded as pleasure excursions, the King never hesitated when his presence in Christiania could be expected to be effective of good. On the anniversary of the Union (Nov. 4) he made, in Christiania, a most impressive appeal to the nation in an eloquent speech, but the Radical Party turned a deaf ear, and its leaders continued their violent agitation, which more often than not proved on investigation to be based upon more or less imaginary grievances.

## CHAPTER V.

### ASIA.

#### INDIA—CHINA—JAPAN, &c.

*Afghanistan.*—This year a boundary dispute involving the water rights of the tribesmen in the Kushk Valley on the Russo-Afghan frontier was satisfactorily ended. Colonel Yate, representing the Indian Government in this matter, arrived at

Candahar on April 9, with an escort of fifty Afghan cavalry. He was cordially received there by the Afghan officials. The attentions paid to him on the way to Herat, where he met the Afghan commissioner, were due to direct orders from the Ameer, and had the effect of dispelling any ideas of the existence of uncordial relations between the Ameer and the British Government. On May 18, Colonel Yate arrived in the Kushk Valley from Herat. In these negotiations the Russian Government were represented by Lieutenant-Colonel Kurapotkin. An amicable settlement was made in August, and both parties professed to be satisfied with the terms of agreement. The Afghans relinquished all the canals that the commission ruled were not in Afghan bounds, the lands were given up, and the occupants returned towards Herat.

A fresh rebellion of the Hazaras occupied the energies of the Ameer Abdurrahman in the early summer, and troops were sent from Ghazni and Bamian to quell the disturbance. It was evident also that the Ameer was not prepared to yield his claims in the Roshan and Shignan districts to Russia, for when Colonel Vannovsky, the son of the Russian War Minister, attempted a march across from the Murghabi to Darwaz, in Bokhara, the Afghan officials refused him permission to proceed, and a fight was said to have taken place, in which the Cossacks were repulsed.

The Ameer, having cordially responded to the proposal that Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, secretary of the foreign department of the Indian Government, should go to Cabul in order to discuss with him certain questions relating to limitations of frontier, the British envoy, escorted by a few native troops, left Peshawur, September 18, on this mission; the full complement of officers consisting of Colonel E. R. Elles, second in charge of the mission; Surgeon-Major E. Fenn, surgeon to the Viceroy, in medical charge; Lieutenant Manners Smith, V.C.; Lieutenant M'Mahon, Mr. S. Donald, political officers; Mr. Clarke, of the Foreign Department; Assistant-Surgeon Abdur Rahim, Khan Bahadur, in charge of Persian Office, and Ibrahim Khan, Khan Bahadur, assistant political officer. The mission arrived at Jellalabad on the 23rd and was quartered in the Ameer's new palace, a fine building in the Eastern style, close to the west wall of the city. The Ameer's hospitality and good-will were manifested at every stage of the journey to his capital. Beyond the frontier the mission was guarded entirely by Afghan troops. On the 27th they arrived at Surkhpul, 120 miles from Peshawur, where they were met by Mr. Pyne, the Ameer's superintendent of workshops, who was sent to convey to Sir Mortimer the Ameer's best welcome and to assure him of his Highness's sincere friendship toward the British Government. The next day they crossed the Jagdalak Pass, 6,200 feet high, and on the 30th the Lataband Pass, from whence they had a view of Cabul.



On October 2 they reached the city, and were received with military display and with a salute of twenty-one guns. Nothing could exceed the politeness and unstinted hospitality of the Ameer during their stay at Cabul, which lasted till November 17. The mission proved to be a complete success from every point of view, and a satisfactory settlement was secured respecting many questions that had caused trouble and dispute. The Ameer agreed to consider Chitral, Bajaur, Swat and the neighbouring states in Indus-Kohistan as outside the sphere of his influence, while, in return, he was allowed to retain possession of Asmar,—the Kuram Valley settlement remaining undisturbed. Waziristan, including Wana, where the presence of an Afghan post had caused some local disturbance, was unreservedly brought under British influence, thereby securing the safety of the Gomul route, and defining the frontier about the Zhob Valley. The intermediate tracts between the Punjab and Afghanistan, where the Ameer had found it difficult to maintain quiet among the hill tribes, were resigned to British control. The Ameer also agreed to withdraw his military post from Chargeh in Beloochistan, and to consent to the permanent occupation of New Chaman as a railway terminus. All restrictions as to the import of arms and military supplies into Afghanistan were removed, and the annual allowance to the Ameer was raised from twelve to eighteen lakhs, an increase of 600,000 rupees, or 37,500*l.* sterling per annum. The Ameer held a review of a portion of his army a few days before the mission left Cabul, and in a speech to his soldiers declared that the friendship between Great Britain and Afghanistan was now securely cemented, and that they would fight, if necessary, as comrades of the British troops.

At the Durbar, held on November 13, the members of the British mission were received by the Ameer's sons. The hall was filled with hundreds of prominent officials and army officers. The Ameer on his arrival shook hands with the officers of the mission, and then made an excellent speech, in which he said he had laboured since his accession for the prosperity of his people and had always recognised the need of cultivating the friendship of neighbouring nations with identical interests for weal or woe, and consequently he was desirous of cementing the friendship with Great Britain, which had now been accomplished in a most satisfactory manner. Sir Mortimer Durand replied in Persian, thanking the Ameer for his hospitality and expressing much satisfaction at the success of the mission.

Large workshops have been established in and about Cabul, where breech-loading guns are forged, rifled and completed, and where Gardner machine guns, Hotchkiss guns, Martini rifles, as well as swords and heavy castings, are made. Seventy-five per cent. of the labour employed therein is Afghan, and

the natives, working under the direction of Mr. Pyne, are very proud of their skill.

*The Pamirs.*—A small Russian expedition under Colonel Yanoff left Marghelan, the chief town in the province of Ferghana, early in June for the Pamir region. Most of the troops remained in the Alai Valley while Colonel Yanoff, attended by a small force, continued his journey to the Pamirs, for the apparent purpose of relieving the military guard established there throughout the winter. The expedition returned to Ferghana in August.

*Burmah.*—The material progress of Burmah was rapidly increasing as well as its population. The revenue return showed an advance of 21 lakhs over those of the preceding year—a total for Upper and Lower Burmah of 210 lakhs of rupees. Internal trade, with Rangoon as its only outlet, had more than doubled since the annexation in 1886, and the seaborne commerce of that port had increased between 1886 and 1892 from 120,000,000 to 180,000,000 rupees. The merchants of Rangoon, in their address of welcome to Lord Lansdowne in November, requested that a part of the surplus revenue of the province, which, exclusive of military expenditure, was estimated at nearly two crores of rupees, should be expended in Burmah. It was indicative of the rapid growth of the province that they also asked for a Lieutenant-Governor of their own for a separate representative in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and for a High Court to be established in Rangoon. No doubt, in time, these requests will be granted. For the present, military and official opinion in the Southern Presidency are strongly opposed to the separation of Burmah from the Madras military command.

Fighting with the Kachins took place at Palap, February, when Captain Atkinson's force stormed and captured a stockade fort—the gallant captain himself crawling between the loopholes of the strong stockade into the fort, while an attack was made on the opposite side by Lieutenant Drever. Another encounter with the military police, under Lieutenant Williams, in the Shan State of Theinni, resulted, unfortunately, in the death of Lieutenant Williams, and the Kachins gained a partial victory. Later, a military column of 350 men was sent from Bhamo to help the military police at Sima, but the hostile Kachins dispersed before the arrival of the troops. The Chief Commissioner Mr. Fryer, recommended to the Government of India that the Chin Hills should be provided with a simple mode of administration suited to the wild tribes, for until the hills were declared a part of India no legal sentence could there be passed upon offenders. Request was also made for a large addition to the civil service of the province; for the division of Bhamo into two or more districts, and for the increase of the official force in the Shan States, where there were only four officers to administer and keep in order a region one-third the size of England.



Some complaints were made early in the year by the native population, on account of alleged heavy taxation imposed upon land, and it was said that the collectors were claiming large tracts as belonging to the State.

Nearly 4,750,000 acres were this year under rice cultivation in Burmah, but it was estimated in December that the rice available for export during the coming season would be less than 1,400,000 tons, or 5 per cent. less than in the previous year. In certain districts the crops were ruined by floods, and in Lower Burmah the crop was below the normal quantity, but elsewhere the harvest was excellent. Good roads and railways were much wanted in Upper Burmah to develop industry and commerce.

Serious riots occurred at Rangoon in June. The Mahomedan population, objecting to a prohibition of cow-killing near a Hindoo temple during a festival, attacked the police, and about twenty of the rioters were shot dead.

*Khelat.*—At the southern extremity of the frontier of India the Khan of Khelat, who for years had been guilty of a series of atrocities, and who had lately put to death his Prime Minister for some trivial cause, was called upon to abdicate in the interests of his oppressed subjects by the British agent, Sir James Brown. The deposed tyrant admitted that he had killed 3,000 men and women during his reign of thirty-six years. On November 10, his successor, Mir Mahmond Khan, was installed at Quetta. This incident caused some unfounded apprehensions in Russia that England intended to seize Beloochistan by subsidising the Khan of Khelat.

*Chilas.*—A large body of tribesmen from the Indus Valley, in March, attacked the fort occupied by the British at Chilas, but were repulsed with heavy loss. The British loss was also severe, and included the commanding officer, Major Averill Daniell, of the 1st Punjab Infantry, three native officers, and nineteen men of the Cashmere Imperial Service troops.

*Chitral.*—The Nizam-ul-Mulk, the rightful heir to the governorship, who in 1892 had driven out his usurping uncle, still maintained his possession, and Dr. Robertson, who visited the country on a mission, reported on his return to Gilgit in June that the State was tranquil, and that its ruler was well disposed towards the British Government.

*National Congress.*—The arrival of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, M.P., at Bombay, on December 3, caused great enthusiasm among the native population. He was on his way from London to Lahore, to preside over the deliberations of the National Congress that began its sessions December 27. At the opening Mr. Naoroji delivered a long address. The Mahomedans of the Punjab, at a large representative meeting held at Lahore in November, finally decided to hold aloof from the congress, and passed a resolution that they considered that body to be opposed to the political interests of their community as well as to those of the whole country.

The congress closed its sittings December 30, after passing a number of resolutions. Thanks were presented to the Viceroy for the Indian Councils Act, but regrets were expressed that the rules laid down for its enforcement, especially in the Bombay Presidency, did not give effect to the true spirit of the measure. Resolutions were adopted in favour of the creation of a legislative council for the Punjab; of the complete separation of judicial and executive functions in India; and of the continuance of Government grants to higher education. The congress regarded with alarm the interference of the Government with the existing land settlements in Bengal, Behar, and Madras; deplored the harshness of the administration of forest laws; and regretted that the executive government should claim the right to criticise judicial errors. The congress finally recorded its deep regret at the hasty enactment of the Indian Government in closing the Indian mints to the private coinage of silver, a policy that would burden the people with further indirect taxation, and would dislocate important trades and industries.

In conclusion, the presiding officer thanked the congress and his countrymen for the cordial reception they had given him, and called for cheers for the Queen, for British rule, and for Finsbury that had elected him to Parliament. The next congress, it was announced, would meet at Madras.

*Opium Commission.*—Evidence as to the effects of opium consumption in India was being taken by a royal commission in different parts of the country at the close of the year. After examining a number of witnesses in London the commissioners proceeded to India, where they began in Calcutta their investigations on November 18, under the chairmanship of Lord Brassey. The Burmah section of the commission held meetings at Mandalay and Rangoon in December. It was planned that visits would be made for the examination of witnesses to Patna, Benares, Lucknow, Delhi; to stations in the north-west provinces, and to Malwah and Bombay—the tour to be completed at Poona, about the middle of February, 1894. The bulk of evidence, so far as taken at the close of the year, was decidedly adverse to the case of the anti-opium agitators—the medical testimony being almost unanimous in favour of the moderate use of the drug in India as a prophylactic against malaria. It was fairly proved that in many parts of India the use of opium is regarded as a necessity, and that its prohibition would lead to an increase in the consumption of alcohol as a substitute. Some witnesses considered that there was a political danger in the anti-opium agitation. Sir David Barbour gave his testimony that the total net revenue to India from opium amounted to 6,000,000 rupees annually, and that it would be impossible to carry on the Government without it; that when he first came to India he had a great prejudice against the drug, but that he now thought its evils were greatly exaggerated.



**Religious Riots.**—Conflicts between the Hindoos and the Mahomedans occurred in different parts of India, although the fanatical movement was more deeply rooted and more widely spread in the north-western provinces than elsewhere. The first serious outbreak took place at Rangoon on June 25. A magistrate having refused to allow the Mahomedans to slaughter a cow in front of a Hindoo temple on the Bakr Id festival, when the sacrifice of an animal in commemoration of the deliverance of Isaac from Abraham's uplifted knife has been customary for centuries, the refusal led to a riot, in which fifteen or more rioters were killed after making an attack upon the police. At Bareilly, the aggressive action of the Hindoos during the festival led to disturbance, and about forty persons were convicted of various breaches of the peace. In a single district in the north-west provinces—Azamgarh—armed mobs of Hindoos assembled at thirty-four preconcentrated centres in numbers varying from 100 to 4,000 men, to wreak vengeance on the Mahomedans. The armed bands not merely rescued the sacrificial cows, but wounded and beat the sacrificers, and then proceeded to pillage their homes. Vigorous measures were taken by Sir Charles Crosthwaite, the lieutenant-governor of the province, to suppress this fanatical rising. He told the landholders and cultivators that he would hold them guilty, as a body, for concealing the preparations for these riots, and quartered a strong additional force of police in the district of Azamgarh at the cost of the inhabitants of the villages, which had sent men to take part in the disturbances. The Cow Preservation Society, which was formed about nine years ago, and which has spread its ramifications all over India, was largely responsible for these outbreaks. While resting on the religious reverence of the Hindoos for their sacred animal, this society claimed also that for economic reasons the slaughter of cattle should be prohibited. Its members declared that no Hindoos should sell cows to butchers or other such persons, promising that the society would buy the animals in case Hindoos were compelled to sell. The society had its head associations in Bengal, in the Central Provinces, and in Western India, with regular branches in the great cities, and with an army of sympathising local bodies, more or less distinctly affiliated.

**Bombay.**—It was to certain meetings for charitable objects that the Bombay religious riots were directly due. A disturbance had taken place between the Hindoos and the Mussulmans at Prabhas Patan, a village in the Junagadh native State, in the vicinity of the famous shrine of Somnath, where during the taboot procession an onslaught upon the Hindoos was made by the Mahomedans, in which eleven were killed and many were injured. Meetings were held in Bombay by the respective communities to defray cost of prosecutions, and to relieve the families of the victims. A rumour spread among the lower Hindoos that the Mahomedans were going to make a general

slaughter of cows, and a counter-rumour ran among the lower Mussulmans that the Hindoos were going to attack all the Mahomedan butchers' shops. It was on August 11 that the pent-up fires burst into flame. Some differences arose between the hostile religious parties respecting ringing of bells and beating of *tom toms* in the Mahader Hindoo temple, which is in the vicinity of the great Jumma Musjid—the principal mosque. The *Devasara* or new-moon holiday of the Hindoos fell on the prayer-day of the Mahomedans. The Mahomedans complained of the perpetual noise of the *tom toms* and bells which disturbed their devotions. They assembled in exceptionally large numbers for prayers, and when the bells of the temple began to ring they rushed out of the mosque, some 2,000 in number, towards the Hindoo temple, shouting, *Din, din*—their religious war-cry. The police were prepared, and having taken their stand near the temple, promptly drove them back into the mosque, but they issued forth again, and this time the intervention of the police was futile. Directly the assistance of the naval, military and volunteer forces was invoked. The marine battalion of native troops were quickly on the spot, but before their arrival the disturbances had spread over the native town, the rioters being joined by numbers of budmashes who concentrated their attention upon wrecking and looting shops and warehouses. During the afternoon and evening things went from bad to worse, notwithstanding that detachments of troops, European and native, were drafted into the native town from the garrison. The Governor, who was at Poona, was communicated with, and Lord Harris had a consultation with General Gatacre, the Adjutant-General of the Bombay Army, and early on Saturday morning two squadrons of the 2nd Lancers were sent by train to aid in suppressing the riots. Subsequently a third squadron was despatched, together with large bodies of European infantry. In the meantime the authorities had a very difficult task to perform. At night acts of violence were perpetrated in all directions, and at length the military were obliged to fire upon the mob. As soon as a crowd was dispersed in one place riots would break out in another.

On Saturday the streets were quieter, but disturbances broke out again, and the city was not in peace until Tuesday, August 15. The military held the temporary posts that had been established in various portions of the town for several weeks, and it was only in November that the last detachment of Lancers was withdrawn. During the time the riots were at their height the troops exercised a great deal of forbearance. The total number of deaths which resulted from the rioting was officially stated to be 76. The total number of persons arrested during the riots was 1,505, consisting of 858 Mahomedans and 647 Hindoos, while 15 Mahomedans and 37 Hindoos were subsequently apprehended for having participated in various outrages during the prevalence of the disturbances.



Thus 1,557 individuals in all were brought before the magistrates to answer various charges in connection with the riots; and of these 1,192 persons were found guilty of disorderly behaviour, and 219 of rioting. The first class of offenders were fined, while those of the latter were, as a rule, more rigorously dealt with, being condemned in many instances to long terms of imprisonment.

At a meeting held at Bombay on September 7, for the purpose of organising a relief fund for the sufferers by the recent riots, Lord Harris, Governor of the Bombay Presidency, delivered a weighty speech, in which he uttered an emphatic warning to the purveyors of incendiary pamphlets calculated to bring about a renewal of the riots. Four thousand copies of such pamphlets had been seized, and the Government was in possession of information which tended to show that the riots were to some extent due to political intrigues. If further investigation, continued his Excellency, showed that this intelligence was based on fact, those concerned would have to answer for their crime in the face of day.

*Bengal.*—A system for dealing with epidemic fevers and utilising the Bengal Cinchona Plantations was organised this year with happy results. Pure quinine in little air-tight packets, each containing five grains, could be obtained by any of the population for one farthing at the nearest post-office. In Lower Bengal 120,000 of these packets, made up by prison labour, were sold in the month of September. The credit of introducing this method of relief was chiefly due to Brigade-Surgeon King of Calcutta.

The Hon. J. L. Mackay, late commercial member of the Viceroy's Council, retired from India in October, and before leaving for Europe was presented with a farewell address and a piece of plate by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, of which he had been president for the past four years.

Earnest protests were made by the zemindars in Behar against the proposed cadastral survey. The acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir A. M'Donnell, took the ground that it was necessary for the protection of the ryots and stated that he regarded an annual revision of the survey as absolutely necessary to maintain its accuracy; that the income of the zemindars was now eighty times greater than at the time of the permanent settlement; that the Government then took ninety per cent. of the revenue, but now the zemindars took ninety per cent. The zemindars have done little in return for the advantages they have received during a hundred years. A conference was held at Mozufferpore, in North Behar, in August, where the zemindars still affirmed their opposition to an annual revision, declaring it unnecessary and a source of great expense and of endless corruption and litigation. The scheme of the Lieutenant-Governor provided for the creation of a new and better-paid class of officials styled sub-kanungos, each responsible for

a circle of twenty or twenty-five villages, and all working under the supervision of the deputy collector. Measures were to be taken to procure the necessary legal sanction of the creation of a land record agency.

A commission appointed to report upon the notification of Sir Charles Elliott removing certain offences from the cognisance of juries in district courts advised the withdrawal of the notification. At the end of March the notification was withdrawn, and the offences named in it were restored to the catalogue of offences triable by jury. The commission also recommended various amendments to the criminal procedure code, which might serve to check the evils arising from badly constituted juries.

*The Native States.*—The Gaekwar of Baroda was obliged to leave again for Europe on account of his health, and the question was discussed with some anxiety in Baroda who should exercise his powers during his absence, which might last for a year or even longer. It was suggested that full powers should be conferred upon a Council of State appointed for the purpose.

In Hyderabad the administration of Sir Asman Jah came to an end, November 15, and the Prime Minister handed over the seals of office to the Vicar-ul-Umra, the Revenue Minister.

In Mysore the past year was one of exceptional financial prosperity, the State revenue (excluding railways) having reached the unprecedented total of 165½ lakhs. This was twenty-four and a half lakhs in excess of the preceding year's revenue. The land produces considerably more than half the total revenue, and the extent of lands under cultivation increased from 5,685,162 acres in 1891-92 to 5,891,268 acres in 1892-93. Lord Lansdowne recently stated that "there is probably no State in India where the ruler and the ruled are on more satisfactory terms."

*Army.*—The abolition of the Presidency army system was accomplished this year by Act of Parliament. No great excitement was caused in India by the reform, as it had been long considered there to be a foregone conclusion. In Bengal and Bombay the system of recruiting has been modified so as to increase the fighting value of the several regiments. In Madras also more attention will in future be paid to the enlistment of fighting classes, for the Madras sepoy has proved to be unequal to the needs of Burmese warfare against the hardy hill tribes on the frontier. General Stewart, commanding in Burmah, reported in the summer to the local government that Madras troops were unfit even for the ordinary work of holding that province. The commander-in-chief in India assumes the general administration of the whole Indian army, relinquishing the detailed charge of a particular portion of it. The garrison of India at present numbers about 210,000 men. The army of British India amounting to 183,000 will now be divided in four *corps d'armée*, each with defined territorial limits, and each



under a lieutenant-general commanding. The armies of the Punjab and of Hindustan will each have 23,000 British troops. Of the two southern corps in Madras and Bombay, Madras will have 9,000 British troops and Bombay 12,000. The native troops will be disposed as follows: Madras, 18,000; Bombay, 8,000; Punjab, 47,000; Hindustan, 33,000.

The retirement of Lord Roberts, the commander-in-chief, was a noteworthy military event. In a series of addresses delivered at Lahore, Calcutta and Bombay, he set forth the military history of India during the seven and a half years that he had commanded the army. Farewell dinners and entertainments in his honour were given in Calcutta, Bombay and other cities. His successor, Lieutenant-General George White, V.C., arrived April 2. His appointment gave much satisfaction, for he was known to be in sympathy with Lord Roberts' military policy and to be a tried and thoroughly competent man for this important post. Sir George Greaves, commander of the Bombay army for three years, retired in March, owing, it was said, to dissatisfaction that he had not been appointed to succeed Lord Roberts. He had undoubtedly worked with conspicuous success to increase the efficiency of the army under his command, and at his retirement he received for it by resolution the thanks of the Governor and Executive Council of the Presidency. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Sir John Hudson, K.C.B., who, two months later, on June 9, was killed by a fall from his horse at Poona. He was succeeded by General Nairne.

The popular commander of the Madras army, Sir James C. Dornier, K.C.B., while on a hunting expedition, April 25, was severely mauled by a tiger, and died of his injuries at Ootacamund on May 3. His command fell to General Mansfield Clarke.

*The Viceroy.*—The Imperial Government had some difficulty in finding a fit successor to Lord Lansdowne, whose term of office was about to expire. The post was offered to Lord Cromer and declined for "private reasons." On September 6 the selection of Sir Henry Norman, Governor of Queensland, was announced and created some surprise. As a soldier he had served with distinction in India, and he had been there for some years as military member of Council. His age of sixty-seven years, however, was regarded by many as a serious objection. Although at first he accepted the appointment he withdrew after sixteen days, considering that the exigencies of the position were too great for his health and strength. On October 12 the acceptance of the Earl of Elgin, son of the eminent Lord Elgin, who had been Viceroy in 1863, was published. The new appointment was fairly well received in India, where the former Lord Elgin was remembered for his kindly heart towards the natives, as well as for his firmness and justice.

Lord Lansdowne made a visit to Burmah before the close

of his term of office, arriving with Lady Lansdowne at Rangoon from Calcutta, November 19. The town was decorated and an address of welcome was presented by the president of the municipality. The Viceroy in reply expressed his satisfaction at the general prosperity of the country. Several addresses were presented, Nov. 21: one from a number of Burmese asking that similar restrictions might be placed upon spirits as had lately been imposed with regard to opium. Lord Lansdowne expressed grave doubts as to the expediency of such a policy, and had serious misgivings concerning the wisdom of the recent stringent rules controlling the sale of opium. He replied to those who desired an increase of expenditure on railway construction in Burmah that the province had had its fair share, and that for a few years reliance must be mainly placed on private enterprise. The Viceroy returned to Calcutta from his tour, Dec. 14.

*Legislative.*—The Supreme Legislative Council at Simla on June 26 passed an act closing the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver and fixing the value of the rupee at 1s. 4d. This was the chief measure of importance passed in India during the year.

The Indian Councils Act passed by the Imperial Parliament came into operation this year, and the rules for the election of members under its provisions were made known. Large discretion was given to the governors of the several presidencies and provinces, subject to the conditions to be enforced by the Viceroy that a *bonâ fide* effort should be made to give effect to the representative principle, and that the initiative and practical authority should be firmly retained in the hands of the Provincial Executive governments. It aimed to be a representation not by a general vote of the people and not of localities, but of interests; the representatives not being elected direct to the Legislative Councils, but recommended to the Provincial Executive for appointment to those councils. For example, in Bengal, with a population of 71,000,000, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Charles Elliott, had to provide for the election of seven representative members in addition to the majority that he would appoint directly to his Legislative Council. Municipal and other bodies of a representative character were taken as the basis of the electoral system. Calcutta, the great mercantile associations and the Calcutta University, each having one member. Rural and municipal Bengal outside Calcutta will be represented by four members. Each rural municipality with a revenue above Rx.5,000 will elect a representative to a local electoral body, and this body will finally elect the person whom it recommends for appointment to the Legislative Council. The municipalities will exercise a numerical voting power in the intermediate electoral body in proportion to the amount of their revenues. A somewhat similar procedure is provided for the rural or district boards. The



municipalities and district boards are first assumed to represent respectively the town and rural population. They in turn send members of their own bodies to form local electoral colleges. These local electoral colleges finally elect a person for appointment to the Provincial Legislative Council. The voting in the Bengal elections is to be by ballot, except in specified cases. In the Bombay Presidency some complaint arose that the central division standing first in population and in contribution to the land revenue and in the number of its municipalities, was refused a member of its own. The reply by the Government to these objections was that the interests of the Presidency were represented: agriculture in the sirdars of the Deccan and the zemindars and jagirdars of Sind; trade through the Chambers of Commerce of Bombay and Kurrachee; local self-government through the municipalities of the northern division and of Bombay and the local boards of the southern division; and education through the Senate of the Bombay University.

In the north-west provinces the system of representation was less elaborate but created on the same lines.

The resolution of the House of Commons favouring simultaneous civil service examinations in England and India created agitation in India. It was generally regarded there that this concession would in time cause a radical change and deterioration in the character of the higher branches of the Indian Government; that it would hand over the administration of India to men that the more robust Indian races would look upon with repugnance; and that it would result in filling the Indian civil service with Bengalees, who would be able to pass the examinations but would have no authority. The Mahomedans prepared petitions against the resolution, but the Native Congress leaders organised meetings to thank the House of Commons for passing it.

As compensation to civil servants and officers employed in India, who were losers by the fall in value of the rupee, a law was enacted that each officer and each civil servant not domiciled in India should have half his salary, subject to a maximum limit of 1,000*l.* paid in rupees, at a privileged rate of 1*s.* 8*d.* per rupee.

*Financial.*—Sir David Barbour, the financial member of the Viceroy's Council, presented his statement (March 23) dealing with the budgets of three years. For the year 1891-92 the final accounts were not unsatisfactory, since they showed a surplus of Rx.467,000. The revised estimates for 1892-93 disclosed a deficit of Rx.1,081,900 instead of the small surplus expected. He, however, hoped that the final accounts of the year would reduce the deficit, due to the fall in exchange, to increased sterling expenditure, and to increased expenditure on the Indian army. For the year 1893-94 the estimates were for a revenue of Rx.66,648,800 and an expenditure of Rx.68,243,900, giving a deficit of Rx.1,595,100 chiefly caused by the fall in ex-

change. The fall in the rate of exchange between March 1892 and March 1893 added directly to the expenditure of the Government of India the sum of Rx.1,989,400, the opium revenue was worse by Rx.338,400, and the cost of army services in India (excluding pay of British troops) was greater by Rx.446,800. The total deterioration from these causes was Rx.3,014,600. On the other side there was an improvement in ordinary revenue in India of Rx.647,700, a reduction in the net sterling charge (the charge for exchange at 1s. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per rupee being Rx.9,814,600) reducing expenditure by Rx.1,489,000, and a reduction in Indian expenditure (excluding opium, railway revenue and army services) of Rx.255,200. Total improvement, Rx.1,272,900. Deducting this amount from the total deterioration of Rx.3,014,600 gave a net falling off of Rx.1,741,700, just sufficient to account for the surplus of Rx.146,600 of the budget estimates of 1892-93 being converted into a deficit of Rx.1,595,100 in the estimates of 1893-94.

Sir D. Barbour hoped that Lord Herschell's committee would find some solution of the difficulty caused by the depreciation of silver, and expressed his own belief in the efficacy of an international agreement to settle the question.

A loan of three crores was announced as a means of tiding over the difficulties of the year. A rupee loan, however, for 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  crores was floated in August as a 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. loan and was only partially successful. The average rate at which allotments were made was Rx.9,621, but it rose later to 99 $\frac{3}{4}$ .

Sir D. Barbour retired in November and was succeeded by Mr James Westland as financial member of the Council.

*Currency.*—The increasing cheapness of silver continued to lessen the value of the rupee. The proposals submitted by the Indian Government for reforming the currency were referred to a committee appointed by Parliament in November 1892. This committee, presided over by Lord Herschell, after months of doubt and disagreement reported in June in favour of allowing the Indian Government to carry into effect the proposals they had made for stopping the free coinage of silver in India, with a view to the introduction of a gold standard. The following modifications of these proposals were, however, advised, *viz.*: That the closing of the mints against the free coinage of silver should be accompanied by an announcement that though closed to the public they would be used by Government for the coinage of rupees in exchange for gold, at a ratio to be then fixed, say 1s. 4d. per rupee, and that at the Government Treasury, gold would be received in satisfaction for public dues at the same ratio. No special time was recommended when action should be taken, although it was hinted that the difficulty of acting with effect would be increased by delay. On June 15 the Viceroy telegraphed to the Secretary of State in London, agreeing to the modifications proposed by the committee, and asking for authority to take action at



once. On June 20 Lord Kimberley, Secretary of State for India, telegraphed to Lord Lansdowne granting the authority asked for, and on June 26 the Supreme Legislative Council met and by a suspension of the standing orders passed at a single session an Act entitled: "An Act to amend the Indian Coinage Act of 1870 and the Indian Paper Currency Act of 1882." The immediate effect was to send the rupee up  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and silver down 4 per cent.

The reasons advanced in favour of this change by its advocates were in substance as follows: (1) Because the depreciation of silver had added largely to the taxation of India, since the Indian Government had been compelled to levy a higher tax payable in silver, in order to meet gold obligations abroad. (2) Because of the serious injury to the foreign commerce of India. (3) Because the uncertainty of the revenue collected in silver made it impossible for the Government to frame its estimates. (4) Because the fluctuating value of the rupee transformed legitimate business into gambling speculations, and prevented foreign capitalists from making investments in India, owing to the uncertainty of profits.

On the other hand, the arguments against the change were: (1) That the Indian Government would still collect its taxes in silver rupees, and foreign creditors would still expect payment of its debts in gold. (2) That since the Indian Government had during the past ten years added about 50,000,000*l.* to its foreign debt (an amount received in gold which had been mostly expended in rupees for railway and other productive works) it had gained by the fall in exchange. Taxation would need to be increased to meet this loss. (3) That so far from India losing her foreign commerce, during the past twenty years there had been a great increase as shown by the following official statistics:—

	1892.	1872.
Imports of merchandise,	Rx.66,583,000	30,811,000
Exports of merchandise,	Rx.107,851,000	63,185,000.

(4) That incorrect estimates of Indian revenues have arisen not so much on account of fluctuations of exchange as from the peculiar system of estimating adopted by the financial department. (5) That speculation does not represent any actual loss, for what one loses another gains, although gambling in trade is to be deplored. (6) That there is no evidence of any real falling off of capital seeking investment in India, and that cotton, iron and other industries are absorbing much capital as well as the Indian railway extensions.

*Council Bills.*—During the financial year, which ended March 31, the Government sold council bills and transfers to the amount of 2,648 lakhs, and realised 16,532,000*l.*, the exchange being a little less than 1*s.* 3*d.* The budget estimate for the current year called for 18,700,000*l.* which at 1*s.* 2*½d.* exchange would require a sum of 3,043 lakhs of rupees. Up to

the close of the calendar year the total sales of council drafts amounted only to 1,036 lakhs, of which 906 lakhs had been sold before the closing of the mints. On August 17 the Secretary of State, instead of holding to the price which had been fixed for the rupee, of 1s. 4d., gave way and sold at 1s. 3½d. Exchange fell and confidence was destroyed, but sales were not made at a lower price, as there seemed to be some reason to anticipate.

*Silver.*—In spite of the closing of the mints the shipments of silver to India increased, and there were enormous silver imports prior to the passing of the Act, probably due to the action of speculators, who looked for an import duty on the metal. It was ascertained that silver equal to eleven crores of rupees was imported and put into currency between January and July. No relief could be expected except through a great increase of exports over imports.

The price of silver during the early part of the year was low in Europe and America, but when the mints in India were closed it stood at 37½ pence in London and 81½ cents in New York. Afterwards it fell to 30½ pence and 63 cents, from which in a few days it rose considerably. Competition between silver and exchange was not stopped as it had been naturally supposed it would be by the closing of the mints. The native mints were still kept open, and silver was still imported, because it was cheaper than ever, and it is impossible to say to what price silver can fall and yet be produced. It is also significant that the import of gold increased in a much greater proportion than the import of silver.

*Trade.*—For the three months before the closing of the mints trade showed an excess of Indian exports over imports amounting to Rx.11,500,000. For the four months following the closing of the mints this condition was reversed, leaving a balance in favour of imports amounting to Rx.2,000,000. But it must be noted that the falling off in exports was chiefly in the three great staples of opium, cotton goods for the farther East, and rice. The Government, owing to a succession of bad crops, could only offer for export a reduced quantity of opium; with cotton goods the far East had been oversupplied by the Bombay mills, and for months before the mints were closed these had been running on short time, and as for rice it was too cheap in England to be an article of export from India. A demand sprang up for English cotton goods in India, owing to the strike in Lancashire early in the year, which had reduced the Indian stocks, and this accounted for the larger importation of these goods later in the year.

## II. CHINA.

Little of importance happened in China during the year that was made known to the outside world. No sensible



advance took place in the direction of conformity to the ways of Western civilisation. In fact it seemed that China had a wholesome dread of that so-called civilisation of which anarchy is the latest development.

Persecutions of Christian missionaries did not entirely cease, although the protests of the Foreign Powers, through their representatives at the Peking Court, availed, in a degree, to limit their severity.

Two Swedish missionaries, the Reverend Messrs. Wickholm and Johanssen, were murdered at Sungpu, a market-town of some 20,000 inhabitants, about sixty miles from Hankow, on July 1. The town had the reputation of being friendly to foreigners, and the missionaries, thinking it would be a favourable place for their labours, had hired a native house a few months before as their headquarters for the district. At first they were kindly treated by the people, but gradually they perceived that an agitation was being excited against them, and the natives who had let them the house were imprisoned and beaten. Complaints were made to the authorities at Hankow, and the prisoners were liberated, but this, instead of calming the excitement, appeared to increase it, and rumours went about that on July 1 the foreigners would be exterminated. The stories were not believed, but they proved to be only too true. Early on the appointed day a crowd, composed of men from neighbouring villages, and led by hired assassins, assembled in front of the mission and attacked the building. The missionaries, while attempting to escape by the roofs of the adjoining houses, were intercepted by four men armed with iron rods, and were compelled to jump down into the street, where they were speedily despatched in a most revolting manner. Nearly a week their naked bodies were left lying where they had fallen, and the local authorities dared not to interfere, or were unwilling. They refused to give up the bodies to their friends, in spite of the Viceroy's assurances, but after some hesitation the Taotai of Hankow sent a small force to recover the mutilated corpses. The mandarins at Hankow and Sungpu were accused of conniving at the murders, and it was understood that the diplomatic corps of foreign Ministers at Peking sent a very strongly-worded joint note of protest to the Tsung-li-Yamen, calling particular attention to the conduct of the Viceroy Chang-Chih-Tung. The Ministers did not hesitate to say that the Chinese officials in the interior of the empire were not guarding the position of foreigners as they ought to guard it, and that they were not honestly and heartily obeying the instructions given in the imperial edict of June 13, 1891.

A Roman Catholic mission at Mienyang, about ninety miles south-west of Hankow, and in the province of Hupeh, where Sungpu is situated, was destroyed in a riot in July, and another mission at Lichuen, in the same province, near the Szechuen

frontier, was attacked by a mob, but the priests escaped to Tchang. The Viceroy of the two Hu provinces—Hupeh and Hunan—Chang-Chih-Tung, has always been an enemy to all foreign influence, and from Hunan the notorious anti-foreign pamphlets of the scholar Chou Han were issued that caused such commotion in 1891.

The French Vice-Consul at Hankow finally, in December, obtained some satisfaction for the looting of the French mission stations in Hupeh. The principal criminals were either decapitated or imprisoned for life, and large indemnities were paid to the sufferers in the riots. The Imperial Government also agreed to pay 40,000 dollars as compensation to the relatives of the two martyred Swedish missionaries.

An elaborate scheme, devised by Sir Robert Hart, for the creation of an imperial postal service for China was approved of by the Emperor. A foreign postal superintendent was to be located at the capital city of each province, and an ordinary European postmaster in each prefectural city, assisted at first by English-educated Chinese clerks—the district cities as well as the larger unwallled market-towns to be in charge of trained Chinese only. The plan arranged for the closing of the private Chinese postal agencies by the Government, but their staffs were to be allowed to join the new Government postal services. For the first year the treaty ports, the sea-coast towns, and the cities along the Yangtse would be provided for, then the system would be gradually extended inland, so that in six or seven years no town or large village in the empire would be without its post-office. The present scale of postal charges are excessive. A letter from Pekin to Shanghai costs from 10 to 65 cents; from Pekin to Yunnan 50 cents. The scheme carried out under able foreign guidance and working, it was reasonably thought, would prove a great boon to the country, and especially to the poorer classes of Chinese, that now have postage fees to pay of variable amount above the regular charge of 10 or 16 cents as a kind of *pour boire* for the officials.

Another serious rising was reported in June to have taken place in Mongolia, not far from Jehol, where there was a disturbance last year, and a large force of troops was sent to that district to preserve order.

The Tsung-li-Yamên met in June to discuss the action of the United States legislature against the Chinese in that republic, and Prince Chun with two other members advocated the immediate recall of the Chinese Minister at Washington. A proclamation against the sale of American petroleum was made in retaliation for the harsh measures of the American Government against the Chinese. The Governments of Mexico and Brazil invited agricultural labourers from China to settle in those countries, but no decision concerning this offer was settled by the Pekin authorities.

Brigandage prevails in China to a greater extent than in any



other country, and is not confined to unsettled regions but is a disturbing force even near the largest cities. A catastrophe, which resulted in a terrible loss of life, took place at Kamli during a great festival held in the spring, and was caused by a gang of Chinese freebooters. During a theatrical performance three huge sheds covered with matting, in which more than 3,000 people were sitting, were set on fire, the supports gave way and the roofs fell upon the spectators, suffocating the majority of them. While the fire was raging a band of well-dressed Chinamen, strangers to the natives, rushed into a stand exclusively occupied by women and carried off about forty of the best looking ones, and when the natives attempted a rescue another band of robbers fired and plundered their houses in different parts of the town, afterwards making their escape in boats. But the most daring robber exploit occurred towards the end of the year, when the Emperor and his court, numbering many thousands of men and women, courtiers and soldiers, were returning to Peking from the summer palace in the park, only some eight miles outside the walls of the capital, to the winter palace. It was at night, and suddenly the tail of this great imperial procession was cut off by a well-organised band of brigands. In blissful ignorance the main part of the procession passed on. Little or no resistance was made by the eunuchs and attendants, when a number of carts and litters containing furs, vessels, ornaments, embroideries, &c., as well as over 4,000 ounces of silver in specie, were captured by the robbers. The booty and several of the eunuchs were safely conveyed to retreats in the neighbouring hills. The next morning the news of the outrage reached the city, and some 1,500 soldiers were sent to hunt the bandits down, while great efforts were made to keep the affair from the ears of the Emperor and from the knowledge of the foreign residents.

The floods this year were not so disastrous as usual. Although in March the Yellow River inundations caused an immense amount of damage, the loss of life was not very great. The drought of the year before brought on severe distress in Northern Shensi, and in the Kwen-hua-chang district it was said that the people were driven through want to sell their women and children for food.

Trade between China and India was disturbed by spasmodic speculation in the precious metals caused by the depreciation of silver.

The competition of India, Ceylon and Japan in the tea trade began to be seriously felt in China. The outlook, doubtless, was serious for British merchants and shipowners engaged in the China tea trade; but the population of the tea-growing districts in China were also in need of money to enable them to buy foreign goods. China tea had a formidable competitor in the Japan product, especially in the American market.

During the past twelve years the export of Amoy and For-

mosa oolongs to the United States had declined nearly one million pounds, while in the same period the exports from Japan had increased from thirty-five to forty-six million pounds.

The railways of China are yet to be built, and the difficulties in the way of their construction are unique. Monkden is the capital of Manchuria. A railway has lately been surveyed which runs near the capital, connecting Kirin with the seaport of the province. It was proposed to make a junction for Monkden at Lampien, a short distance outside the city. The Tartar general of Monkden consulted the geomancers with regard to the effect of this plan, and the sages reported that the vertebrae of the dragon, which encircles the holy city of Monkden, would be broken by driving the long nails into the railway sleepers and therefore the engineers had to build their railway through a marsh in a straight line between Kirin and Newehwang, the seaport, without approaching Monkden at all. The engineer reported the matter to Li-Hung-Chang, who wrote commending the Tartar general for his anxiety as to the geomantic influences of the ancestral home of the reigning dynasty, but adding as his candid opinion, that these influences would be improved by the junction rather than otherwise. However, the Viceroy said, as the general had vetoed the decision of the engineers the matter must be laid before the Emperor and the work stopped until his Majesty's decision was known. This seriously alarmed the general, who promptly wrote asking that the work should go on, and in the meantime he would think about it. A place a few hundred yards from the former site was chosen and the geomancers declared that this would not affect the dragon's pulse, whereupon the general wrote to the Viceroy that he was now satisfied, and that he trusted no report would be made to the Emperor of the delay.

For some years a railway has been projected from Tientsin to Tungchow with an extension to Peking. If the line is ever completed a great impetus will be given to trade. Recently when the foreign Ministers were urging the Government to open the Hunan province to foreign trade and residence, they received a reply that if this particular demand was not pressed a concession would be made for the construction of railways from Shanghai for thirty miles around in any direction.

The Viceroy, Li-Hung-Chang, gave this year another proof of his readiness to adopt Western ideas by opening at Tientsin (Dec. 19) a large medical college in connection with the naval service, the first institution of the kind ever established by the Chinese Government.

*Tonquin.*—In April, while Colonel Pennequin's column was manœuvring in the Upper Bao Ha, one of the military posts was attacked by 400 Chinese, and when their ammunition failed them the French were obliged to evacuate the position. A company of French sharpshooters, under command of Captain Canivet, came to the rescue, and the Chinese were finally re-



pulsed with a loss of 150 men. The French had one killed and three wounded. Another fight occurred on the river Claire (April 29).

Expeditions of the Governor, M. de Lannessan, from Vinh and other points to the Mekong ended in disaster, on account of the deadly climate, the hostility of the Laos tribes, and the resistance of the Siamese. The French had to abandon the river almost immediately, leaving dead, wounded and stores behind them.

In December, a French commission was co-operating with a Chinese commission in placing boundary stones on the northern frontier of Tonquin.

Floods took place as early as June. The river was then very swollen, and some embankments were washed away, but the planting of the winter crop of rice went on in the hope that the inundation would subside. In July the river rose till the entire Delta looked like a sea, but still showing the bamboo hedges here and there over the waters. On the night of August 5 a heavy rain and hurricane swept away many dwellings, and the inhabitants had to take refuge on rafts or on the embankments still remaining. Many lives were lost. Upper Tonquin also suffered severely.

*Formosa.*—Before 1887 Formosa was a dependency of the province of Fuhkien, but in that year, chiefly in consequence of the French hostilities of 1884-85 that were undertaken in the north of the island, the eyes of the Chinese were opened to the value of it, and it became an independent province of the empire. Tea-raising was introduced from Fuhkien in recent times, and proved a very successful industry. The tea grown in Formosa is not a green but a black tea, prepared without fermentation, and having a flavour like that of green tea. The more pungent teas of India and Ceylon have been lately preferred to the delicate Formosa oolongs in all the leading markets.

### III. HONG KONG.

The general condition of the colony was fairly prosperous. The Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce sent a request to the Imperial Foreign Secretary, Lord Rosebery, to open negotiations with China for the opening of the West River to the steamers of all nations. The West River, rising in Yunnan, flows through the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung, and joins the sea below Canton. Hong Kong, which is situated at the mouth of the Canton River, would largely benefit by the opening of the West River and its tributaries to steam navigation.

The Hong Kong Chamber of Commerce also asked for the opening of the cities of Wuchow, Tsunchow, and Nanning on the West River to foreign trade. At the existing treaty ports in Southern China foreign trade had reached its utmost limit,

and the opening of new ports was necessary in order to reach the great inland provinces of Kwangsi, Yunnan, and Kweichow.

The Hong Kong revenue for 1892 amounted to \$2,236,933 and the expenditure to \$2,342,837. The population at the end of the year was 164,808 males, and 66,854 females—total 231,662—principally Chinese, excepting about 10,000 Europeans and Asiatics. The approximate value of the trade of Hong Kong, with China alone, during 1891 and 1892, according to the returns of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, was 126,346,736 Haikwan taels (about 31,000,000*l.* sterling), and 128,973,819 taels (about 31,600,000*l.* sterling), respectively. Of steamers which arrived in 1892, 71 per cent. were British, and the total tonnage entered and cleared amounted to 14,152,849—an increase of 147,151 tons over the previous year.

#### IV. JAPAN.

The ship of state has not had plain sailing since the adoption of the new constitution. This year the Government Ministers had more difficulty in getting their measures through the Diet than ever before, and the factious opposition and violent language of some members of the Lower House evoked strong criticism.

A temporary understanding was arranged through the intervention of the Emperor. The dispute between the Ministry and the House of Representatives concerned some reductions in the estimates, that had been made by the Budget Committee of the House, which the executive refused to accept. The Emperor decided the question in a curious and characteristic way by issuing, in March, the following message:—

“In ancient days at the earliest beginning of the empire the Imperial Founder of our House proclaimed that he would administer affairs all over the world. We have assumed sovereignty, and during the twenty years and more which have elapsed since then every part of the executive has been in accordance with the spirit of our ancestors, and for no other purpose than to promote the happiness of the people, and to further the prosperity of the State. We also established the Diet, affording opportunity for the utterance of the public voice, that thereby the execution of the country's chief and important works would be assisted. The operation of the constitution is now in its earliest stage. Circumspection is necessary in the beginning, so that success may be ensured in the end; to-day the outset should be right, that in future great results may be expected. The progressive force of various countries of the world becomes more rapid day by day. At this present period, if time is squandered in disputes, and ultimately the great objects in view are neglected, so that opportunities for extending the national welfare are lost, the desire we cherish in view of meeting the spirits of our ancestors would be frustrated, and the way to reap the fair result of constitutional government



be lost. . . . The items of expenditure referred to in the Article of the constitution are already guaranteed by the of the articles, and should not be a cause of dispute now. the matter of military defences of the State, a single day's ct may result in a hundred years' regret. We shall now mise in the expenditure of the Household, and shall grant, g a period of six years, 300,000 yen (50,000*l.*) annually, ve also order the civil and military officers, except those ct to special circumstances, to donate one-tenth of their es during the same period, and thus to meet the want of for building men-of-war."

he Diet closed in April after a most unsatisfactory session. Ministry effected a compromise with the Lower House by ising reforms in different departments in order to get their ates passed.

nother crisis occurred in the Lower House in December. President of that body, Hoshi-Toru, received a vote of want nfidence. Refusing to resign, he was finally suspended week. When Parliament re-assembled (Dec. 29) the e, which before the recess had been greatly excited over uestion who should be their presiding officer, became more lerly, and scenes of tumult, in which violent language was went on from day to day. The disturbance created by se party feeling ended at last by the action of the Govern- in proroguing the Diet until January 12, 1894. On mber 30, however, an imperial rescript dissolved Parlia- altogether, and an election, fraught with bitterness, was to follow.

n action instituted by the Mikado was tried in the British t at Yokohama, to recover 170,000*l.* damages from the usular and Oriental Steamship Company, for the loss of Japanese cruiser, *Chishama*, sunk in December 1892, in ion with the company's ship, *Ravenna*. It was argued e plaintiff's attorneys that since the court had been dele- only a limited jurisdiction over British subjects in Japan, ikado was not liable to be treated like an ordinary suitor, sovereign would be if suing in a British Court outside n, and that, therefore, he could not be consenting to the iction, so as to give the defendants a right to counter-. The claims for compensation to the relatives of the ese who lost their lives by the collision were, in December, ssed by the court. In the British Court at Shanghai, e the Mikado brought the action, the decision was in r of the company's counter-claim. This court found that inland sea of Japan, where the collision took place, being e high seas and not a *mare clausum*, foreign vessels ating it were beyond the reach of Japanese law. The ent that the inland sea was not part of the waters of a profoundly moved Japanese public opinion, and it was ted that the Minister of Foreign Affairs would protest st this decision to the British Government.

The question of treaty revision was raised again in March, and an address to the Throne on the subject was moved in the Lower House, where it was discussed in secret session. The address contained in substance the following propositions:—

That the principle of extra-territoriality, whereby the subjects of Western Powers are exempted by treaty from Japanese jurisdiction, and are amenable only to consular courts, shall be abolished; that Japan shall be released from the treaty restrictions which at present deprive her of independence in the matter of the customs tariff; that foreigners shall be excluded from the coasting trade; that mixed residence shall be generally sanctioned for foreigners, except at Hokkaido and Okinawa in the Loo Choo Archipelago, where the right shall be restricted to a certain area; that foreign residence shall be prohibited in other islands; and that foreigners shall be precluded from possessing land, mines, railways, shipbuilding works, and docks.

But treaty revision was yet far off, unless the Ministers disregarded the opinions of the Diet, and were determined to act independently under the Emperor's prerogative. The hot discussions on this question between foreign journals were incurring enmity between foreign residents and natives to the detriment of trade. In December the anti-foreign feeling was on the increase, and many foreigners were insulted in the streets of Tokio. Under pressure from the foreign legations the Government finally instructed the police to protect all residents.

Thousands of houses were flooded in the Gifu district in September, enormous damage was done, and many people were left destitute. There was also much loss of life.

In Okayama 141 persons perished, and in Tattori 400 houses were destroyed by floods, while 5,000 people were utterly deprived of any means of subsistence. In Oita, Chime, Kagawa, Toyama, and Kumamoto the destruction of life and property was immense.

Volcanic outbreaks occurred this year in districts which had hitherto been free from them, and earthquakes were more frequent than usual.

The total amount of the internal debt of Japan in March amounted to 264,361,665 yen. The foreign debt was only 768,200*l*. The internal debt was chiefly caused by the abolition of the feudal system, as it had existed for several centuries till the restoration in 1868. At that date the Crown assumed the ownership of all the lands, and the nobles who were the owners, and the hereditary military classes who lived upon the lands, were provided for by means of pensions. From time to time there have been various internal loans for the redemption of the paper currency, for the improvement of the navy, for the suppression of the Satsuma rebellion, and for other purposes. A sum of 22,000,000 yen is annually set apart for the payment of the principal of the debt and interest.



The total foreign trade of Japan in 1892 was in excess of \$162,000,000, or about 14 per cent. more than in 1891. The exports exceeded the imports by nearly \$20,000,000. The increase since 1883 in this trade was very remarkable. Then the total was \$64,712,861. The United States of America import large quantities of Japanese tea and silk, amounting last year to the value of \$29,000,000. The cotton spinning industry in Japan was thriving. In January there were thirty-seven mills that were running about 307,500 spindles. Imports of cotton goods from foreign countries, nevertheless, had not declined. The value of exports of silk in 1892 amounted to \$40,000,000.

#### V. COREA.

An association called the Togakuto, or the party of Oriental Learning, for a few years has existed in Corea. Its members are hostile to everything foreign, and labour to expel all foreigners from the country. At a great meeting of this party held in April a number of delegates were appointed to lay certain demands before the king. When these demands, which included the suppression of foreign religions and the expulsion of foreign merchants, were refused, the delegates became so violent and disorderly that they were arrested. Whereupon the members of this party (numbering in all about 200,000) began to gather at Seoul, the capital, coming from all parts to the rescue of their fellow-partisans, and a civil war was feared. Corea is an independent country, but yet both China and Japan sent ships of war to Chemulpo, the port of Seoul, in order to protect their national interests.

#### VI. SIAM.

Very many years ago Siam recognised the suzerainty of China, and even now the Chinese regard Siam as a vassal State. For some time France has desired to extend her colonial possessions along the valley of the Mekong River and has looked for a favourable opportunity to invade the rights of Siam. Under the orders of M. de Lanessan, Governor of Tonquin, in April of this year Captain Thoreux, with a force of 180 Annamite sharpshooters, advanced to the Khong Rapids on the Mekong, in order to establish there a fortified post, so as to give the French free communication with Saigon, the capital of Cochinchina, through the construction of a railway along the rapids to the sea-coast. No resistance was made to the French occupation of Khong Island; but suddenly the invaders found themselves entrapped and their supplies cut off by Siamese troops. On May 22 a French column from below came to their rescue, and for a time all was quiet. It was early in June that M. de Lanessan sent word to the French Government that

M. Groscurin, a French militia inspector, had been murdered by a Siamese mandarin from the military post of Cam-mon. With all haste the French Consul-General at Bangkok was directed to ask the King of Siam for an audience, and to demand reparation for the alleged murder. French gun-boats were sent to Siamese waters. The Siamese Government "profoundly regretted" the aggression, and declared itself ready to bring the guilty to justice if it could be proved that the inspector had been murdered. Afterwards it was proved that M. Groscurin had been killed in a skirmish provoked by himself. About June 13 the French occupied the Island of Samit, in the Gulf of Siam, and in July two French gun-boats, against the orders of their Government and in violation of the treaty of 1856, which permitted them to anchor opposite Paknam but forbade their proceeding farther up the river without permission of the Siamese Government, forcibly ascended the Menam River, on which Bangkok is situated. Some shots were exchanged between the forts at the mouth of the river and the gun-boats as they passed at night, but fortunately no bombardment of the city was attempted. On July 20 M. Pavie, the French Minister at Bangkok, presented an *ultimatum* to the Siamese Government, which demanded a large indemnity and the recognition of the rights of France to the territory lying east of the Mekong, including the islands in the river. As the Siamese delayed to reply, the French made the conditions somewhat heavier, among other demands proposing to occupy the river and the port of Chantaboon until the complete evacuation of the posts established by Siam on the left bank of the Mekong had been accomplished.

The next day, August 1, the Siamese Government unreservedly accepted the conditions imposed by the *ultimatum*, and the threatened blockade was averted. A month later there came the prospect of more trouble through the aggressive conduct of the French special envoy, M. le Myer de Vilers, who evidently was determined to force Siam into making still further concessions. The victimised Government had by great effort succeeded in paying the heavy indemnity, thereby removing any pretext that the French might have for complaint.

By the treaty and convention published in Paris, October 2, the Siamese Government renounced all pretensions to the whole of the territories on the left bank of the Mekong River, and to the islands in the river; it agreed to abandon the armed navigation of the great Toule-Sap Lake, the Mekong, and their tributaries, and not to erect any fortified post in the provinces of Battambang and Siemreap, or within a radius of fifteen miles from the right bank of the Mekong. It also agreed to open negotiations within six months for the revision of the treaty of commerce between the two countries. The convention, which included some demands in excess of the *ultimatum*, made stipulations for the evacuation of the posts



in the surrendered territories, and for the trial of the "authors of the incidents" at Cam-mon and Keng Kien, where the inspector, Groscurin, was killed with his escort of fourteen militiamen. It provided also for the occupation of Chantaboon by the French until the execution of the stipulations. By the terms of the convention Siam lost a slice of fertile territory, but still retained her independence.

Before the year ended Great Britain and France came to an agreement that there should be created a "buffer State" on the Upper Mekong to separate English and French territory in that region, the limits to be defined by commissioners appointed for the purpose. The French authorities in Cochinchina had still in hand the surveys for the railway from Saigon to Stung-Treng and Khong. The estimated cost of this road, 250 miles long, was 15,000,000 frs. The Mekong River, owing to its rapids, will be almost useless to the French for navigation in their attempt to develop trade with the interior and with China, and certainly will not be worth the trouble they have taken to gain possession of it.

## CHAPTER VI.

### AFRICA.

#### I. EGYPT.

THE history of the year in Egypt has been by no means free from incident or anxiety. As soon as the new year came in, alarming rumours began to circulate in Cairo as to the intentions of the young Khedive, and as to his dissatisfaction alike with his Ministers and with his English advisers. Before long these rumours proved to be well founded. On January 15, the Premier, Mustapha Fehmi Pasha, a Minister who was understood to possess the confidence of the English, and who at the time was just recovering from a sharp attack of illness, was summarily dismissed by the Khedive, and at the same time the Ministers of Finance and of Justice were required to surrender their portfolios. In the place of these officials, Fakhri Pasha, a strong opponent of English influence, was appointed Premier, and the Departments of Finance and of Justice were committed to two other native politicians, who, like the new Premier, were understood to be unfriendly to English ideas. The Khedive intimated that for the future he would claim the right to appoint whatever Ministers he pleased. His action was at once interpreted as a blow to the authority of the English, and the press and the native party loudly applauded the bold and independent attitude of the Prince.

The English Government, however, lost no time in intimat-

ing to the Khedive that such conduct would not be permitted. Lord Cromer protested against the new appointments, and refused to recognise the Khedive's nominees. The English Cabinet authorised Lord Cromer to make it plain to the Khedive that, so long as England occupied Egypt, she claimed a decisive voice in Egyptian politics, and could not allow her advice to be set aside. After a very brief period of hesitation, the Khedive gave way, and the Egyptian Government was again remodelled with Lord Cromer's consent. Mustapha Fehmi Pasha was sacrificed to save the dignity of the Prince. But the Premiership was transferred from Fakhri Pasha to Riaz Pasha, a more amenable and moderate man. Boutros Pasha and Mazloun Pasha, the Khedive's nominees in the Departments of Finance and of Justice, were permitted to retain their new posts, while the other members of Mustapha Fehmi's Cabinet continued to serve under Riaz. The compromise thus arranged by Lord Cromer was designed to cover the Khedive's retreat, but it showed that the authority of the English advisers must still be considered as paramount in the State. The results of the incident were inevitably to increase the friction between the English and the natives, and to give fresh opportunities for denunciations of England to the French and Mahomedan press. The medical students protested against English instruction, and were only induced to resume their work after receiving a rebuke from the new Premier. The native newspapers vied with each other in heaping abuse upon English officials and English ideas; and the attitude of the National Party was so markedly hostile, that the English Government decided to increase the British force in Egypt. The arrival of fresh troops from Malta and Gibraltar early in February produced a quieting effect, and with this unmistakable assertion of English authority, the excitement in Cairo to some extent subsided for the time.

In spite, however, of the firm attitude of the British Government, the temper of the Khedive and of the National Party remained almost unchanged, and the greatest tact on both sides was needed to carry on the Government with success. As the year wore on, the results of the Ministerial change became apparent. Riaz Pasha was on the whole loyal to his English colleagues, and showed an honest determination to smooth over difficulties, to conciliate hostile interests, and to make the Administration work. But he was not in general sympathetic with English progress or with English ideas. He was extremely conservative in his opinions, and understood but little of the new methods which it was our object to introduce in particular into the administration of justice. He more showed himself desirous of tightening the reins of government and of increasing his personal authority, and it was that the English departmental officials found living, impediments increasing in their path, and the



of reform delayed. Once or twice, in the month of May, and again in August and November, the friction was so great as to threaten a Ministerial crisis, which was only avoided by the efforts of the Khedive and by the good sense of Riaz himself. And, if the temper of the Egyptian Ministers was unsympathetic towards English objects, that of the native and official classes in Cairo was on the whole pronouncedly worse. At the beginning of December the Legislative Council, which assembled as usual to discuss the political situation, showed in a clear light its hostility to English ideas. It began by attacking two of its members for having as a matter of courtesy called upon Lord Cromer in Cairo; and on that point brought upon itself a decided rebuff alike from the British representative and from the Egyptian Government. It then proceeded to attack the budget, especially the estimates of the War Department and the expenses of the army of occupation. It proposed to abolish the Prisons Department, the municipality of Alexandria and the department for repressing the slave trade. It proposed largely to reduce the grants made for public works, to cut down the salaries of European officials, to lessen the subvention given to the European theatre and to subsidise the native theatre instead. It appointed a committee to inquire into the alleged unsatisfactory management of the Domains Administration; demanded a reduction in the secret service money; denounced the extravagance of the Government and, as it asserted, the rapidly increasing poverty and distress of the Egyptians, and it painted in black colours the condition of the country, showing alike in little things and great its deep hostility to English influence and to the existing order of affairs.

This violent pronouncement of the Council, which, like most other Egyptian institutions, was the creation of the British adviser, and one of the first of our experiments in Egyptian self-government, offended not only the English, but the Egyptian Cabinet too. Riaz Pasha replied firmly to the objections of the Council, and Sir Elwin Palmer met their allegations as to the financial condition of the country with a clear and conclusive contradiction. In the end the Egyptian Government, on its own initiative, rejected nearly all the Council's proposals; and it would perhaps be rash to assume that the attitude of that small and unrepresentative body, largely consisting of members nominated by the Government, represented the real feelings of the great mass of the Egyptian people. On the other hand there was little doubt that native opinion in Cairo was, so far as it expressed itself, delighted by the action of the Council; and it was not a comfortable reflection for us that the only endeavour hitherto made by England to give voice to Egyptian feeling should result in unmistakable and vehement protests against our presence, our ideas and ourselves.

On the Soudan frontier also the year was not wholly free from incident. Early in January the Egyptian outposts about Wady Halfa were attacked by the forces of the Dervishes. A sharp engagement took place at Ambigol Wells upon the Upper Nile, and Osman Digna afterwards made his presence felt in the neighbourhood of Sinkat. Again, in October and November, fighting took place near the Khargeh and Beris oases. The Dervishes attacked Murhat Wells, and the Egyptian troops had to fight hard for their position. But in every engagement the Egyptians fully held their own, and showed discipline and courage, although they suffered rather severely. Meantime, outside the frontiers of Egypt, diplomats have endeavoured to revive the question of our evacuation of the country, and on the occasion of the Khedive's visit to Constantinople in July, efforts were made by the National Party to induce the Sultan to urge the subject upon our ambassador there. But the Sultan gave no encouragement to the proposal, and no demonstration against English influence ensued.

In the sphere of finance and of internal administration the records of the year have shown once again the same marked progress and success. The Government accounts for 1892, published on the close of the year, showing revenue 10,623,000*l.*, expenditure 9,835,000*l.*, gave a surplus of 788,000*l.*, or nearly a quarter of a million more than estimated in the previous budget. This result was obtained notwithstanding a considerable diminution of taxes, and was in part owing to the ever-increasing revenue from the railways and indirect taxation; besides giving 672,000*l.*, due to economies arising from the conversion of debt, which could not be touched or utilised because of the churlish attitude of France. The surplus of the Dairia Revenue considerably exceeded expectations. The Domains Administration continued to sell off their lands as rapidly as the attitude of France allowed; the natives are eagerly buying, and raising the hope that before very long this expensive administration would cease to exist. The budget estimates for 1894 anticipated a surplus of over half a million, although Sir Edwin Palmer, the financial adviser, contemplated devoting 92,000*l.* to the reduction of the land tax and 13,000*l.* to abolishing the octrois in small towns. Under favourable circumstances, the reductions made since 1890 would thus represent a relief of taxation of more than a million in the annual charge. The budget for 1894 also included a provision for an increase in the police force and in the education estimates, for operations against the Dervishes, for the drainage of Cairo, and for the establishment of local councils in some big provincial towns, in order that the inhabitants might have an opportunity of showing their interest in their own improvement. It is hoped that this last project would prove more fruitful encouraging than our previous efforts in that direction.

The administration of justice continued to be a difficult ques-



n in Egypt. The Khedive's Government could not appreciate the British view of the relations desirable between the administration and the law-courts, and Mr. Scott's proposals for judicial reform did not always meet with the encouragement which they deserved. But on the whole Riaz Pasha showed a conciliatory disposition and a readiness to meet the views of the Inspector-General of Police; and although the police got little sympathy from the natives and found it very hard to procure evidence, yet there were signs of progress to record. Mr. Gorst,

Under-Secretary for Finance, reported in January last, on return from a tour of inspection, a steady improvement in provincial administration of justice. Statistics issued by the native tribunals showed that the summary courts were doing their work well, and that their judgments were not very often reversed on appeal. The increase on the number of convictions for minor offences was a proof of the increasing activity of the police, and there was a marked and satisfactory decrease in murder, brigandage and the graver crimes.

But if the administration of justice limped, the administrators of the Railways and of Public Works were able again to boast a record every year rendered more bright. The increasing prosperity of the natives, to which the complaints and inactivity of the money-lenders in the provinces bore involuntary witness, the steadily improving cotton crops, and the projects for new works of public utility, which these officials were ever pressing, testify to their industry and success. In February the Khedive opened an extension of the railway to Girgeh, 340 miles south of Cairo. In March the railway board decided to spend 1,250,000*l.* in prolonging this line farther to Keneh and thence to Luxor. In April the Khedive opened a new steel railway bridge at Mansourah over the Damietta branch of the Nile, and later in the year a new steam tramway fifty miles in length between Ismailia and Port Said. Meanwhile a new channel was cleared to improve the entrance to the harbour of Alexandria. New works for the drainage of Cairo were set on foot. The Government decided to render fire-proof the great museum at Ghizeh. New schemes for reservoirs and for storing water were discussed on every side, and the Public Works Department began as an experiment, at first on a small scale, to substitute paid labour for the obligatory unpaid labour on the Nile banks. The only question suggested by these and other improvements was whether, in the event of our evacuating the country, any one of them would be carried on or maintained. There was no proof whatever that, if our influence were removed, any party in Egypt would concern itself to carry on our labours. The more marked and satisfactory our progress, the more urgent had become the problem of our attitude towards Egyptian politics.

## II. SOUTH AFRICA.

*Cape Colony.*—A Ministerial crisis, caused, it was said, irreconcilable differences between Mr. John X. Merriman and Sir James Siveright, members of the Cabinet, resulted in the formation of a new Government for the Cape Colony. Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the Premier, resigned with his colleagues on May 2; but accepted the responsibility of forming a new Government, finally constituted as follows: Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Premier; Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, Treasurer-General and Minister of Agriculture; Mr. Laing, Commissioner for Crown Land; Mr. Schreiner, Attorney-General; Mr. Faure, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Frost, Secretary of Native Affairs. Although Sir James Siveright was not included in the new Cabinet, he remained on terms of perfect confidence with Mr. Rhodes, and it was regarded as ground for trust in the new Ministry that the name of Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, the former Premier, appeared in the list of Cabinet officers.

Sir Henry B. Loch, the Governor, made the customary speech at the opening of the Colonial Parliament in June, and stated that the year had been a period of progress for the Colony, and that the revenue had greatly exceeded the expenditure. He remarked that the favourable yield to the revenue from railways and from Customs was due to the gold industry which had so widely extended, but he thought that competition would prevent any further large increase from these sources, and therefore that the Government ought to continue in the path of the strictest economy.

The revenue of Cape Colony for eleven months ending March 1893 amounted to 4,500,000*l.*, which was an increase of nearly 500,000*l.* sterling over that produced in the corresponding months of the previous year. As an evidence of the progress of railway development appeared the statement that in 1892, with a capital of 18,500,000*l.* the railways yielded 4*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* per cent. against 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per cent. in 1891.

A fruit-growing interest was springing up, and as the result of a conference, called by the Department of Agriculture, the Cape Fruit Growers' Association was formed in May. During the year considerable shipments of fruit were made to London, and there was prospect that this trade would greatly increase since the prohibitive tariff of the Transvaal barred the way to that nearer valuable market.

*Natal.*—After many delays the question of responsible government in Natal was finally decided. The third election for the constituency of Newcastle resulted in the return of two members for the Legislative Council in favour of it. Of the twenty-four members composing the Council, fourteen were now on the side of responsible government and formed an adequate majority. On May 10, Sir John Robinson introduced the bill, and it passed without amendment by a majority of four votes.



new constitution was proclaimed at Pietermaritzburg in 1854, and elections under it took place in September. Candidates were numerous. There were seven competitors for the Durban seats. Among these Sir John Robinson was the successful candidate, and was called upon to form a government. The Premier assumed the office of Colonial Secretary, and selected for his associates the following: Mr. Escombe, Attorney-General; Mr. Sutton, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Moor, Minister of Native Affairs; and Mr. Murray, Minister of Public Works.

Mr. F. Hely-Hutchinson, the newly-appointed Governor, arrived in September and received a warm welcome. He had lately been Governor of the Windward Islands. Sir John Mitchell, the Governor of Natal while it remained a separate colony, became Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Natal Settlements in succession to Sir C. C. Smith. The first acts of the new Government of Natal was to request to President Krüger of the Transvaal to send a deputation of conference respecting the extension of the railway beyond Charlestown into Transvaal territory. President Krüger had declared that permission to extend the railway depended much on the action of Great Britain in the matter, a great public meeting was held at Pietermaritzburg in May, and a resolution was adopted unanimously in the general interest of South Africa, and in the particular interest of Natal, that the Swaziland question should be settled on conditions satisfactory to the Transvaal. At the opening of the first Parliament, the Governor's attention was directed to the necessity of easier and cheaper means of communication with the Transvaal cities. The presence of Indian immigrants in Natal, the Governor said, called for legislation in regard to the question of immigration from India. The Parliament was prorogued October 27 until January 11, 1894. The frontiers of Pondoland the Natal mounted police have this year in driving back the rival factions led by Umlangazo from encroaching on the territory

of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, K.C.M.G., occurred. He had long been a very prominent figure in South Africa. He accompanied the first military expedition to Natal in 1838, and afterwards held different positions in Zululand. The negotiations which led to the annexation of the Transvaal by Great Britain in April 1877 were conducted by him, and at various times he was engaged in settling important affairs. *Orange Free State.*—Mr. F. W. Reitz, who had already served five years as President of the Republic, was elected for another term, November 22, by a majority of 1,000 votes. He was once an active promoter of the annexation of the Orange River and thoroughly disapproved of the English policy.

towards the natives, but changing his views, he became the advocate of a general Customs Union and a cordial supporter of English supremacy in South African affairs. At the election the other candidates were Mr. Van der Lungen and Mr. de Beer. The former was opposed to the expenditure of money upon public works and was in favour of abolishing the Customs Union, while Mr. de Beer was the candidate of the extreme Conservative Dutch Party.

The Volksraad in May declined to terminate its tariff arrangements with Cape Colony, and authorised the President to call a conference looking to the establishment of a general South African Customs Union. It also approved a proposal for the formation of a South African Mint Union.

*Transvaal or South African Republic.*—The Presidential election took place early in the year. The principal candidates were Mr. Krüger and General Joubert. In April the figures were officially stated as follows: For Mr. Krüger, 7,881; for General Joubert, 7,009; for Chief Justice Kotze, 76. As it had been reported that the number of votes polled was in excess of the number of electors upon the register, a committee of the Volksraad was appointed to investigate the matter. A scrutiny confirmed the re-election of President Krüger, and, amid great enthusiasm, he was sworn in on May 12 as President of the Republic. He delivered an address urging foreigners residing in the Transvaal to co-operate with him for the welfare of the country. Amity, he said, was the watchword. He concluded his speech with an exhortation that children should be encouraged to learn the national Dutch language.

At the opening of the Volksraad, President Krüger strongly advocated the reduction of the colonial produce tariff. A special session of the Volksraad was summoned to meet in December.

Sir Henry Loch, High Commissioner for South Africa, arrived at Pretoria on June 3 to renew his conferences with President Krüger on the settlement of South African disputed questions.

*Swaziland.*—A conference was held in April at Colesburg between Sir Henry Loch and President Krüger for the settlement of the various questions relating to Swaziland, but after two days' discussion they did not come to a perfect agreement. They had another meeting in Pretoria in June. The Transvaal Government were dissatisfied with the proposals of Great Britain which were first offered, but finally a new agreement was signed by which Swaziland, with the consent of the Swazi Queen Regent and Council, was to be placed under the protection and administration of the South African Republic. It provided that all British subjects residing in Swaziland should have all the rights and privileges of burghers of the South African Republic, but were to obey the Government and conform to the laws established for Swaziland. All white ma



resident in Swaziland on April 20, 1893, were admitted to full Transvaal citizenship. The Customs duties on articles imported into Swaziland were to be no higher than according to the tariff of the Transvaal or that in force in the South African Customs Union, and no railway beyond the eastern boundary of Swaziland was to be constructed by the Transvaal Government save under the provisions of a further contemplated convention between her Majesty the Queen and the South African Republic or with the consent of her Majesty's Government.

*Mashonaland.*—Under pretext of punishing some Mashona cattle stealers an *impi* of Matabele warriors invaded the colony in July, and approached near to the peaceful settlement of Victoria. Although they murdered the Mashona servants at the doors of their white masters' dwellings, they dared not kill the European settlers. Lobengula was warned by the High Commissioner, to whom he replied that he regretted the conduct of his indunas, but claimed the right to punish his slaves, the Mashonas. It was well known that during the past few years at least 10,000 Mashonas—men, women and children—had been massacred by Lobengula and his people. He refused compensation for cattle captured or for damage done unless the Mashona captives, who had been rescued by the Victorian settlers, were given up to him with their wives and children. This was, of course, impossible; and Sir Henry Loch, the High Commissioner, satisfied that "the intention of the Matabele was actively hostile," ordered Dr. Jameson, acting commissioner in Mashonaland, to take all steps for the protection of the lives and property of the colonists. Yet the raids continued, and Lobengula, if not consenting to them, was not able to hold in check his marauding *impis*. Early in October an army of 5,000 Matabele passed north-eastward from Fort Victoria. The situation became daily more and more critical. At Fort Salisbury there was great indignation at the inaction of the authorities. The Matabele in September were moving in force towards Sinoia, eighty-five miles west of Fort Salisbury, looting all they could find, and the native chiefs were terror-stricken in anticipation of an attack.

*The Matabele War.*—On October 5, a party of the Bechuana-land border police were patrolling on the south bank of the Shashi River near Macloutsie when they were fired upon by some Matabele, who, when their fire was returned by the police, retreated. An attack on Tati in Khama's country seemed to be threatened. At last the word for an advance against Buluwayo came, and a simultaneous movement was ordered from the forts of the British South Africa Company—Forts Salisbury, Charter, Victoria and Tuli. Mr. Rhodes, the responsible representative of the Company, was in full accord with Sir Henry Loch in undertaking the war against Lobengula, and they had the sanction of Lord Ripon on behalf of the British Government. All the Chartered Company's forces at Forts Victoria and

Charter, numbering 800 men, and armed with four Maxim machine guns, set out (Oct. 6) towards the Matabele border.

Another column, consisting of 300 Bechuanaland police with the garrison of Fort Tuli, under command of Colonel Goold-Adams, and later reinforced by 1,760 of King Khama's men advanced *viâ* Tati and Monarch's Reef, starting from the Shashi River (Oct. 15), and under the guidance of Mr. Selous, the well-known African hunter and explorer, they marched by a circuitous route in a north-westerly direction towards Buluwayo, Lobengula's capital.

The garrison of Fort Salisbury under Major Forbes formed another column of attack, and approached Buluwayo from the north-east. The combined Fort Victoria and Fort Charter columns had the first skirmish with the enemy on October 15. On the following day they engaged and defeated a large force at Indaima's Mountain, midway between Salisbury and Buluwayo. They reached the bank of the Shangani River (Oct. 23), encountering little resistance. Soon after crossing the river an *impi* of about 5,000 attacked the 1,800 British troops while in laager. The Matabele, armed with Martin rifles and assegais, made several desperate charges and fought with the greatest bravery; but the fire from the Maxim guns in the laager was so destructive that nothing could stand before it. At last they broke and fled, pursued by the mounted troopers but the ground was too difficult to permit cavalry to do much execution. In the first attack the Matabele lost fully 500 killed and wounded, while the British loss was only two killed and six wounded. After the battle the British column moved direct to Buluwayo, about thirty-five miles distant.

The terrible effect of the machine guns was afterward described by a fighting induna who took part in the engagement. "I led my men on," said he, "but saw them falling like cut corn. We then halted, knelt and fired, but still they fell. We lay down protected by our shields, but most of the remainder were killed, so I crawled away and fled."

The columns commanded by Colonel Goold-Adams arrived on November 1 two miles to the north-west of Impandini's kraal. The next day they moved on in the direction of Buluwayo. On November 3 the waggon train was attacked by two *impis* of the Matabele. A general action ensued, which ended in the defeat of the Matabele, who fled to the neighbouring hills. They lost sixty in killed, including Lobengula's son-in-law, and very many were wounded. The British lost two officers—Corporal Munday of the Bechuanaland police, and Sergeant Darm of the Chartered Company's force. Four native soldiers were killed. Mr. Selous, who had displayed great courage, received a slight bullet wound in the side. Eight natives were slightly wounded. Khama's men were prominent in the fight, but after the battle they withdrew and returned to their own land.

Three envoys from Lobengula, accompanied by Mr. Dawson



the trader, arrived at Colonel Goold-Adams's camp (Oct. 18) Tati. There was nothing that led Colonel Goold-Adams to anticipate the arrival of messengers from Lobengula, and learning from the interpreter that these men were getting their horses ready to escape from the camp, he ordered their temporary detention till he could know from Mr. Dawson who and what they were. They were told that no harm would be done to them unless they attempted to escape; but either with the wish to warn their chief of the advance of a white force, or through fears for their personal safety, one of the indunas suddenly seizing a bayonet from the scabbard of a soldier stabbed two of the guard and was shot in endeavouring to escape. The second induna, making a like attempt, also met with his death. The other envoy, who was half-brother to Lobengula, was released.

On October 23 Captain Gwynydd Williams met with a tragical fate. Before one of the battles, while the enemy were harassing the company's column, his horse was wounded. Being followed and surrounded by the Matabele, he dismounted, with his back to a rock, and defied them to take him. As they came up he killed several with his magazine rifle, and several more with his revolver, before he fell, shot in the forehead.

Colonel Goold-Adams announced from Buluwayo on November 13 that he had effected a junction there with the forces of the Chartered Company. The Matabele with Lobengula—8,000 strong—were in the bush country, north-east of Buluwayo. A flying column under Major Forbes of 300 men with four Maxim guns set out on the 14th to attempt the capture of Lobengula, who seemed to have no intention of surrendering. They reached the Shangani River without meeting with any incident (Dec. 5). Late in the afternoon of that day Major Forbes sent a patrol across the river to try to capture a Matabele prisoner in order to find out the whereabouts of the King, and what force was with him. Major Wilson with an advance party of fifteen men, the flower of the Victoria column, left the camp before sunset on this duty. Pushing along the fresh waggon track, they passed encampment after encampment filled with armed men with their women and children with them. These made no attempt to oppose their advance. A prisoner was captured who said that the King was quite near, so they went on till they arrived at an encampment surrounded by a high fence, where were the King's waggons and where the King himself lay.

The interpreter called out to the King to surrender, speaking for Major Wilson as follows: "We do not want to fight any more or kill any more of your people. Let your King come out and talk to us and hear the words we bring from the chief of white men." No answer was returned; but there was heard an ominous clicking of gun-locks, whereupon Major Wilson and his men quietly withdrew from the encampment. A very heavy

storm of rain broke over them, and the night was intensely dark. Lobengula soon after mounted a horse and, accompanied by the induna Makwaskwi and three other horsemen, rode away to the northwards, ordering his people to burn his waggons, and, after stopping the advance of the white men, to join him with the women, children, and cattle. Major Wilson sent word by Captain Napier to Major Forbes, that he was close to the King, and hoped to capture him in the morning. Although no direct message was sent for reinforcements, Captain Henry Borrow with twenty men of the Salisbury column was ordered to go to his assistance. From Mr. Selous's statement, it appeared that all through the long hours of this dark, rainy night Major Wilson and the twelve brave men who were with him (two having left to carry the message to Major Forbes in the early hours of the night) stood patiently beside their horses, from whose backs the saddles were never removed, as it was evident from occasional shoutings that were heard that the Kaffirs were moving about, and a surprise had to be guarded against. At last, just as day was about to break, the beat of horses' hoofs on the sandy ground was heard, and soon afterwards Captain Borrow and his men rode up.

After a short consultation, it was determined to make a dash for the King's encampment at once and to endeavour to capture his waggons, in one of which it was hoped he would still be found. As the spot where Major Wilson and his men had passed the night was but a short distance from the King's encampment, it was still barely daylight when the thirty-five mounted white men rode up to it on the morning of December 4. As on the previous evening, one of Major Wilson's men, who spoke the Sintabele dialect, called upon the King to surrender. This call met with an immediate response, though not a verbal one, for scarcely had the interpreter ceased speaking when a body of men, estimated at about 100 strong, poured out of the enclosure, and, lying out in skirmish order in the bush to the right of where the white men were standing, at once opened fire upon them at a distance of less than 100 yards. It was so early that the flashes of flame could be seen issuing from the muzzles of the rifles. The white men at once dismounted and returned the fire, when it was perceived that another body of natives were working round in the bush to their left. Seeing this attempt to outflank and surround his little party, Major Wilson ordered his men to remount and retire down the open valley behind them. At this time two horses had been shot, but no white man had been hit. The two men who had lost their horses were taken up behind two of their companions, and the whole party retreated at a hard gallop down the open valley, taking up a position behind an immense ant heap at a distance of about 600 yards from the King's encampment. They were followed by the body of Matabele who had first fired on them, and these men charged out boldly into the open, running down



the open valley to within 200 yards of where the white men had taken up their position. Then, however, finding themselves exposed to a heavy fire from behind the ant heap, they swerved off into the bush skirting the valley, from which they kept up a continuous fire.

Very soon the second body of natives, who had been running in the shelter of the bush skirting the left-hand side of the valley, again outflanked the white men and opened fire upon them. Here two more horses were shot, but again no white man was wounded. Once more Major Wilson and his men retreated down the valley, hotly pursued by the Matabele, who, however, kept within the shelter of the bush on either side of the open valley. This time four men had to be carried on red horses, behind the saddles of their companions.

Three men were at last sent to Major Forbes for reinforcements, and they had the greatest difficulty in outflanking on their jaded horses the swift-footed savages and in making their way across the river, which had risen rapidly. Two Matabele regiments closed up in the rear of Major Wilson's party, and, being surrounded on every side, the end came quickly. All these brave men left behind perished, fighting to the last. Major Forbes also was obliged to retreat with the loss of several men. Of the 200 horses they took away they only brought back forty, having been compelled to subsist upon the remainder. Lobengula was said to have reached the Zambesi, but a report was current at Fort Salisbury at the end of December that he had halted at Inyoga's, south of the Mafungo Buzi Mountains, in Matabeleland.

Civil government in the country was already established under similar conditions to those prevailing in Mashonaland. The natives were anxious for peace. Major Goold-Adams, with 200 imperial troops, remained near the border, and the rest of the police force returned to Bechuanaland.

### III. EAST AFRICA.

*Zanzibar.*—During the absence of Sir Gerald Portal in Uganda, Mr. Rennell Rodd was acting British Agent and Consul-General of the protectorate.

The Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Ali-ben-Said, died of dropsy on March 5. Directly after the Sultan's death became known, 250 men were landed from the British cruiser *Philomel*, and were drawn up in front of the palace. Kalid Burghash, one of the Sultan's sons, at first attempted to bar all the palace doors. In response to a summons from the Acting Consul-General, he finally opened them, and, after some preliminaries, Mr. Rodd proclaimed Hamed-ben-Thwain, grandson of the fourth brother of Seyyid Burghash—the Sultan who died in 1888—as Sultan in succession. Great credit was due to General Lloyd Matthews, President of the Ministry, and to Captain

Hatch, commanding the British force, for the admirable manner in which they maintained good order. By midnight all was quiet, and a great impression was made on the native population by the prompt action of the authorities. There was no real obligation to appoint any successor from the family of the late Sultan, or any Sultan at all, over the British protectorate, but this course was wisely taken by Mr. Rodd in order to conciliate the people. Hamed announced his intention to set free 300 of the late Sultan's slaves, and agreed to do away with the fort, long used as a prison, and regarded as a standing reproach to the town.

Great reforms were introduced under the rule of Sir Gerald Portal. When he arrived in 1891, he found the whole island advancing towards insolvency. Moneys collected by the Customs officials were paid into the palace and disbursed indiscriminately to the clamorous crowd of adherents who lived on the Sultan's bounty. These abuses were abolished; the Customs were reformed; public works were taken in hand, and new sources of revenue devised.

The total value of imports in 1892 was nearly 1,185,000*l*. A large quantity of goods in addition was taken to the port for transhipment into coasting steamers and dhows. The value of exports amounted to 908,035*l*. The export of cloves—a precarious crop—decreased. The duty on this article has hitherto yielded nearly half the entire revenue of Zanzibar. The export of hides also fell off, owing to the cattle plague on the mainland. In the budget estimate for 1894, that included a liberal allowance for public works and contingencies, expenditure was set down at 1,241,202 rupees, and the revenue at 1,333,560 rupees. The financial condition, considering the onerous nature of the foreign treaties, was regarded as satisfactory. On August 1 Witu was included in the British protectorate of Zanzibar.

*British East Africa.*—News arrived at Zanzibar in February of disaffection among the Somalis at Kismayu and at Baraza, on the most northern limit of the coast line under the management of the Imperial British East Africa Company, and Mr. Rodd proceeded at once in a British cruiser to the scene of disturbance. He ascertained that through some mismanagement the hostility of the Somalis had been excited, and that finally they had attempted to assassinate Mr. Todd, the agent. Their conduct became so threatening that the police of the Company fired upon and killed eight of the natives. The guns of her Majesty's ship *Widgeon* were then brought to bear, dispersing the rioters, who retired inland. They were at length allowed to return on condition of their complete submission to the rule of the Company. By this incident the good work done by Commander Dundas in opening the Juba River to navigation and trade was, for the time, annulled.

Another outbreak took place (Aug. 11) at Kismayu. A



umber of soldiers from the Hyderabad contingent mutinied at a outlying fort, and after killing the British East Africa Company's superintendent, Mr. Hamilton, joined with a band of Somalis and attacked Kismayu. After some hard fighting they were repulsed. A party of forty blue-jackets landed from the British war vessel *Blanche* and recaptured the fort, and two Englishmen who were in a dangerous position on the steamer *Kenia*, up the Juba River, were afterwards rescued.

The stronghold of Fumo Omari, the deposed Sultan of Witu, was also stormed and captured in August.

The English cruiser *Philomel* captured an Arab dhow flying the French flag in April, and rescued sixty-seven slaves on board—mostly children—but the captain and crew were acquitted in October by the Réunion Court of Zanzibar, to which they were taken for trial for slave-trading by the French Consul. The legal status of slavery in Zanzibar under Mahomedan law remained intact, and when Witu became a part of the protectorate its prospect of complete emancipation of slaves on May 24, 1896, disappeared. The agreement of 1891 made by the British East Africa Company with the Sultan of Witu provided for the administration of the territory under the Indian Code, and for the entire abolition of slavery therein at the end of five years. It was a strange anomaly that the legal status of slavery, abolished by British influence, should be virtually restored by the country's coming under the British flag where Mahomedan laws were administered.

The British East Africa Company made proposals for the re-absorption of its territory into the protectorate of Zanzibar. The sum of \$80,000 yearly has been paid to the Sultan of Zanzibar as the price of the commercial concession received from him. When the English protectorate was established, the Company's territory was open to free trade, so that it was found impossible for the Company to do the political work of the Imperial Government in that region without being allowed some means of raising revenue. The total outlay of the Company had been 466,000*l.* At the end of the year the future of the Company had not been determined.

*German East Africa.*—The head-quarters of the German East African Company—established for trading purposes—when Zanzibar came under British rule were transferred to Dar-es-Salaam.

A new Governor of German East Africa, Freiheer von Schele, came into office and exhibited great energy in all departments of his administration. On August 12 he took after a fierce struggle the strong fortress of Sultan Meli at Kilima-Njaro. The chief escaped but agreed to enter into negotiations for peace. These ended in Meli's complete subjection to German rule. He promised to deliver up all his stores of ivory as a war indemnity, to abandon his fortress and to aid the Germans in establishing a station on the site of his

stronghold. The German arms were also successful in fighting the Wahehes in Ugogo.

The cost of the German administration in East Africa is borne by the Imperial Exchequer and not by a private company. Published accounts in September showed so far an expenditure equal to 1,250,000*l*.

#### IV. WEST AFRICA.

*Dahomey*.—The defeated King Behanzin sent two envoys to Paris in October with the hope of their making terms for a treaty of peace, but they were not received by President Carnot or by any of his Ministers.

General Dodds in his official report regarded the war as over, and deemed that famine and privation would complete the work begun by force, unless Behanzin and his satellites at once surrendered. On October 27, a French column under General Dodds arrived within four miles of Behanzin's camp, while another column under Colonel Dumas came up within seven miles east of it.

The Dahomeyans were panic-stricken by this combined movement, and Behanzin with his warriors fled into the bush. Several of the chiefs submitted to the French, and gave up their stores of rifles and guns. A detachment was sent in pursuit of Behanzin, who at the close of the year was still a fugitive. He had then been abandoned by most of his followers, and was nearly on the verge of starvation.

*Niger Coast Protectorate*.—Official notification was given, May 13, that the part of the Niger district under the administration of her Majesty's Commissioner would cease to be known as the Oil Rivers Protectorate, and in future would be called the Niger Coast Protectorate.

The latest official report showed that the imports amounted to 720,013*l*., and the exports to 875,503*l*. The exports consisted almost wholly of palm oil and kernels.

*Lagos*.—Complete freedom of trade was established between the Egba country and Lagos by treaty, after the hostile tribes were subdued by the English arms. The treaty stipulated that no part of the country should be ceded to a foreign power. The King and the Egba authorities pledged themselves to promote trade with the adjoining countries, and to abolish the practice of human sacrifices. Mr. G. T. Carter, the Governor, negotiated the treaty at Abeokuta, the Egba capital.

*Sierra Leone*.—A fight occurred (Dec. 23), between British and French forces at Warina, in the Conno country, owing to a deplorable mistake.

The French party, consisting of thirty Senegalese sharpshooters and 1,200 natives, under Lieutenant Maritz, attacked the British in camp, mistaking the officers in their white campaigning dress for Arabs commanding a force of Sofas. The assailants were



led, and the French commander mortally wounded. Ten of the Senegalese were killed. The British force was made up of 20 frontier police and about 430 men of the West India Regiment stationed at Sierra Leone. They were on their way to punish the marauding Sofas who had given much trouble in the British sphere of influence. The French troops were chiefly Senegalese, recruited in Senegal. Lieutenants Liston and Wrough- ton of the West India Regiment, and Captain Lendy of the 1st West India Regiment, were killed. Seven of the privates were killed and eighteen wounded.

*Congo Free State.*—A very well equipped expedition left Sierra Leone on April 18, under Captain Deschamps, going by the Cameroonian route, and arrived at Blantyre in the Shire Highlands on July 4. It was sent out by the Belgian Anti-Slavery Society to succour Lieutenant Long's expedition, which had arrived at Albertville meanwhile.

The Congo Free State expedition against the slave traders in the Upper Congo region, having defeated them on the Kasai River, arrived on January 21, under the lead of Captain Dhanis, at the Lualaba, opposite Nyangwé. The Arabs had fortified the town, but Captain Dhanis attacked it with artillery, and the natives were ready to sue for peace. On March 4 the Arabs were seized with panic and fled from the town. After a stay at Nyangwé of six weeks Captain Dhanis set out with a part of his force for Lake Tanganyika, pursuing the slave traders, and on April 27 captured Kasongo. Several Arab chiefs were killed, and a very severe blow was struck at Arab rule in the Upper Congo region.

The occupation of Nyangwé, the stronghold of slavery, will enable the State to avenge the death of its agents MM. Lippens and De Bruyn at Kasongo, to reinforce Captain Jacques against Mwaliza, one of the most powerful slave-hunters, who ravages the regions north and west of Lake Tanganyika, and finally to establish itself firmly at the Falls and to ensure free communication between the middle course of the Congo River and the Tanganyika on the one hand, and Katanga on the other. All the territory apportioned to the Congo Free State as far as its extreme eastern limits will thus be placed under the undisputed rule of King Leopold.

It was decided in December by the Independent State that a new district should be constituted on the Upper Congo, including all the zone of Riba Riba, Nyangwé, and Kasongo, and the administrative region of Tanganyika. This vast territory, which has been delivered from Arab influence, would be placed under the command of Commander Ponthier.

Details were received in April of the death of M. Van der Kerckhoven. He was accidentally shot by his servant on August 10, 1892.

## V. CENTRAL AFRICA.

*Nyassaland.*—The Imperial Commissioner, Mr. H. Johnston, was striving to close completely the whole of east frontier against the slave traffic as well as against trade in guns, gunpowder and spirits.

Contracts for constructing the mid-Africa telegraph as far as Lake Nyassa were signed. The terminus of northern end was to be at Zomba, near Blantyre. Two boats—vessels of thirty-five tons and eighty horse power were brought in sections to Lake Nyassa, and launched in summer.

The notorious and powerful chief Makanjira was killed his son Zarafi on the night of June 25. They were drinking pombe together. The son having remarked that he intended to submit and make terms with Commissioner Johnston, Makanjira angrily replied that he would shoot him if he did whereupon Zarafi, having a gun at his side, promptly shot his father, and assumed the chieftainship.

The whole south end of Lake Nyassa was commanded by Fort Johnston, and three forts held the Upper Shiré. A fourth fort was to be built at the north end of Lake Shirwa, near Kawonga's town. Fort Lister, north of Mount Mlanje, Fort Anderson, south of this impassable barrier, were completed.

*Emin Pasha.*—There could be no more doubt as to the fate of Emin. Tracked by Arabs who were determined to kill him he had passed through the Ruanda country and had followed one of the rivers flowing into the Congo, until he came to Seyd bin-Abed's residence. Seyd was the son of old Tanganyika. There were with Emin about thirty followers who were Nuer soldiers. Shortly after his arrival a number of Arabs went and asked him where he was going. Emin replied: "To the coast." An Arab then came forward and said: "You are Emin Pasha who killed the Arabs at the Victoria Nyanza. We will kill you." He then took a large scimitar from his belt and raising it aloft struck off Emin's head. His body was thrown to the Manyema, who devoured it, and the Nuer followers were afterwards killed and eaten by the cannibals. Emin's real name was Edward Schnitzler.

*Uganda.*—The Imperial British East Africa Company, willing to incur the expense of administration, decided to evacuate Uganda by March 31, 1893. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, despatched Sir Gerald Portal, as Commissioner for the British sphere of influence in East Africa, to investigate and report on the best means of dealing with the country whether through Zanzibar or otherwise. The offer of a chartered Company to make over their stores and establishments to the Imperial Government was left to Sir Gerald



accept if necessary or expedient. He was instructed to establish friendly relations with King Mwanga, to arrange for the promotion of peace, the encouragement of commerce, the security of missionary enterprise and the suppression of the slave trade. The expedition was fully officered and equipped. The staff officers were Mr. Ernest Berkeley, Colonel Rhodes, Major Owen, Captain Portal, and Lieutenants Arthur and Villiers, and there were guides and interpreters, while an adequate force of armed natives acted as escort.

Sir Gerald left Zanzibar January 1, arriving at Kavirondo on March 3, and at Mengo on March 17. The transition from the rule of the Company to that of the Imperial Government was effected in the smoothest possible way through the wise firmness of Lord Rosebery, then Foreign Secretary, although the Government was not therefore committed to any definite policy as to the future management of the country.

In general Sir Gerald Portal carried out the intentions foreshadowed by Captain Lugard. Five hundred Soudanese refugee soldiers—the refuse of Egyptian forces in the equatorial provinces—were domiciled with their wives and slaves in Toru and Bunyoro and were an active demoralising element. These were all enlisted in the service of the Government. The two furthest forts established by Captain Lugard in Toru were abandoned and their garrisons brought down to the two nearest forts. One hundred soldiers with their followers were brought to Kampala and a colony of them was formed near the lake. Major Owen and Captain Portal were left in Toru to organise the troops, and Captain MacDonald was appointed Resident at Kampala.

On May 27 Captain Portal died, and the following day was buried with full military honours—the funeral service being conducted by Bishop Tucker.

An amicable and satisfactory arrangement was concluded between the Protestant and Catholic parties in May—the latter having been granted a further liberal extension of territory. The government was to remain in the hands of the King and the leading chiefs, assisted by Captain MacDonald, the Resident, who would be chiefly concerned in securing the safety of the Europeans, and in maintaining order pending the final decision of the British Government. The Protestants voluntarily signed and presented a paper to the Imperial Commissioner, in which they expressed their readiness to emancipate all their slaves. Forty of the principal chiefs signed it, and, if the Roman Catholics agreed to this, nine-tenths of all the people would be on the side of emancipation.

A Mahomedan revolt was encouraged in June by Selim Bey, who had led the followers of Islam back to Uganda after their expulsion, and for a time the Christian sects were in danger. Captain MacDonald acted with promptitude and judgment, and induced the religious factions to combine against the

common foe. Selim was arrested, tried, convicted of mutiny, and banished, and the followers of Mbogo, the Mahomedan leader, were driven out of the country. Selim died as a prisoner on his way to the coast. The suppression of the rebellion largely increased the confidence of the Waganda in the Government, and taught the necessity of concentrating the Soudanese force and keeping it well under control.

At the close of the year a force of Soudanese soldiers proceeded to Unyoro, under the command of Colonel Colville, to attack the notorious Kaba-Rega.

## CHAPTER VII.

### AMERICA.

#### I. UNITED STATES.

THE state of political parties in the Congress of the United States during the second session of the fifty-second Congress was as follows: In the Senate—Republicans, 47; Democrats, 39; Populists, 2. In the House of Representatives—Democrats, 233; Republicans, 88; Populists, 9. President Harrison's Cabinet remained unchanged. The legislation of the short session was limited, but there were some Acts passed of interest and importance. An Act relating to navigation of vessels and bills of lading, by which stipulations in bills of lading by vessel owners of non-liability were in certain cases prohibited, aimed especially at breaking up the monopoly in the trans-oceanic carriage of grain and flour. An Act granting additional power to the Federal Government to supplement the State quarantine systems, authorised the President to suspend emigration and passenger traffic from infected ports. The Free Silver Party with their allies in the House of Representatives practically defeated the Silver Purchase Repeal Bill and on February 10 it was abandoned for the session. The Senate ratified in February an extradition treaty with Russia, with an amendment providing that persons guilty of attempting to assassinate the Czar or members of the Imperial family should be extradited regardless of their motives. The Diplomatic Appropriation Bill, as passed, contained a provision conferring the same diplomatic title on the American representative in a foreign country as the title given to that country's representative in the United States.

The counting of the votes of the Electoral College for President and Vice-President of the United States took place, as provided for by the constitution, in February, and Grover Cleveland of New York was declared to be elected President



for four years from March 4, 1893. He received 277 votes; Benjamin Harrison 145 votes, and James B. Weaver 22 votes. Mr. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois was declared elected to the Vice-Presidency. The inauguration ceremonies were held at Washington at the Capitol, March 4. The procession was larger and the number of spectators greater than ever before on any similar occasion. The spectators numbered over 200,000, and the grand stands erected along Pennsylvania Avenue formed almost two continuous lines from the White House to the Capitol, a distance of one mile.

The President-elect and President Harrison proceeded in the same carriage to the Capitol, accompanied by Mr. Stevenson, the Vice-President-elect, and escorted by the Senate Committee of Arrangements, the members of President Harrison's Cabinet, and the incoming Democratic Cabinet, General Schofield, General-in-Chief of the United States troops, and Admiral Gherardi, the senior officer of the navy, the new head of the Republic was greeted with cheering along the entire length of Pennsylvania Avenue.

At the Senate Chamber, which presented a most brilliant appearance, the entry of Messrs. Cleveland and Harrison was the signal for loud cheering. When this had subsided Vice-President Morton, as *ex officio* President of the Senate, administered the oath to Mr. Stevenson, his successor, and declared the sitting adjourned. The special session of the Senate was then opened with the delivery of an address by Vice-President Stevenson and other formalities, including the swearing-in of the new Senators. The entire gathering then proceeded to the main eastern portico of the Capitol, where a large grand stand had been erected. Here the oath was solemnly taken by the new President in presence of the assembled thousands, and Mr. Cleveland delivered his inaugural address to the American people.

The following are the President's words:—

"My Fellow Citizens,—In obedience to the mandate of my countrymen, I am about to dedicate myself to their service under the sanction of a solemn oath. Deeply moved by the expression of confidence and personal attachment which has called me to this service, I am sure my gratitude can make no better return than the pledge which I now give before God and these witnesses of my unreserved and complete devotion to the interests and welfare of those who have honoured me.

"I deem it fitting on this occasion, while indicating the opinion I hold concerning public questions of present importance, to refer briefly also to the existence of certain conditions and tendencies among our people which seem to menace the integrity and usefulness of their Government. While every American citizen must contemplate with the utmost pride and enthusiasm the growth and expansion of our country, the sufficiency of our institutions to stand against the rudest

shocks, the wonderful enterprise of our people, and the demonstrated superiority of our free government, it behoves us constantly to watch for every symptom of insidious infirmity that threatens our national vigour. It cannot be doubted that our stupendous achievements as a people and our country's robust strength have given rise to a heedlessness of those laws governing our national health which we can no more evade than human life can escape the laws of God and nature. Manifestly nothing is more vital to our supremacy as a nation and to the beneficent purposes of our government than a sound and stable currency. Its exposure to degradation should at once arouse to activity the most enlightened statesmanship, and the danger of depreciation in the purchasing power of the wages paid to toil should furnish the strongest incentive to prompt and conservative precaution. In dealing with our present embarrassing situation as related to this subject, we shall be wise if we temper our confidence and faith in our national strength and resources with the frank concession that even these will not permit us to defy with impunity the inexorable laws of finance and trade.

"Closely related to the exaggerated confidence in our country's greatness which tends to the disregard of the rules of national safety another danger confronts us not less serious—I refer to the prevalence of a popular disposition to expect from the operation of our Government especial and direct individual advantages. The verdict of our voters which condemned the injustice of maintaining protection for protection's sake enjoins upon the people's servants the duty of exposing and destroying the brood of kindred evils which are the unwholesome progeny of paternalism. This is the bane of Republican institutions and a constant peril of our government by the people. It degrades to purposes of wily craft the plan of rule which our fathers established and bequeathed to us as an object of our love and veneration. It perverts the patriotic sentiment of our countrymen and tempts them to a pitiful calculation of the sordid gain to be derived from their Government's maintenance. It undermines the self-reliance of our people and substitutes in its place dependence upon governmental favouritism. While the people should patriotically and cheerfully support their Government, its functions do not include support of the people. The acceptance of this principle leads to a refusal of bounties and subsidies which burden the labour and thrift of a portion of our citizens to aid ill-advised or languishing enterprises in which they have no concern. It leads also to a challenge of wild and reckless pension expenditure which overleaps the bounds of grateful recognition of patriotic service and prostitutes to vicious uses the people's prompt and generous impulse to aid those disabled in their country's defence. Every thoughtful American must realise the importance of checking at its beginning any tendency, in public or private station, to regard frugality and



economy as virtues which we may safely outgrow. The toleration of this idea results in the waste of the people's money by their chosen servants and encourages prodigality and extravagance in the home life of our countrymen. Under our scheme of government the waste of public money is a crime against the citizens, and the contempt of our people for economy and frugality in their personal affairs deplorably saps the strength and sturdiness of our national character.

"To secure the fitness and competency of appointees to office and to remove from political action the demoralising madness for spoils, civil service reform has found a place in our public policy and laws. The benefits already gained through this instrumentality and the further usefulness it promises entitle it to the hearty support and encouragement of all who desire to see our public service well performed. The existence of an immense aggregation of kindred enterprises and combinations of business interests, formed for the purpose of limiting production and fixing prices, is inconsistent with the fair field which ought to be open to every independent activity. Legitimate strife in business should not be superseded by an enforced concession to the demands of combinations that have the power to destroy, nor should the people to be served lose the benefit of the cheapness which usually results from wholesome competition. These aggregations and combinations frequently constitute conspiracies against the interest of the people, and in all their phases they are unnatural and opposed to our American sense of fairness. To the extent that they can be reached and restrained by the Federal power, the general Government should relieve our citizens from their interference and exactions. Loyalty to the principles upon which our Government rests positively demands that the equality before the law which it guarantees to every citizen should be justly and in good faith conceded in all parts of the land. The enjoyment of this right follows the badge of citizenship wherever found; and, unimpaired by race or colour, it appeals for recognition to American manliness and fairness. Our relations with the Indians located within our borders impose upon us responsibilities we cannot escape. Humanity and consistency require us to treat them with forbearance, and in our dealings with them to honestly and considerately regard their rights and interests.

"The people of the United States have decreed that on this day the control of their Government, in its legislative and executive branches, shall be given to the political party pledged in the most positive terms to the accomplishment of tariff reform. They have thus determined in favour of a more just and equitable system of Federal taxation. The agents they have chosen to carry out their purposes are bound by their promises, not less than by the command of their masters, to devote themselves unremittingly to this service. While there

should be no surrender of principle, our task must be undertaken wisely, without vindictiveness. Our mission is not punishment, but the rectification of wrongs. If in lifting the burdens from the daily life of our people we reduce inordinate and unequal advantages too long enjoyed, this is but a necessary incident of our return to right and justice. When we tear aside the delusions and misconceptions which have blinded our countrymen to their condition under vicious tariff laws, we but show them how far they have been led away from the paths of contentment and prosperity. When we proclaim that necessity for revenue to support Government furnishes the only justification for taxing the people, we announce a truth so plain that its denial would seem to indicate the extent to which judgment may be influenced by familiarity with perversions of taxing power; and when we seek to reinstate the self-confidence and business enterprise of our citizens by discrediting abject dependence upon governmental favour, we strive to stimulate those elements of American character which support the hope of American achievement. I shall, to the best of my ability and within my sphere of duty, preserve the constitution by loyally protecting every grant of Federal power it contains, by defending all its restraints when attacked by impatience and restlessness, and by enforcing its limitations and reservations in favour of the States and the people. Fully impressed with the gravity of the duties that confront me, and mindful of my weakness, I should be appalled if it were my lot to bear unaided the responsibilities which await me. I am, however, saved from discouragement when I remember that I shall have the support, counsel, and co-operation of wise and patriotic men who will stand at my side in Cabinet places, or will represent the people in their legislative halls. I find, also, much comfort in remembering that my countrymen are just and generous, and in the assurance that they will not condemn those who by sincere devotion to their service deserve their forbearance and approval. Above all, I know there is a Supreme Being who rules the affairs of men and whose goodness and mercy have always followed the American people, and I know He will not turn from us now if we humbly and reverently seek His powerful aid."

Despite the wet, President Cleveland stood bareheaded. The Bible used in administering the oath to the new President was one given to him by his mother forty-one years ago.

As soon as the President had taken the oath, salvos of artillery were fired to announce the inauguration, while the crowds gave round after round of cheering.

The following nominations for Cabinet officers were sent to the Senate and were at once confirmed in Executive Session: For Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham of Illinois; Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Daniel S. Lamont of New York; Attorney-



eneral, Richard Olney of Massachusetts; Postmaster-General, Wilson S. Bissell of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Hilary A. Herbert of Alabama; Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith of Georgia; and Secretary of Agriculture, J. Sterling Morton of Nebraska.

Queen Liliuokalani of the Hawaiian Islands was dethroned January 16, by revolutionists, and on February 1 the American Minister at Honolulu proclaimed a protectorate of the United States over the islands, "for the preservation of life and property," having landed a force of United States marines for the purpose, at the request of the Provisional Government.

This was pending and subject to the action of the Government at Washington, and the hoisting of the American flag did not indicate the cession of the islands to the United States.

The event happened before the close of President Harrison's administration, and Secretary Foster sent a despatch to Mr. Stevens, then Minister, approving his course. President Harrison presented an annexation treaty to the Senate and the subject was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The President said in his accompanying message that his Cabinet deemed it more desirable to annex the islands than to establish a protectorate over them. The Committee of the Senate approved the treaty, but the two-thirds majority was not obtained in favour of ratification. Commissioners from the deposed Queen arrived at Washington and made every effort to induce Senators to reject the treaty, while the Princess Kaiulani, the Queen's niece, and the successor to the throne of Hawaii, made a most pathetic appeal to the American people. The Senate declined then to go into Executive Session to consider the treaty and it was shelved till the new Government entered office. The United States protectorate was withdrawn April 1 on the ground that the Government did not think it necessary, and a special commissioner, Mr. Blount, sent to investigate the affair, withdrew the United States forces on April 13. Mr. Gresham, the Secretary of State, in December, at the close of his report to President Cleveland, advocated a restoration of the monarchy, and the abandonment of the Provisional Government. He said: "The Government of Hawaii surrendered its authority under a threat of war until such time only as the Government of the United States, upon the facts being presented to it, should reinstate the constitutional sovereign, and the Provisional Government was created 'to exist till terms of union with the United States have been negotiated and agreed upon.' A careful consideration of the facts will, I think, convince you that the treaty which was withdrawn from the Senate for further consideration should not be re-submitted for its action thereon. Should not the great wrong done to a feeble but independent State by an abuse of authority of the United States be undone by restoring the legitimate Government? Anything short of that will not, I

respectfully submit, satisfy the demands of justice. Can the United States constantly insist that other nations shall respect the independence of Hawaii while not respecting it themselves? Our Government was the first to recognise the independence of the islands, and it should be the last to acquire sovereignty over them by fraud."

President Cleveland sent to Congress, in reply to resolutions of inquiry from both Houses, a message on Hawaiian affairs stating that the present United States Minister at Honolulu, Mr. Willis, was instructed to offer the Queen restoration to power provided that she granted an amnesty to those who had been engaged in her overthrow; but she declined this proposal. Nothing had therefore been done, and the whole matter would be sent to Congress for adjustment. The message was extensively discussed, opinions on it differing according to the political complexion of those uttering them.

Preliminary to the opening of the World's Fair in Chicago, there was held a grand international naval review in New York harbour, April 27. The *fac-similes* of Columbus's caravels,—*Santa Maria*, *Nina*, and *Pinta*—were towed by Spanish war ships, and many war vessels of Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany and other countries took part in the pageant. The next day there was a street parade of troops and seamen from the vessels through Broadway and Fifth Avenue, and the sailors of the different nationalities and especially the British blue jackets were enthusiastically cheered by the people. It was the first time since 1814 that a British armed force had landed in United States territory. The British squadron on the evening of the 27th made a remarkable display of electric lights and fireworks. President Cleveland opened the Chicago Columbian Fair on Monday, May 1, in the presence of enormous crowds both inside and outside the buildings that were of palatial extent and magnificence. A procession, headed by the carriage occupied by the President and Vice-President, proceeded through the streets to the exhibition buildings. After a ceremonial, which included performances by an orchestra of 600 instrumentalists, the recitation of a poem on the incidents of Columbus's voyage, and an address by the director-general of the exhibition, the President delivered a brief speech, referring to the magnitude of the enterprise and its significance as exemplifying the brotherhood of nations. He then touched a button which set in motion all the machinery of the exhibition. A grand luncheon followed the inaugural ceremony, and the President subsequently proceeded to the foreign section of the manufacturers' hall, where he was received by the foreign commissioners. Before quitting the grounds the President received the Earl of Aberdeen, newly appointed Governor-General of Canada.

Much attention was paid to the Duke of Veragua, the lineal descendant of Columbus, who, with his family, was present at



the opening of the World's Fair. On May 19 the Infanta Luíala arrived in New York from Spain as the representative of that country and was received with distinguished honours in Washington and afterwards in Chicago when she visited the fair.

In July the exhibition was opened in every part and there was a large attendance of visitors, principally from Illinois and the neighbouring States. As the time for the final closing of the fair drew near a vast number of people flocked to Chicago from all parts of the continent of America. From Europe the number of visitors was proportionately small, many being deterred by the dread of the sea voyage and the long journey inland.

A terrible fire broke out in a cold storage warehouse in the World's Fair grounds in July and caused the death of seventeen firemen, but none of the magnificent buildings were damaged. On October 9—"Chicago Day"—over 700,000 people attended the fair. The closing day was Monday, October 30. Payment for admission had been made since the opening in May by 21,477,212 visitors, and over 2,000,000 people had been admitted without payment. Various concessions had produced \$4,000,000, and after deducting all liabilities there remained a balance of \$1,862,500. An official report showed that the exhibitors sold over \$10,000,000 worth of goods. Italy sold \$2,500,000 worth, Germany \$1,500,000, France, England, Austria, and Japan, each \$1,000,000, Russia and Spain, each \$750,000.

The fair was stupendous in conception and admirable in execution, but it cost the American people a vast outlay of energy and capital, and was probably one of the causes of business derangement and financial depression. It was the greatest show on earth, but it was Vanity Fair.

The Chinese Exclusion Act, "the Geary Law," came into effect May 5. It required every Chinaman to register before a United States official, and this registry was to be the evidence of his right to remain in the country. Out of 100,000 Chinamen, only some 5,000 had registered at the end of May. The Chinese Government and the six Chinese companies employed counsel to test the constitutionality of the Act before the Supreme Court, and the court decided that the law was valid. The enforcement of the Act would have involved an expense of about \$5,000,000. In November the Senate passed a bill amending the Act, and extending the time for the registration to six months. A rigorous exclusion of Chinese immigrants began on the Pacific coast.

A remarkable law came into effect in South Carolina on July 1. It was passed by the Populist-Democratic Legislature of the State in 1892, and it presented in its enforcement the novel spectacle of a State engaged in the business of selling intoxicating liquors to its inhabitants, and having an absolute monopoly of the traffic, the profits going to public revenue account. The experiment was watched with a good deal of interest, and there were some fears of disturbance arising therefrom.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, the amount of gold exported was larger than in any previous year, namely, \$108,680,000, exceeding the amount exported in the preceding year by \$58,485,000. It was estimated that on July 1, 1893, the metallic stock of money in the United States consisting of coin and bullion amounted to \$1,213,559,169, of which \$597,697,685 was gold and \$615,861,484 silver.

The United States Treasury's corrected report for the fiscal year gave the revenue as \$387,746,833, and the expenditure as \$392,516,506, including \$159,357,668 for pensions. The Treasury held \$188,455,432 of gold and \$480,476,528 of silver. The total amount of gold decreased by \$67,000,000 during the year, while the gold reserve on July 1 stood at \$95,485,413.

With regard to the disputed points between Great Britain and the United States concerning the seal fisheries in the Behring Sea a decision was given on August 15 by the Court of Arbitration which met at Paris first in April. The court was composed as follows: United States—Justice John M. Harlan and Senator J. T. Morgan; Great Britain—Lord Hannen and Sir John S. D. Thompson; France—Baron de Courcel, who was subsequently chosen President of the tribunal; Italy—Marquis E. Visconti-Venosta; Sweden and Norway—Judge Gran. On the broad questions of international law the decision was entirely in favour of Great Britain, while the practical regulations for the protection of the fur seal were wholly in the interest of the United States. The court dismissed the claims of exclusive jurisdiction in the Behring Sea, and decided against the United States on all questions of abstract right to protect the seal; but they prescribed the total prohibition of sealing at all times within a zone of sixty geographical miles of the Pribiloff Islands, and established a close season from May 1 to July 31, inclusive, on the high seas over a very wide expanse of the North Pacific, including Behring Sea. They also created a system of licensing under which authorised vessels only were permitted to engage in pelagic sealing, and made other stringent regulations designed to protect the seal from wholesale destruction in the water.

Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British ambassador, entered in November into negotiations with Mr. Gresham, Secretary of State, for the settlement of the claims of British sealers seized in Behring Sea by United States warships previous to the *modus vivendi* in 1891. It was said that the amount of indemnity claimed by Canada would not exceed half a million dollars.

A period of general depression at Chicago followed the World's Fair and 40,000 men were out of employment. 10,000 of them were in actual distress, and the poor register showed a marked increase in the number of cases reported. The action of the Indian Government in closing their mints against the free coinage of silver had a profound effect upon the financial situation in the



ates. Serious business depression prevailed throughout the whole country, 318 silver mines in Colorado stopped working, and 30,000 workmen were thrown out of employment in that state. For a long time there had everywhere been a great falling off in trade, and it was generally supposed to be owing partly to the enforcement of the Sherman Act of July 14, 1890, that compelled the Government to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month. A carefully prepared statement of the treasury Department issued at the close of the fiscal year (June 30) showed that the total silver bullion purchased under the Act was 156,664,590 fine ounces, costing \$147,138,375. Its value at sixty-two cts. per ounce was \$92,132,046, showing an actual loss of \$55,000,000.

On July 1 President Cleveland issued the following proclamation:—

"Whereas the distrust and apprehension concerning the financial situation which pervade all business circles have already caused great loss and damage to our people, and threaten to cripple our merchants, stop the wheels of our manufactures, bring distress and privation upon our farmers, and withhold from our workmen the wages of their labour, and whereas the present perilous condition is largely the result of a financial policy which the executive branch of the Government finds embodied in unwise laws which must be executed until repealed by Congress; therefore, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, in performance of my constitutional duty, do, by this proclamation, declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the convening of both Houses of Congress on August 7 to the end that the people may be relieved, through legislation, from the present impending danger and distress."

At a Silver Convention that was held at Denver, Colorado, in July, there were 2,000 delegates, and some very excited speeches were made in the advocacy of silver interests.

Mr. Waite, the Governor of Colorado, talked of appealing to arms if the "money power" attempted usurpation, declaring it would be infinitely better that "blood should flow to the horses' bridles" than that the national liberties should be destroyed, and the delegates generally approved of the Governor's views.

The number of commercial failures in the United States for the half-year was 6,401, with liabilities of \$171,000,000, an increase of \$100,000,000 over the average of the preceding ten years. The failures included 175 banks.

This was some indication of the stagnation of trade, and the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act seemed to the President and his advisers to be the first step towards financial safety.

The first session of the fifty-third Congress was opened on Monday, August 7. The House of Representatives selected Charles F. Crisp of Georgia as Speaker, and the state of parties in that body was as follows: Democrats, 219; Re-

publicans, 127; Populists, 10. In the Senate there were forty-four Democrats; thirty-eight Republicans; three Populists; and three vacancies. Senators had been appointed to fill these vacancies by the governors of the respective States, but as these appointments were made in each instance after the State Legislature had failed to elect and had adjourned, the Senate decided that the appointees were not entitled to seats. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, Vice-President, presided over the Senate.

President Cleveland's message was sent to Congress on August 8, and sketched the unhappy state of affairs in the Republic. "The existence of an alarming and extraordinary business situation involving the wealth and prosperity of all our people has constrained me to call together in extra-session the people's representatives in Congress to the end that through the wise and patriotic exercise of the legislative duty with which they are solely charged the present evils may be mitigated and the dangers threatening the future may be averted. Our unfortunate financial plight is not the result of untoward events nor of conditions related to our natural resources; nor is it traceable to any of the afflictions which frequently check the national growth and prosperity. With plenteous crops, with abundant promises of remunerative production and manufacture, with unusual invitation to safe investment, and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distrust and fear have sprung up on every side; numerous moneyed institutions have suspended because abundant assets were not immediately available to meet the demands of frightened depositors; surviving corporations and individuals are content to keep in hand money they are usually anxious to loan; and those engaged in legitimate business are surprised to find that the securities they offer for loans, though heretofore satisfactory, are no longer accepted. Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural, and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business. I believe these things are principally chargeable to Congressional legislation touching the purchase and coinage of silver by the general Government.

"This legislation is embodied in the statute passed on July 14, 1890, which was the culmination of much agitation on the subject involved, and which may be considered a truce, after a long struggle between the adherents of free silver coinage and those tending to the more conservative views.

"Undoubtedly, the monthly purchases by the Government of 4,500,000 ounces of silver enforced under that statute were regarded by those interested in silver production as a certain guaranty of its increase in price. The result, however, has been entirely different, for, immediately following a spasmodic and slight rise, the price of silver began to fall after the passage of the Act, and has since reached the lowest point ever known.



a disappointing result has led to a renewed and persistent effort in the direction of free silver coinage. Meanwhile, notwithstanding the evil effects of the operation of the present law constantly accumulating, but the result to which its execution must inevitably lead is becoming palpable to all who give the least thought to financial subjects. This law provides that, in the payment for the 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion which the Secretary of the Treasury is commanded to purchase annually, there shall be issued Treasury notes, redeemable on demand in gold or silver coin at the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, and that the said notes may be re-issued. It is, however, declared in the Act to be the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other at the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law. This declaration so controls the action of the Secretary of the Treasury as to prevent his exercising the discretion usually vested in him, if by such action the parity between gold and silver may be disturbed. Manifestly a refusal by the Secretary to pay these Treasury notes in gold, if demanded, will necessarily result in their discredit and depreciation as currency payable only in silver, and would destroy the parity between the two metals by establishing a discrimination in favor of gold. Up to July 15, 1892, these notes had been used in payment of silver bullion purchases to the amount of more than \$147,000,000. While all bullion very quickly converted into bullion remains uncoined and without redemption in the Treasury, many of the notes given in its purchase have been redeemed in gold. This is illustrated by the statement that between May 1, 1892, and July 15, 1892, the notes of \$100,000 and issued in payment for silver bullion amounted to more than \$54,000,000, and that during the same period \$30,000,000 were paid by the Treasury in gold for the redemption of such notes. The policy recently adopted of paying these notes in gold has not opened up the Treasury's fund of gold long ago set aside by the Government for the redemption of other notes, for this fund has been exhausted in the payment of new obligations amounting to about \$100,000,000 on account of silver purchases and the Treasury has for the first time since the establishment of the Government thus made depletion of its gold reserve. It is to be regretted that the opportunity was not taken to convert the silver into gold over the same period, and that the Treasury was not able to maintain the parity between the two metals.

same period the silver coin and bullion in the Treasury increased more than \$147,000,000. Unless Government bonds are to be constantly issued and sold to replenish our exhausted gold, only to be again exhausted, it is apparent that the operation of the silver purchase law now in force leads in the direction of the entire substitution of silver for gold in the Government Treasury, and that this must be followed by the payment of all Government obligations in depreciated silver. At this stage gold and silver must part company, and the Government must fail in its established policy to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other. Given over to the exclusive use of a currency greatly depreciated according to the standard of the commercial world, we could no longer claim a place among the nations of the first class, nor could our Government claim a performance of its obligation, so far as such obligation has been imposed upon it, to provide for the use of the people the best and safest money. If, as many of its friends claim, silver ought to occupy a larger place in our currency and the currency of the world through general international co-operation and agreement, it is obvious that the United States will not be in a position to gain a hearing in favour of such an arrangement so long as we are willing to continue our attempt to accomplish the result single handed. The knowledge, in business circles among our own people, that our Government cannot make its fiat equivalent to intrinsic value nor keep inferior money on a parity with superior money by its own independent efforts, has resulted in such a lack of confidence at home and instability of currency values that capital refuses its aid to new enterprises, while millions are actually withdrawn from the channels of trade and commerce to become idle and unproductive in the hands of timid owners. Foreign investors are equally alert, and not only decline to purchase American securities but make haste to sacrifice those which they already have.

"It does not meet the situation to say that apprehension in regard to the future of our finances is groundless, and that there is no reason for lack of confidence in the purposes or power of the Government. The very existence of this apprehension and lack of confidence, however caused, is a menace which ought not for a moment to be disregarded. Possibly if the undertaking we have in hand were the maintenance of a specific known quantity of silver at a parity with gold, our ability to do so might be estimated and gauged, and perhaps, in view of our unparalleled growth and resources, might be favourably looked upon. But when our avowed endeavour is to maintain such parity in regard to an amount of silver increasing at the rate of \$50,000,000 yearly with no fixed termination to such increase it can hardly be said that a problem is presented the solution of which is free from doubt.

"The people of the United States are entitled to a sound and stable currency and to money recognised as such on every



exchange and every market of the world. Their Government has no right to injure them by financial experiments opposed to the policy and practice of other civilised States, nor is it justified in permitting an exaggerated and unreasonable reliance on our national strength and ability to jeopardise the soundness of the people's money. The matter rises above the plane of party politics. It vitally concerns every business and calling, and enters into every household in the land. There is one important aspect of the subject which especially should never be overlooked. At times like the present, when the evils of unsound finance threaten us, the speculator may anticipate a harvest gathered from the misfortune of others; the capitalist may protect himself by hoarding, or may even find profit in the fluctuation of values; but the wage-earner, the first to be injured by a depreciated currency and the last to receive the benefit of its correction, is practically defenceless. He relies for work upon the ventures of confident and contented capital. This failing him, his condition is without alleviation, for he can neither prey on the misfortunes of others nor hoard his labour. One of the greatest statesmen our country has known, speaking more than fifty years ago, when a derangement of the currency had caused commercial distress, said: 'The very man of all others who has the deepest interest in a sound currency, and who suffers most by mischievous legislation in money matters, is the man who earns his bread by daily toil.' These words are as pertinent to-day as on the day they were uttered, and ought impressively to remind us that failure in the discharge of our duty at this time must especially injure those of our countrymen who labour and who, because of their number and condition, are entitled to the most watchful care of their Government. It is of the utmost importance that such relief as Congress can afford in the existing situation be afforded at once. The maxim 'He gives twice who gives quickly' is directly applicable. It may be true that the embarrassments from which the business of the country is suffering arise as much from evils apprehended as from those actually existing. We may hope, too, that calm counsels will prevail, and that neither capitalists nor wage-earners will give way to unreasoning panic and sacrifice their property or their interests under the influence of exaggerated fears. Nevertheless, every day's delay in removing one of the plain and principal causes of the present state of things enlarges the mischief already done and increases the responsibility of the Government for its existence. Whatever else the people have a right to expect from Congress, they may certainly demand that legislation condemned by an ordeal of three years' disastrous experience shall be removed from the statute-books as soon as their representatives can legitimately deal with it.

"It was my purpose to summon Congress in special session early in the coming September that we might enter promptly

upon the work of tariff reform, which the true interests of the country clearly demand, which so large a majority of the people, as shown by their suffrages, desire and expect, and to the accomplishment of which every effort of the present Administration is pledged. But, while tariff reform has lost nothing of its immediate and permanent importance and must in the near future engage the attention of Congress, it has seemed to me that the financial condition of the country should at once, and before all other subjects, be considered by your honourable body. I earnestly recommend the prompt repeal of the provisions of the Act passed on July 14, 1890, authorising the purchase of silver bullion, and other legislative action which may put beyond all doubt or mistake the intention and ability of the Government to fulfil its pecuniary obligations in money universally recognised by all civilised countries."

The message was listened to with intense interest by both Houses. There was general applause in the House of Representatives at the conclusion of its reading.

Bills for the repeal of the silver purchase law were introduced into Congress, and Senator Stewart of Colorado introduced a bill authorising the issue of \$49,000,000 of silver notes against the bullion now in the Treasury, as well as of \$100,000,000 of legal tenders for the purchase of Government bonds.

As soon as possible after the opening of the extra session Mr. Wilson, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the Lower House, introduced from that committee a bill to repeal the clause of the Act of July 14, 1890, directing the purchase by the Government of silver bullion and the issue of Treasury notes thereon. It was passed unamended by the House of Representatives, August 28, by a vote of 239 yeas to 108 nays, after a proposal to substitute the old Bland silver coinage law for the Sherman Act had been defeated by 213 yeas to 136 ayes. When the bill came to the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Finance, Mr. Voorhees, chairman, who reported it from the committee with an amendment in favour of bimetallism, making it substantially identical with his own bill that had already been thoroughly discussed in the Senate. No closure existed in the Upper House and obstructive tactics were attempted in order to postpone a vote. One Senator from Nebraska spoke for fifteen hours against repeal, and was followed by another windy orator from Kansas of equal staying power. Compromises were proposed but resolutely refused by President Cleveland, who was charged by some of the silver Senators with violating the spirit of the constitution. Finally, October 30, the Senate passed the Voorhees bill by 43 yeas to 32 nays. For repeal there were 20 Democrats, 23 Republicans; against repeal 19 Democrats, 9 Republicans and 4 Populists. On November 1 the House of Representatives passed the bill returned from the Senate by



193 yeas to 94 nays and it received at once the President's signature.

The Silver Party in Congress soon after held a conference and appointed a committee consisting of Senators Jones and Allen and Congressman Bland to prepare an address to the country. In the elections for the next Congress they hoped to win many candidates to the support of free coinage within the lines of existing political parties.

In the November elections for State officers and Legislatures the Republicans made large gains. Dissatisfaction with the depression of trade and fear of tariff changes had much to do with the general result. In the State of New York the Republicans elected all the State officials and secured a majority of 16 in the State Legislature. Opposition to the tyranny of political rings was aroused in every part of the Empire State and the Republicans were greatly helped by the organised efforts of the Independent Democrats. A Mr. Maynard, Democratic candidate for the post of judge of the Court of Appeals, who was accused by his opponents of having resorted to irregular practices in order to obtain for the Democrats the majority they had secured in the State Senate of 1892, was defeated by the immense majority of 90,000 votes. In Ohio Mr. McKinley was elected Governor of the State by 70,000 of a majority, and there the campaign was fought entirely on national issues. In Pennsylvania the Republican majority exceeded 100,000. The Democrats suffered defeat in Illinois, Massachusetts, Iowa and New Jersey, but were successful in Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky.

During all the recent agitation of the silver question a very large part of the public had been urging that the silver purchase was not the sole nor the greatest cause of popular depression and discontent—that the paramount baneful influence was deeper. The tariff uncertainties, it was claimed, were the chief reason why mills were stopping, and why merchants were curtailing their business; that, while the public were continually vexed by the fear of tariff changes, nobody could safely conduct business; and that this perplexed protectionists and free-traders alike. Neither could afford to make business engagements nor order goods ahead, either imported articles or the home product, for fear a reduced tariff would destroy all chance of profit.

This view of the outlook was generally disseminated throughout the manufacturing districts, and, coupled with it, a feeling of discontent grew against the Democrats, as they were the agitators for reduced tariff duties who were blamed with the unsettlement. This sentiment found its first effective expression in the elections, and it was the main influence that swept the field for the Republicans.

The first session of the fifty-third Congress closed November 3. During the final weeks of the session contests arose in the

Lower House over proposals to repeal the Federal election law, and to make ready a new Tariff Bill, which were resisted by resorts to obstruction on the part of the Republican minority.

As to the Tariff Bill the House finally agreed that the bill when completed by the Ways and Means Committee, allowed to prepare it in the recess of Congress, should be published for the information of all parties, and that then both the majority and the minority should be given ten days to file reports expressing their views.

The second session of the fifty-third Congress opened on Monday, December 4. The President sent to the two Houses his annual message, referring principally to questions of political interest. The Brazilian conflict, the settlement of the Behring Sea dispute, the Nicaragua Canal Company's financial embarrassment and the Hawaiian annexation scheme were discussed.

After reference to the condition of the Treasury he continued as follows:—

"The recent repeal of the provision of the law requiring the purchase of silver bullion by the Government as a feature of our monetary scheme made an entire change in the complexion of our currency affairs. I do not doubt that the ultimate result of this action will be most salutary and far-reaching. In the nature of things, however, it is impossible to know at this time precisely what conditions will be brought about by the change, or what (if any) supplementary legislation may, in the light of such conditions, appear essential or expedient. Of course, after the recent financial perturbation, time is necessary for the re-establishment of business confidence."

His views on tariff reform were expressed at some length:—

"After a hard struggle tariff reform is directly before us. Nothing so important claims our attention, and nothing so clearly presents itself as both an opportunity and a duty—an opportunity to deserve the gratitude of our fellow-citizens, and a duty imposed upon us by our oft-repeated professions and by the emphatic mandate of the people. After full discussion our countrymen have spoken in favour of this reform and have confided the work of its accomplishment to the hands of those who are solemnly pledged to it. If there is anything in the theory of the representation in public places of the people and their desires, if public officers are really servants of the people, if political promises and professions have binding force, our failure to give the relief so long awaited would be sheer recreancy. Nothing should intervene to distract our attention or disturb our efforts until this reform is accomplished by wise and careful legislation.

"While we should staunchly adhere to the principle that only necessary revenue justifies the imposition of tariff duties and other Federal taxation, which should be limited by strict economy, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that conditions have grown up among us which in justice and fairness call for



discriminating care in the distribution of such duties and taxation as the emergencies of government actually demand. Manifestly, if we are to aid the people directly through tariff reform, one of its most obvious features should be a reduction in the present tariff charges upon the necessities of life. The benefits of such a reduction would be palpable and substantial, and would be seen and felt by thousands, who would be better fed, better clothed, and better sheltered. These gifts would be the willing benefactions of a Government whose highest function is the promotion of the welfare of the people.

"Not less closely related to our people's prosperity and well-being is the removal of restrictions upon the import of raw materials necessary to our manufactures. The world should be open to our national ingenuity and enterprise. This cannot be while Federal legislation, through the imposition of a high tariff, forbids to American manufacturers as cheap materials as those used by their competitors. It is quite obvious that the enhancement of the price of our manufactured products resulting from this policy not only confines the market for these products within our own borders, to the direct disadvantage of our manufacturers, but also increases their cost to our citizens. The interests of labour are certainly, though indirectly, involved in this feature of our tariff system. The sharp competition and active struggle among our manufacturers to supply the limited demand for their goods will soon fill the narrow market to which they are confined. Then follow the suspension of work in mills and factories, the discharge of working men, and distress in their homes. Even if the often-disproved assertion could be made good, that a lower rate of wages would result from free raw materials and low tariff duties, the intelligence of our working men leads them quickly to discover that their steady employment, permitted by free raw materials, is a most important factor in their relation to tariff legislation.

"A measure has been prepared by the Appropriate Congressional Committee embodying tariff reform on the lines herein suggested, which will be promptly submitted for legislative action. It is the result of much patriotic, unselfish work, and, I believe, deals with the subject as consistently and thoroughly as existing conditions permit. I am satisfied that the reduced tariff duties provided in the proposed legislation, added to the existing internal revenue taxation, will, in the near future, though perhaps not immediately, produce sufficient revenue to meet the needs of Government. The committee, after full consideration, and in order to provide against a temporary deficiency which may exist before the business of the country adjusts itself to the new tariff schedules, have wisely embraced in their plan a few additional internal revenue taxes, including a small tax upon incomes derived from certain corporate investments. These new assessments are not only absolutely

just and easily borne, but have the further merit of being remitted without unfavourable business disturbance whenever the necessity for their imposition no longer exists. In my great desire for the success of this measure I cannot restrain the suggestion that its success can only be attained by means of unselfish counsel on the part of the friends of tariff reform and as a result of their willingness to subordinate personal desires and ambitions to the general good. The local interests affected by the proposed reform are so numerous and varied that if all are insisted upon legislation embodying reform must inevitably fail."

Congress made slow progress with the new Tariff Bill that was reported to the committee of the whole House, December 12. The bill met with the strongest opposition of the Republicans, who were already committed as a party to the high tariff of the McKinley Act, and many of the Democratic members were half-hearted in extending the free list and repealing the reciprocal trade enactments of the existing law. Especially those who represented manufacturing interests were afraid to do anything that might affect their constituents unfavourably at first, although in the end it might be for their advantage. They could not forget that members of the House of Representatives are elected for two years only. But delay aggravated the difficulty, and at the close of the year business was more than ever prostrate. The distress that resulted from paralysis in all trade was becoming more and more acute. Serious destitution was prevalent in many cities from lack of employment. In New York there were 80,000, in Chicago 120,000, in Philadelphia 60,000 people suffering from this cause. The wildest schemes were proposed for the relief of the destitute. The leader of an organisation called "The Commonwealth" advised his disciples to march in a body to the national capital and demand of Congress such legislation as the people needed: First, plenty of money, and to provide it \$500,000,000 in greenbacks should be issued. Then plenty of work provided by Government so that the greenbacks might be made useful. This wild idea became popular in numerous towns and cities. In truth many were becoming desperate and monomaniacs through want.

## II. CANADA.

Tariff questions were prominent in Canadian politics, and there was strong agitation in favour of a modification of the existing tariff laws. A Liberal convention was held June 20, which was the greatest party gathering ever known in the Dominion. There were nearly 2,000 delegates present under the presidency of Mr. Wilfred Laurier, and it was very strongly indicated that tariff reform and reciprocity were to be the chief features of Liberal policy, but a tariff for revenue and for revenue only. Mr. Laurier said in his speech to the delegates:—



"I submit to you that the ideal fiscal system is the British system of free trade. My loyalty does not ooze from the pores of my body, but I do want to go for our example to the mother country and not to the United States. I repeat, our policy should be the policy of free trade, such as they have it in England. I am sorry to say, however, that the circumstances of the country cannot admit at present of that policy in its entirety, but I propose to you that from this day henceforward it should be the goal to which we aspire. I propose to you, although we cannot adopt the policy itself, to adopt the principle which regulates it—that is to say, that though it may be our misfortune for many years to come to have to raise a revenue by customs duties, these duties should be levied only as far as is necessary to carry on the business of Government. Not a cent should be extracted from the pockets of the people except on the condition that every cent goes into the Treasury of the people and not into the pockets of anybody else. I submit to you that a duty should never be levied for protection's sake, but levied for the sole purpose of filling the Treasury to the limits required. Let it be well understood, then, that from this moment we have a distinct issue with the party in power. Their ideal is protection; our ideal is free trade."

The following were selected as planks in the party platform: (1) A reform of the customs tariff on the basis of revenue only; (2) commercial reciprocity with the United States, in which it was proposed to include both natural products and a carefully-considered list of manufactured articles; (3) the repeal of the Dominion Franchise Act; (4) a reform in the disposal of land grants in the Dominion in favour of the settler as opposed to the speculator; (5) a plebiscite on the prohibition question.

In November the Protection Party sustained a severe blow by the result of the election to fill the seat in the Dominion Parliament vacated by Mr. Hugh John Macdonald, only son of the late Canadian Premier. At the general election in 1891, Mr. Macdonald was returned by a majority of 500, but polling at this election resulted in the return of the Hon. Joseph Martin, the Liberal candidate, by 450 votes.

The budget was introduced in the House of Commons of the Dominion Parliament, February 4, by the Hon. G. E. Foster, Minister of Finance, who said that the outlook of the country was most encouraging, that the revenue was better than ever before, and that he anticipated a substantial surplus. He declared that free trade was impossible in Canada as neither the revenue nor the industries of the country would permit of it; that the Government was firmly opposed to unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, but a fair measure of reciprocity the Dominion would be ready to accept. He was strongly in favour of preferential trade within the limits of the British empire, and to such a course, he added, the Canadian Parliament was pledged.

Debate on the budget ended March 1, in the rejection by 120 to 72 votes of a motion made by Sir R. Cartwright for the immediate reduction of the customs tariff.

The Franco-Canadian commercial treaty, that for some time had been in negotiation, provided that Canadian wooden ships should be admitted to French ports at a minimum tariff, but this concession was nullified by a French statute of recent date that gave increased bounties to ships of French construction. It had also become known that recent reductions in the tariff in St. Pierre and Miquelon were not exclusively enjoyed by Canada. For these reasons Mr. Foster announced, March 13, that the Government did not propose to ask the House to ratify the treaty until satisfactory assurances were received. Mr. Laurier, the Opposition leader, said the result showed that Canada ought to have the right to negotiate her own commercial treaties. Later the Finance Minister announced to the House that the treaty would not be ratified that session, and stated that the impediment was the most-favoured nation clause which the Government thought undesirable, but Mr. Laurier held that the Government was committed to the ratification of the treaty.

Parliament was prorogued in April after an extremely short session. Lord Stanley of Preston, the Governor-General, in his farewell speech from the throne alluded to the Behring Sea arbitration, the treaty with France, and the part that the Dominion would take in the Chicago World's Fair.

The Earl of Aberdeen was appointed in May by the Queen to be Governor-General of the Dominion in succession to Lord Stanley of Preston, who had succeeded to the Earldom of Derby by the death of his brother, and retired from the office.

The Earl and Countess of Aberdeen officially visited Ottawa and Montreal in October, and received an enthusiastic greeting. The earl spoke in glowing terms of the prosperity of the Dominion at a banquet given him in Montreal, and was becoming very popular in Canada.

Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Commerce, visited Australia in the autumn to discuss with the different colonial Governments questions of mutual tariff concession. There was a rapidly increasing trade between Canada and China and Japan by the Canadian Pacific Railway, and altogether the prospects in Canada were better than in the great Republic, for there was steady development and progress. The revenue for the year ending June 30 showed an increase of \$1,250,000, while the expenditure was reduced by \$600,000.

The Treasurer of the Province of Quebec went to London in May to borrow \$10,000,000 to pay off loans that had fallen due and other outstanding liabilities, but was unable to obtain any further advance, as the province already owes \$65,000,000.

In June the Minister of Agriculture for Manitoba reported the wheat acreage for the year in Manitoba to be 1,003,000;



last year it was 875,999. The outlook of the province never was more favourable.

Mr. Thomas M'Greevy, ex-M.P. for Quebec, and Mr. N. K. Connolly, president of the Richelieu and Ontario Steamboat Company, were each sentenced (Nov. 22) to one year's imprisonment for conspiracy to defraud the Dominion Government of large sums of money. This decision was the outcome of the Parliamentary investigation made during the session of 1891.

The Prince Edward Island Legislature, which last year passed a bill subsequently vetoed by the Lieutenant-Governor, abolishing the Legislative Council or Upper House of the Provincial Parliament, passed a bill in April, abolishing both Houses as constituted, providing that there should henceforth be only one House, consisting of thirty members, of whom half would be elected by manhood suffrage and half on a property qualification of the minimum value of 65*l.* sterling. In the new body all legislation, to be effective, must be adopted by at least a two-thirds majority.

In the Nova Scotia Legislature a bill granting female suffrage was rejected by a majority of three votes.

### III. MEXICO.

The silver crisis, it was estimated, would involve an annual loss of revenue to Mexico of about \$10,000,000. In order to meet this the Government determined to effect certain economies. It was intended to reduce the expenditure about £6,000,000, and to provide for the remaining 4,000,000 by an increase of taxation. For economy's sake the Government decided to suppress its legations in St. Petersburg and in the South American States temporarily. The Ministers accredited to England, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, Austria, Holland and Belgium, were all replaced by *Chargés des Affaires*. The legations in the United States and in Central America, however, were undisturbed. In June the Chamber of Deputies passed a bill authorising the issue of a new loan of 2,500,000*l.* for the conversion of the floating debt, and in November the Senate approved a bill empowering the Government to make a supplementary issue of six per cent. bonds to the amount of 500,000*l.*, the proceeds to be exclusively applied for the consolidation of the floating debt shortly falling due, for cancelling the contracts with the mints, and for the completion of the sixty miles of the Tehuantepec Railway still unfinished.

When the Congress began its autumn session September 16, President Diaz announced that the Government had succeeded in effecting an equilibrium in the budget, and that the country continued meeting all its obligations by punctual payments at home and abroad.

The free coinage of silver was not suspended and the mints

continued to work to their utmost capacity. A reduction was made in July in the salaries of all Government employees, which was reimbursed to them in the form of State paper. The President spoke most hopefully of the agricultural prospects of the Republic. The conditions were everywhere most favourable, but especially so in the Central and Southern States. Reference was made to the plans for the extension of the area devoted to the cultivation of coffee, rubber, cacao, and other profitable crops.

Mexico had a very satisfactory exhibit at the World's Fair in Chicago. Much American capital had been invested in coffee lands, and the unsettled state of affairs in Brazil and the high price of coffee were giving these capitalists a golden opportunity.

The Congress closed its sittings December 15, and the Minister of Finance in his report stated that for the first time for many years the revenue and expenditure were balanced and amounted to \$43,014,371.

The profits of silver miners in Mexico are not affected by a reduction in the gold value of that metal, as the greater part of the expenses of mining is payable in silver dollars, while the increase in the cost of supplies imported from abroad is set off by the very general existence of a small proportion of gold in the silver ores. Mexico therefore can continue to produce silver profitably when countries on a gold basis, such as the United States and Australia, can no longer do so. On the other hand a depreciation of silver would very greatly stimulate the mining of gold, copper, and the baser metals, all of which are found in more or less abundance throughout the country. The profits to be derived from the cultivation of agricultural products for export would be largely increased by a depreciation of silver, while those intended for home consumption would not be affected by it one way or another. The only conclusion, then, at which it is possible to arrive is that a low price of silver, if permanent, would not only not be prejudicial to Mexico as a whole, but would conduce to its ultimate benefit by the stimulus it would afford to the development of its immense agricultural resources.

#### IV. CENTRAL AMERICA.

*Guatemala.*—A decree of President Reina Barrios declaring that ten per cent. of the import duties should be paid in national gold from December 1, adding ten per cent. on each quarter beginning January 1, 1894, until eighty per cent. in gold was reached, caused such a warm discussion in a Council of the Ministers that they came at last to blows. The Council had been summoned by the Permanent Commission of the National Assembly, who protested against the acts of President Barrios, in setting aside the gold standard.



The President thereupon dissolved the Assembly, assuming himself all its powers, and made an ostentatious display of troops and artillery in different parts of the city. This dictatorship was but temporary, for in December the political condition was reported as being satisfactory, and the elections of Deputies for a new Assembly to convene March 1894 were quietly proceeding.

*Honduras.*—General Policarpo Bonilla led another revolt this year in Southern Honduras. He was defeated in March by General Vasques, who was elected President and installed August 15, as head of the Republic in succession to General Ponciano Leiva resigned. On assuming office the new President issued a decree of amnesty to all exiles and political offenders, and restored in Honduras the liberty of the press.

*San Salvador.*—A revolution was proclaimed in July by Colonel Flores avowedly for avenging the death of the late President Menendez. President Ezeta met and defeated the insurgents, and Colonel Flores was killed. President Ezeta at once established a censorship over all news relating to the outbreak, and the Government denied that it had occurred.

*Nicaragua.*—A revolution took place in Nicaragua. President Sacaza arrested and imprisoned ex-President Cardenaz, one of the leading spirits of the movement, who escaped, however, and took refuge at one of the foreign consulates. General Gutierrez, commanding the garrison at Granada, surrendered to the rebels and afterwards joined them. A battle was fought on May 19 in which the Government army lost 135 killed with 267 wounded. A second battle on the 20th, when the Government army attempted to storm the revolutionists holding a strong position in a mountain pass, resulted in defeat to the assailants. In June under a peace protocol Dr. Sacaza delivered over the office of President to Senator Machado, but the following month the citizens were in arms again and imprisoned Machado and General Avilez, commander-in-chief of his army. A temporary administration under General Zavala held power for a short time. In September the Constituent Assembly elected General Santos Zelaya President of the Republic, and General Ottez Vice-President.

The Nicaragua Canal Company became seriously embarrassed financially, but generous treatment was extended to it by the Government of Nicaragua. The United States were especially interested in the success of the undertaking. In May a company was formed in San Francisco with a capital of \$10,000,000 to aid in the construction of the canal by taking the contract for the western portion of it. And before adjourning at Christmas both Houses of the United States Congress passed resolutions for Special Committees to examine and report upon the condition of the works.

## V. WEST INDIES.

*Cuba.*—The commercial interests of Spain and her colony of Cuba were still so conflicting that there was little hope of their ever becoming identical. Señor Maura in the Spanish Cortez brought in a bill for reform in the administration of the colony, creating a general council nominated partly by the Government, and partly by direct suffrage in Cuba—in short giving a kind of home rule to the island.

New reciprocity trade arrangements with the United States appeared to have the effect of giving most of the Cuban trade into the hands of United States merchants. Contraband trade was flourishing to the obvious detriment of the Government. In some parts of Cuba, however, there was a feeling in favour of free trade.

The effect of the emancipation of negroes in Cuba has been on the whole beneficial in most districts. Spain terminated the evil in a peaceful way, and under free labour there is a notable yearly increase of sugar production in the island.

The cigar industry was declining—owing, it was said, to the McKinley tariff. Over 250,000,000 cigars were exported in 1889, but in 1892-3 the number was less than 167,000,000. Exports of tobacco in bulk to the United States increased from 178,000 bales in 1889 to 240,000 bales in 1892. The coffee industry too was languishing.

*Jamaica.*—In opening the usual session of the Legislature in February, Sir Henry Blake, the governor, reported that the island was in a prosperous condition. The report of the collector-general showed that the import duties were bringing in more revenue than in the preceding year. The governor then formally acquainted the Legislature of the constitutional change whereby he was relieved from active participation in the deliberation of the council. Dr. Phillips, a member of the local Privy Council, then took his seat as president of the Legislature, but some members of the council protested against this innovation, which they said ought to be submitted to the representatives of the people.

Imports from Canada were gradually increasing; the total exports for the year amounted to 1,722,096*l.*; there was a slight falling off in the banana and orange trade with the United States.

*Bahama Islands.*—Sir A. Shea continued governor of the islands. The area of Crown lands acquired for fibre cultivation is about 70,000 acres, and nearly 12,000 acres are already under cultivation.

*Grenada.*—The governor, Sir Walter F. Hely-Hutchinson, since transferred to Natal, reported that the revenue of the island was 1,802*l.* in excess of that in the preceding year. There was a remarkable falling off in imports, and less capital was advanced to the peasant proprietors than in former years. Trade with the



United States, however, continued to develop through the direct steamer service subsidised by the colony.

*Barbadoes.*—This island throughout the year was remarkably healthy, perhaps due to energetic sanitary precautions against a cholera epidemic. Sir J. S. Hay, the governor, reported expenditure for the year 1892 to be 199,130*l.*, and at the close of the year there was a balance in hand of 9,809*l.* Sugar, molasses and rum—unmixed—are the three principal products of the island. In 1892 there were exported 59,349 hogsheads of sugar (value 605,640*l.*), 42,968 puncheons of molasses (value 134,275*l.*) and 612 gallons of rum (value 47*l.*).

*St. Lucia.*—Revenue in 1892 amounted to 48,297*l.* Expenditure 54,934*l.* Compared with the previous year there was a serious falling off in imports and there was a considerable decrease in exports. The year was not a very prosperous one, for the cocoa crop was short and the price of sugar was low although the crop was not deficient. Cocoa is being largely planted in the island, as the soil and climate are well adapted to its growth.

*Trinidad and Tobago.*—These islands form one colony under the governor appointed by the Crown. In Trinidad the year was prosperous, and there was a large increase in the exportation of staple products. The governor, Sir F. Napier Broome, writes: "This lovely island of Trinidad is yearly attracting a greater number of visitors. In January, February and March the weather is generally all that can be desired." The pitch lake brought in a revenue of 37,232*l.* in 1892, and was estimated to produce in 1893 42,500*l.*, or within 600*l.* of the total charge on account of the whole debt of the colony. The public debt at the close of 1892 was 608,820*l.*, and the population was computed then to be 214,496. Tobago had a population of 19,534, and the revenue from all sources amounted to 7,458*l.*

## VI. SOUTH AMERICA.

*Argentine Republic.*—President Saenz Peña in his message to Congress, May 13, said that the revenue of the country had increased since 1891, but that there was a deficit of \$1,701,000 in gold which was to be met by the issue of bonds. Much discontent arose in June owing to the retention of an unpopular War Minister (General Victorica), and the Cabinet decided that it was impossible for them to carry on the Government, and offered to resign. The aged President then summoned Generals Roca and Mitre, and Dr. Pellegrini—ex-Presidents and leaders of the parties opposed to him—for their advice. The generals declined to give advice, while Dr. Pellegrini recommended reliance on some one political party, National, Radical, Civic or any other. In the end the entire Cabinet resigned. The President next made advances to the Radicals, but they were rejected. A new Cabinet was then formed as follows:—

Dr. Wenceslao Escalante, Interior; Señor Miguel Cane,

Foreign Affairs ; Dr. Avellaneda, Finance ; General Viejobueno War ; and Dr. Amancio Alcorta, Justice. The retirement of the late Ministry partook less of the character of a resignation than of a dismissal, inasmuch as Dr. Romero, the Minister of Finance, and General Victorica, the Minister of War, were taken by surprise when they received a communication from President Saenz Peña intimating that he desired their retirement as he wished for a change of policy. The other Ministers received a like communication. It was announced that the new Minister of Finance, Dr. Avellaneda, would continue the policy of Dr. Romero. The partisans of General Roca and those of General Mitre agreed in expressing dissatisfaction at the change of Ministry.

Some questions about the perennial disturbances in one of the provinces brought about the speedy resignation of the new Minister of the Interior, who was made a scapegoat in order to conciliate Congress.

The National Government issued a decree ordering the disarmament of the irregular troops of Dr. Costa, Governor of Buenos Ayres,—the decree to be carried out by the War Minister.

A new Ministry was formed, in July, and constituted as follows : Señor Lucio Lopez, Minister of the Interior ; Señor Aristobulo Delvalle, Minister of War ; Señor Marañón Demaria, Minister of Finance ; Señor Valentin Virasoro, Minister for Foreign Affairs ; Señor Enrique Quintana, Minister of Education.

Radical outbreaks occurred in July and August in the provinces of Buenos Ayres, Santa Fé, San Luis, Salta and Tucuman, and fighting went on with serious loss of life. The Radicals were generally victorious, and Dr. Alem, their leader, issued a manifesto declaring the necessity of reconquering the rights and liberties of the people.

The weak old President was almost distracted, and called in Dr. Pellegrini again for counsel. Dr. Costa, Governor of the province of Buenos Ayres, was compelled by Delvalle, the War Minister, to resign, and escaped from La Plata in disguise. The energetic Delvalle after successfully ending the revolution in La Plata was suddenly recalled to Buenos Ayres as if to attend a Cabinet Council. He was informed that Dr. Carlos Tejedor was appointed as "interventor" to settle the affairs of Buenos Ayres, and, as the Minister wished to act as such himself, he resigned. Another new Cabinet was formed, making the sixth since February. Dr. José Terry was appointed Minister of Finance and General Campos Minister of War. On August 15, President Peña applied to Congress by advice of his new Cabinet for permission to declare the entire Republic under martial law. In September the whole country was more or less in a state of insurrection, and the Government invested General Roca with the command of all the troops. The town



of Rosario was recaptured from the insurgents, the Radical leader, Dr. Alem, was arrested, and the police refused to obey an order of the Supreme Court to release him. In October the revolution was for a time suppressed, but Congress sanctioned the continuance of the state of siege for sixty days longer.

These so-called revolutions in the Argentine Republic are the greatest hindrance to progress, and the Cabinet decided in case another provincial insurrection arose to order the Federal troops to put it down at once.

The National Party was reorganised under the lead of the President's son, Dr. Roque Saenz Peña, and the Minister of Finance was credited with a scheme for the ratification of the settlement of the national debt concluded with the Rothschild Committee and the gradual progressive withdrawal of the paper currency.

*Ecuador.*—The boundary dispute with Peru was in a fair way of settlement through the intervention, it was said in December, of the Government of Columbia, that had been accepted by both parties as mediator.

*Brazil.*—Since parting with the monarchy, Brazil has taken a prominent rank in South American politics as a distressful republic. Affairs were comparatively tranquil in the early months of the year, but in July there was a partial revival of the revolutionary movement in Rio Grande do Sul, stirred up by the influence of Admiral Woldenkolk, who had been Minister of Marine in the provisional government of 1889. Acting in concert with 100 armed passengers he seized the merchantman *Jupiter* after that vessel had left the port of Buenos Ayres, sailed to the port of Rio Grande and there issued the usual revolutionary patriotic manifesto, full of denunciation of tyranny as personified in President Peixoto. The admiral, however, was captured by the Government forces and was held for court-martial. Tranquillity was promptly restored in the State of Santa Catharina where a revolt against the governor had broken out suddenly in August, but soon after a part of the Brazilian navy mutinied under Rear-Admiral Custodio de Mello. The rebels had possession of the iron-clad *Aquidaban*, the cruiser *Republica*, two torpedo boats and a few merchant vessels, seized in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro. Congress voted the customary state of siege, and, of course, the Government determined to suppress the revolt. The insurgents, while attempting to land at Nictheroy on the eastern shore of the bay, were driven back with great loss. An attempt was made to reduce the forts guarding the harbour, but the forts returned the fire of the rebels, who then began a bombardment of Nictheroy—a suburb of Rio. A few shells they threw into the city, and some damage was done. It became apparent that the true motive of Admiral de Mello was personal ambition, and it was stated that he had publicly said

that the country ought now to pass into the hands of the navy—the army having had control for four years.

All attempts by the rebels to land were repulsed, for the Marshal-President had the army as well as the majority of Congress with him. At the outbreak of the rebellion the Government placed batteries of artillery supplied with troops numbering about 5,000 on the shores of the bay. Admiral de Mello had only the 1,200 men of his fleet. Neither party was able to bring the conflict to a definite issue, and the singular spectacle was presented of an insurgent squadron blockading Rio de Janeiro while being itself blockaded in the bay and unable to escape in consequence of the cross fire of the forts at the mouth of the harbour.

The Government began in October to make preparations for collecting a squadron to attack the rebels by water. Three first class vessels were purchased in New York and others elsewhere. Another bombardment of the forts was commenced November 8 by Admiral de Mello (the rebel monitor *Javary* was sunk with her six heavy guns on the 22nd), and there were rumours in December that he was plotting for the restoration of the monarchy. The *Aquidaban* escaped from the Bay of Rio, but afterwards returned in a battered condition. Rear-Admiral Saldanha da Gama, Chief of the Naval College, the ablest admiral in Brazil, who had hitherto been neutral, joined the revolt, and issued his manifesto, calling on all the Conservative classes of Brazil to cast off the intolerable yoke of slavery imposed by the militarism of 1889. The States of the Republic in reply to it said that they would never submit to a monarchy and were firm in their allegiance to President Peixoto. Admiral da Gama took command of the operations before Rio de Janeiro. The American Admiral Stanton, who was in command of the United States squadron at Rio, was removed from his post by President Cleveland for saluting Admiral de Mello, but was soon afterwards placed in command of the North Atlantic squadron. At the end of the year the rebellion was not suppressed. The situation, if prolonged, threatened disaster to commercial interests. The majority of the business community considered that the recognition of the insurgents as belligerents would be the speediest method of ending the war.

*Chili.*—With the exception of some disturbances that took place in April due to the alleged discovery of a Balmacedist plot, when a state of siege was declared in four provinces, the country was quiet during the year. At the opening of the National Congress, President Montt, in his message, referred to the nitrate industry, and said that it was following a prosperous course of development. He estimated that the sale of the nitrate properties of the Government would yield \$15,000,000 of twenty-four pence, and that the production for the current year would be 10,000,000 metric quintals. He remarked that the economic



condition of the country was not unfavourable, that industries were prosperous, that agriculture was exceptionally good, and that the financial resources of the State were large. He asked for the co-operation of the Legislature in his exertions to abolish forced paper currency.

Congress met in extra session December 14. Don Pedro Montt, ex-Minister to Washington, was nominated in September as the Government candidate for the Presidency of the Republic to succeed Admiral Jorge Montt. The Radicals nominated Don Augustin Edwards, but the Liberals had not made any nomination at that time.

*Peru.*—The Peruvian Ministry resigned in March. The election of a new President was impending in June and three factions were struggling for supremacy. Ex-President Caceres was the candidate of the party composed chiefly of place seekers and those who desired to prolong the system of military rule. The Union Civica Party had several candidates and the *Civilistas* Party was led by a chronic revolutionist, Don Nicolas de Pierola.

The anti-Cacerist majority in Congress declared the last municipal elections in Lima void and ordered fresh elections for October 26. A riot arose in a struggle to obtain possession of the municipal buildings and several persons were wounded. President Bermudez confirmed the action of Congress. Congress closed October 25, after a session of ninety days, much of the time being occupied in voting pensions and military promotions. A bill passed the House of Deputies, but too late for its passage in the Senate, providing for the establishment of a gold standard in Peru.

The trans-Andean railway of Peru was completed to Oroya. At the fiftieth mile the elevation above sea level is about 6,000 ft. The highest point is at the hundred and sixth mile, 15,665 ft. Oroya was likely to become a place of great commercial importance.

*Uruguay.*—The Congress began its session at Montevideo in February. President Herrera in his message expressed the hope that European capitalists would grant the assistance necessary for success in the financial projects of the country. The political outlook in June was described as having been "never more sinister than at present." It was alleged that all the parties were disorganised and that all power was "in possession of a faction unparalleled for its intense self-interest and its entire untrustworthiness."

The controversy over the coming Presidential election began early and lasted till the year died. General Tajes was a prominent candidate, and the merits of several others were discussed—among them General Perez and Dr. Ellauri. The elections of members of the legislative body took place on Sunday, November 26, and resulted in the return of a Government majority. It was asserted, however, that the Government had introduced some 300 ruffians from Buenos Ayres to

terrorise the electors and to prevent the supporters of General Tajes from voting.

*Venezuela.*—Many complaints were made against General Crespo, acting President of Venezuela. He was accused of being a tyrant and dictator of the worst kind by the clerical party, that had some reasons for hating him, since he had turned them out. In October General Crespo retired from the Presidency, intending to offer himself as a candidate at the next Presidential election.

The Government was about to make a proposal to its bondholders for the consolidation and conversion of its home and foreign debt, and the political condition at the close of the year was tranquil with every prospect of continued peace, while business and trade were vastly improving.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### AUSTRALASIA.

THE general history of Australasia for the year 1893 has for its leading event the great financial crisis, which reached throughout the colonies, shaking the public credit, dislocating trade and industry, disturbing the calculations of the Treasurers, and seriously affecting all the producing interests, with results that are likely to be felt for many years to come. No such calamity has occurred in the colonial annals since the year of the great collapse in the values of stock and pastoral produce, now half a century ago. In the present case the consequences of the banking failures extended over a much larger area, involving a greatly wider field of mischief and bringing incalculable loss and distress to nearly every class of the colonists and every household.

The crisis cannot be said to have been wholly unexpected, nor are the causes far to seek. The downfall of the banks, some of them of unquestioned soundness, with resources such as at ordinary times would have been quite equal to any emergency, must be ascribed, in the first place, to the too great expansion of banking enterprise over a limited area, with too much borrowed capital to be profitably employed. The Australian colonies may be said to be over-banked. The facility with which they were enabled to borrow led to undue lending. For some years, favoured by the inflation of all local values, the consequence mainly of the extravagant expenditure of the Governments, themselves sustained by money borrowed on easy terms, the banks had thriven, paying large dividends which tended to the increase of their deposits. These deposits had to be employed in order to pay the large interest. At the close



of 1892, there were 40,000,000*l.* of deposits in the Australian banks belonging to outside investors, besides 6,000,000*l.* of the shareholders' capital which were held in the United Kingdom. This sum, large as it was, represented only a portion of the capital of the banks, for deposits to the amount of 112,000,000*l.* were held belonging to Australasian colonists, besides shares in the banks proprietary to the extent of 10,000,000*l.* To the careful observer, after the event, it must be obvious that the field of employment was altogether disproportionate to this enormous capital, especially when that field was subject to the disturbances and fluctuations occasioned by frequent changes of management and new experiments in political economy. A "panic" was bound to come, and when it came it was impossible that institutions based on a flowing credit, with everything designed for prosperous times of large dividends and liberal returns, would be able to endure the strain.

The immediate cause of the depression which led to the panic out of which came the hasty withdrawals of deposit, was, doubtless, the great and sudden fall in the value of land and in stock in the older colonies. The "land boom" of 1891 had led to a great increase of banking business; just as an abundance of money and easy borrowing had stimulated speculation in land and in other, supposed to be tangible, property. Several new banks were started to profit by the brisk times, which, to obtain business, were eager to accept any kind of security. Then came the inevitable re-action, when landed and all other property went down with a run—when all were sellers and none buyers, and the capitalists took the alarm and clamoured for their deposits.

But to the land boom only is not to be ascribed the whole source of the mischief. The labour boom, the consequence of a vicious political system, had at least as much to do with the financial collapse. It was impossible that things could go on under the artificial scheme of industry which the Governments, in order that Ministries might live, had provided in the name of Democracy. The inflation of values was but the outcome and the expression of the general inflation of life, the product of arbitrary laws, supported for a time by free and easy borrowing, of which the end was bound to come when the foreign lenders became suspicious. The colonies had been living from hand to mouth, wasting their resources, spending capital for income, without any thought beyond the present. It is no wonder that when they were visited by the wave of commercial adversity, which seems to have overtaken all the world in 1893, they should have fared, to all appearance, worse than their neighbours.

A closer inspection of the damage sustained by the banking failures leads us to a much more hopeful view of the financial situation than the simultaneous collapse of the finances of Australasia might suggest. Some twelve banks of repute and

standing—not to speak of the mushroom institutions which were mere loan societies, started to lend money on land, which fell as the land fell—collapsed during the height of the crisis, which was in the months of April and May. They represented a total subscribed capital of 13,207,000*l.*, of which 8,335,222*l.* was paid up. Their total capital liability was 10,530,638*l.* One of these, the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, had paid a dividend and bonus of twenty-five per cent. at the last distribution of profits. Another, the Australian Joint Stock Bank, had paid fifteen per cent.; another, the Commercial Bank of Australia, twelve per cent.; while the others varied between ten and eleven per cent. All doubtless had fairly earned these profits in the past year, nor, in the case of any one of these principal banks, is there any ground for the suspicion that it was not honestly and fairly conducted. The united liabilities of these twelve banks, including deposits belonging to British and Australasian holders (which were in the proportion of three to five), notes and bills in circulation, and balances due to other banks, amounted to 83,315,212*l.* On the other side of the account it is reckoned that they had cash in hand, money at call and notes of other banks, to the extent of 15,311,877*l.*, with other 82,786,445*l.* in the shape of “bills receivable” and sums owing from debtors.

The withdrawal of deposits, home and foreign, from the local banks, which in six months had amounted to more than 10,000,000*l.*, could not but be attended by consequences disastrous to all the colonial interests. The simultaneous failure of so many banking institutions, some of them standing in the highest credit, itself the result of many years of misgovernment and public improvidence, led to a complete paralysis of trade, seriously affecting every branch of industry. The severe shock which was given to the public credit produced a disturbance in every branch of business, of which the results were seen in a rapid diminution of the volume of trade and in a general shrinking of incomes. The public revenue in all the colonies—New Zealand alone excepted—was necessarily affected, to the overthrow of all the financial calculations. In every colony there was a deficit, which grew at a rate so alarming as to tax the ingenuity of the Governments, distracted between the necessity of maintaining the public expenditure at the old extravagant rate, for political reasons, and the falling off in all the sources of income. Of those upon whom the duty fell of meeting the crisis the only one who seems to have had the courage firmly to grapple with the situation, in spite of political consequences, was Sir George Dibbs, the Premier of New South Wales. In the other colonies the measures taken to meet the falling revenue and to restore public confidence were wholly inadequate to the occasion. Retrenchments in the salaries of the public servants, with the abolition of a few permanent establishments necessary to the



ence of the colony or to the remoter interests of science and art, formed the sum of the economies suggested, while little or no attempt has made to reduce the extravagant expenditure on so-called public works, and in the "grants to municipalities"—the cover to the profligate system of State aid to labour to which most of the evils of colonial government are due. Increased taxes on foreign imports, with additional burdens on property, in most cases taking the form of a graduated income tax and other devices novel to political economy—these were the other means resorted to by the Australian Treasurers in the desperate attempt to make their accounts come square with their outlay, without the necessity of further means.

One incident which served to relieve the gloom of the commercial depression in Australia was the expression of sympathy which it drew from other provinces of the empire. The Government of the Cape of Good Hope, in a despatch to the Governments of New South Wales and of Victoria, declared its sympathy with their financial troubles and offered its assistance. The offer was gratefully acknowledged, but declined. Between the Dominion of Canada and the Australian colonies there also were passages of friendly intercourse, in relation to the inter-colonial trade and direct electric communication, which were of happy augury to the future, as giving evidence of a growing sentiment of mutual attachment between the two remotest out-lying branches of the British empire, and encouraging the belief in Imperial union.

The fifth session of the Federal Council of Australasia was opened at Hobart, on January 25—the colonies represented being: Victoria, Queensland, Tasmania, and Western Australia. As before, New South Wales and South Australia were absent, having declined to concur in the existing scheme of confederation, while New Zealand has definitely decided to stand aloof from the Australasian union. Sir Samuel Griffith, the Premier of Queensland, was chosen President for the third time. The business transacted by the Federal Council was small—consisting only of the passage of a bill for the regulation of the inter-colonial garrisons of Albany and Thursday Island. The session was closed on February 3.

Meetings of condolence with the mother country on the tragic fate of Admiral Sir George Tryon, who perished in the *H.M.S. Victoria*, were held in all the principal towns of the Australian colonies. While in command of the Australian squadron Admiral Tryon had been very popular on the station, and as the author of the system of naval defence for the colonies he had won a great reputation in Australasia.

In spite of the financial crisis and the universal depression in trade it is satisfactory to note that there was no falling off this year in the great natural productions of the colonies. The field of wool, of gold, and of corn continued to be entirely

satisfactory, while, notwithstanding the fall in values, all the internal industries, not depending on artificial support, were never in a healthier condition. The close of the year was marked by distinct signs of the revival of confidence and of returning prosperity.

*New South Wales.*—The year was a period of general gloom and depression, caused by the financial crisis. Home politics were chiefly coloured by the banking disasters which had severely tried the resources of the political credit of the Government. The series of failures was inaugurated by the bankruptcy of the Premier himself, Sir George Dibbs being compelled to seek for relief from his personal embarrassments on March 23, after resigning all his offices, though retaining the nominal Premiership. The disturbance to the process of politics was not of long continuance, nor did it involve any personal loss of character or of influence to the head of the Government. Sir George Dibbs was re-elected to the Assembly by his old constituency of Wagga Wagga, after his bankruptcy, on March 30, without opposition; and was enabled to resume his plans for the repair of the national finances and the restoration of the public credit.

The Joint Stock Bank suspended payment on April 21, with liabilities to the extent of upwards of 13,000,000*l.*; having divided 15 per cent. as profit a few months before. This was the first of the disasters, the scene of which lay in New South Wales. It was followed on May 15 by the suspension of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, from which 1,000,000*l.* in gold had been withdrawn after the collapse of the Joint Stock Bank. The Commercial Banking Company was believed to be one of the soundest and strongest of all the colonial institutions of that kind, which had paid a dividend of 25 per cent. uniformly every year since 1876. Its liabilities were to the extent of over 14,000,000*l.*, by far the larger portion of the shares and deposits being held in the colony to which its business was practically confined.

Aroused by the perils which seemed to threaten the public credit, Sir George Dibbs brought forward a measure for relieving the stress of money by meeting the notes of the banks' legal tender in the colony, and by giving other assistance to the local depositors. A bill to that effect was passed in the Assembly by a majority of seventy-five to twenty-five and in the Council unanimously, receiving the governor's assent on May 3.

Even before this date the alarming falling off in the sums of public revenue had occupied the attention of the Government and of Parliament. The deficiency in the Treasury chest, estimated by Sir George Dibbs in February at 1,250,000*l.*, grew with every fresh statement to the end of the year.

The financial proposals of the Government were brought forward on February 17, and carried by a narrow majority of three, the numbers being 60 to 57. The Ministerial scheme



raising of fresh revenues included a graduated income tax ranging from 4*d.* to 10*d.* in the pound, incomes of under £100 being exempt. The Income Tax Bill was thrown out by the Legislative Council in April.

A new session of Parliament was opened on September 1. Sir George Dibbs made another financial statement. The revenue realised during the last year was 9,739,000*l.*, against a decrease in the year of 768,000*l.* The estimate for the coming year was 9,851,000*l.* The total deficit at the end of 1893, it was stated, would be 1,500,000*l.*, which was expected to be wiped out by the additional taxes. The scheme Sir George Dibbs included a sinking fund of 50,000*l.* a year. A loan of 2,500,000*l.* at 4 per cent. was sanctioned, to be placed in the London market "to meet obligations falling due in January," and defraying expense of public works. A sum of 1,000*l.* was in addition to be raised in the colony.

The sittings of the Assembly were marked by scenes of more than ordinary turbulence. Three or four motions of censure on the Ministry were under discussion, one of which, directed against the conduct of the Attorney-General, Mr. Barton, was carried against the Government by a large majority, leading to the resignation of two Ministers, Mr. Barton and Mr. Haynes, on December 13. A motion by Mr. Haynes, one of the four members, finding fault with the employment of the *Boomba*, one of the vessels of the Australian squadron, in the suppression of the revolt in Samoa, was carried by 15 to 11. The vote was afterwards rescinded at the instance of Sir George Dibbs, on October 15, by 45 to 15. Another motion which was carried against Government led to the prorogation of Parliament on December 13, amidst much excitement.

Barton's resolutions in favour of Australian Federation were carried in the Assembly by a majority of nineteen. A resolution to the effect that One Man One Vote should be the basis in all Federal elections, moved by the Labour Party, was rejected by seven votes.

Julian Salomons, Vice-President of the Executive Council, resigned office on January 25, on account of differences with his colleagues.

On January 29 Sir George Dibbs despatched a protest to the Colonial Office against the appointment of the military officer nominated by the Imperial Government to take charge of the local forces, on the ground that he was not young enough.

A farewell banquet was given at Sydney to the departing Governor, the Earl of Jersey, on February 27. Lord Jersey, in his speech, declared that the reasons for his retirement were purely personal, and had nothing to do with any differences between the Ministers, as had been reported.

In response to an invitation from Sir John Downer, the

Premier of South Australia, to a conference for joint legislation on banking, the New South Wales Government refused its assent, on the ground that it had already taken the necessary action.

A subsidy of 10,000*l.* was voted by the Assembly by a majority of 38 to 32 to the new mail service established between Sydney and Vancouver.

A disgraceful fracas ending in a pugilistic conflict occurred in the lobby of the Assembly, October 19, between Mr. Haynes and Mr. Crick, two of the members.

A meeting of the citizens of Sydney, of all parties, was held on June 14, for the purpose of acknowledging the services of Sir George Dibbs during the financial crisis, and presenting him with a public testimonial. A sum of 3,500*l.* was subscribed for this purpose.

A meeting held in Sydney on July 3 for the purpose of establishing a Citizens' Federation League was attempted to be broken up by a party of Socialists, and ended in a scene of great disorder.

John Martin, convicted with his wife of child-murder in connection with a baby-farming establishment, was executed on August 15. John Rupert Glasson, found guilty of murdering the manager of the bank at Carcoar, was hanged on November 29.

The old firm of Joseph Montefiore & Co. was compelled to suspend payment on August 22, having succumbed to the monetary crisis.

*Victoria.*—The financial crisis assumed even a more acute form in Victoria than in the other colonies, causing wide-spread disaster and occupying the minds of the people almost to the exclusion of all other topics, political or commercial. The first note of warning of the coming monetary crash was given by the failure of the Federal Bank, one of the smaller banking establishments, which was chiefly conspicuous by the connection of Mr. James Munro, an ex-Premier and Agent-General, with its affairs. The Federal Bank closed its doors on January 25. Some attempt was made to throw blame on the six associated banks for not coming to the assistance of the Federal Bank, but what occurred a few weeks afterwards made it clear that no such help, even had the older banks been in a position to give it, would have sufficed to avert the coming financial catastrophe. A brief spell of confidence was inspired by a meeting of the representatives of the associated banks on March 13, at which a resolution was carried pledging them to render assistance to any of their number requiring it, but this somewhat tardy action had little or no effect in arresting the outflow of capital, even in the colony, while it came too late to restore confidence to the British depositors. The monetary panic continued without intermission, the revelations made in the course of the investigations into the affairs of the Federal,



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Mr. Isaacs, the Solicitor-General, and his colleagues. The Solicitor-General, claiming to represent public opinion, was on prosecuting the defaulting bank directors, but the Government were inclined to a milder course. The controversy led to Mr. Isaacs' resignation of his office and seat in the House. He stood again for Bogong, and was returned. Mr. James Munro, late Prime Minister and since Agent-General for Victoria in London, was declared agent on February 1, as a result of his connection with the Colonial Estate Bank. Mr. Munro afterwards made a speech meeting of the Rechabites in defence of his conduct, declaring that he stood before them without a shilling in his pocket.

Duncan Gillies, once Premier, after having refused the appointment when offered to him in March, finally consented to accept the office of Agent-General for Victoria in London, on September 28.

Day of humiliation for the financial crisis, and the crisis resulting, was held in Melbourne on May 17, at the instigation of the Bishop.

As part of its scheme of economies the Cabinet resolved to reduce the salary of the governor from 10,000*l.* to 7,000*l.* and the salaries of Ministers were also reduced by 20 per cent. and of members of Parliament from 308*l.* to 250*l.*

A conference of Australian Premiers was held in Melbourne on May 27, at which Mr. J. B. Patterson, Sir George Dibbs and John Downer were present, when it was resolved that it was not desirable to have State banks. Some principles of legislation were agreed upon, among others that deposits not bearing interest should be a first charge and current deposits a second.

The suspension of the great firm of Goldsbrough & Co., which was declared in London on June 25, tended to aggravate the crisis in local finance. The firm were the largest buyers of wool in Melbourne and Sydney, and had a share capital of 1,000,000*l.*, of which 4,500,000*l.* were subscribed and 480,000*l.* paid up. Their liabilities were estimated at 3,500,000*l.* The firm has since been reconstructed and has resumed business. The banks which suspended payment in April and in May, are now undergoing a process of reconstruction, were enabled to open their doors within a few weeks. Deposits have since been flowing in at a rate which is only too embarrassing to the banks, as in the existing state of affairs there was no demand for money—the profits of capital being at a minimum and wages were in excess.

The Treasurer, Mr. G. D. Carter, made his financial statement on July 19. He stated the revenue for the past year to be 1,002,000*l.*, and the expenditure 8,183,000*l.* The balance, a deficit brought forward from 1892 of 960,000*l.*, showed a deficiency against the colony of 1,441,000*l.* Among the new proposals of revenue proposed was an income tax, graduated



according to amount and nature. On incomes derived from personal exertions the tax was to be, if over 200*l.* and not exceeding 1,200*l.*, 3*d.* in the pound; on such incomes over 1,200*l.* and not exceeding 2,200*l.*, 4½*d.* On incomes derived from acquired wealth and real estate the rate would be double and from dividends 6*d.* in the pound. The amount expected from this source was 300,000*l.* A primage tax of 3 per cent., since reduced to 1 per cent., on all articles imported from abroad was carried in the Assembly, September 15. The income tax resolutions were adopted by a majority of 42 to 38. A modified scheme for the reduction of all salaries was also agreed to.

Among the less depressing incidents of the year was the visit of a member of the Canadian Government, Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, who came to Melbourne on a mission to "improve commercial relations between the Dominion and Australia" also to forward a scheme for the laying of an electric submarine cable across the Pacific. Mr. Mackenzie Bowell was entertained at a banquet given by the Chamber of Commerce on November 1, at which cordial wishes were expressed for the success of his mission and for a closer union between Australia and Canada.

The Government joined with that of New South Wales in a protest against the sending out of the *Bonaventure* in place of the *Orlando*, by the imperial naval authorities, as being in contravention of the Imperial Defences Act of 1888. Their protest bore fruit, for the *Crescent*, a new and more powerful vessel, was afterwards substituted for the *Bonaventure*.

The Earl and Countess of Hopetown left Melbourne on a visit to New Zealand on January 25.

*Queensland.*—Queensland had her full share of the disasters and troubles of this unlucky year—the financial depression being aggravated in her case by floods of unprecedented severity, causing much loss of life and damage to property. In the beginning of February the rivers rose suddenly, submerging a vast extent of the lowlands. Brisbane, the capital, suffered very severely. The water was thirty feet deep in the main street of the city. The Botanical Gardens were entirely flooded and spoilt, vessels of considerable size being driven on to the shore, and found high and dry, when the river fell, on the flower beds. The Victoria Bridge, connecting North with South Brisbane, the finest structure of the kind in the colony, was wrecked and carried away. Most of the shops and warehouses in the business part of the town were inundated, and a large quantity of goods destroyed. The total extent of the loss was estimated at 2,000,000*l.* Many persons were drowned, and for some days the city was entirely isolated by water, and cut off from all connection with the rest of the colony.

There was a renewal of the flood on February 17, the streets being once more submerged, leading to fresh damage

and loss of life and property. Six hundred houses are reckoned to have been carried away in the inundation, besides 2,000 which were under water for several days.

Three of the principal banks suspended payment almost simultaneously. The Bank of Northern Queensland was the first to go, on May 15, with liabilities of 650,000*l.* and a subscribed capital of 500,000*l.* It was closely followed by a more important institution, the Queensland National Bank, which held the Government account, and was regarded as almost a public establishment. The National Bank had a subscribed capital of 1,600,000*l.*, and had lately paid a dividend of 10 per cent. Its total liabilities were upwards of 10,000,000*l.*, of which more than 50 per cent. were in Great Britain. The Royal Bank of Queensland fell on May 17, with liabilities of 1,360,000*l.* As the case of the banks in the other colonies, these three institutions were enabled, after reconstruction, to resume business, but the damage to the public credit was perhaps even more serious and the individual losses more severely felt in Queensland than elsewhere.

The course of the political history during the year was marked by an unusual number and variety of disturbances characteristic of Parliamentary Government in Australasia. The retirement of Sir Charles Griffith from political life in March led to a reconstruction of the Ministry, which at first was attended with some unforeseen difficulties. Sir Charles Griffith was gazetted Chief Justice in place of Sir John Lilley on March 12, having arranged that Mr. H. M. Nelson, the leader of the Opposition, should succeed him as head of a reconstructed Cabinet. This arrangement, however, not being acceptable to Parliament, Sir Thomas McIlwraith was sent over to form a new Administration.

The new Cabinet was constituted on March 26, with Sir T. McIlwraith as Premier, Chief Secretary and Minister of Railways; Mr. H. M. Nelson, Treasurer; Mr. A. H. Barlow, Minister of Lands and Agriculture; Mr. W. H. Wilson, Postmaster and Minister of Public Instruction; Mr. H. Tozer, Colonial Secretary; Mr. J. Lissner, Secretary for Mines and Public Works; and Mr. T. J. Byrnes, Attorney-General.

Parliament was dissolved on April 6. The general election was concluded on May 22 with a considerable majority for the Government, the Opposition being much divided. Thirty-eight Ministerialists were returned, against seventeen of the Labour Party, seven of the formal Opposition, and eight independents. The principal feature of the contest was the victory in Brisbane and the larger towns of the Ministerial candidates over the representatives of the extreme Left and the Labour Party. Sir Thomas McIlwraith himself defeated Sir John Lilley, ex-Chief Justice and accepted leader of the ultra-Democratic Party, in one of the divisions of Brisbane by a decisive majority.



The Treasurer made his budget speech on July 25. He confessed to a deficit in the past year of 111,000*l.*, estimating a revenue of 3,375,500*l.*, with an expenditure of 3,378,000*l.* In the flourishing circumstances of the colony, as shown in the great increase of exports, no new taxes were proposed, though a reduction was made in the salaries of officials.

A Ministerial crisis took place in the early part of the session over one of the Government measures—the Railway Border Tax Bill—which was stoutly opposed in the Assembly. Upon a division being taken there were found to be 29 votes against 29, whereupon the bill was carried by the Speaker. Declaring that he could not consent to hold office by the Speaker's casting vote, Sir Thomas McIlwraith placed his resignation in the hands of the governor. The governor declining to accept it, Sir Thomas McIlwraith was induced to resume office; and the bill was afterwards passed without much opposition.

A deputation having called upon the Premier, on September 26, to move a resolution in Parliament in favour of the Home Rule Bill, Sir Thomas McIlwraith declined on the ground that it was not desirable to express an opinion on a measure primarily affecting the mother country.

A contract with the French Government for the laying of an electric cable to New Caledonia as a portion of a proposed new Pacific line of communication evoked a strong expression of public opinion adverse to the project, the other colonies being in favour of an independent line from Sydney to Vancouver by way of Honolulu.

A resolution for increasing the salary of members of Parliament from 150*l.* to 300*l.* was carried against the Government in the Assembly by a majority of thirty-one to twenty-five.

The Premiership was given up by Sir Thomas McIlwraith on the plea of ill-health. He left Brisbane on November 3, and was succeeded by Mr. Nelson.

The year 1893 witnessed a great expansion in the sugar industry of Queensland, owing to the removal of the impediments to the supply of colonised labour. Many of the plantations which had been abandoned resumed operations—the total crop of the year being estimated at 80,000 tons.

The appointment of Sir Henry Norman, the Governor of Queensland, to be Viceroy of India, produced much sensation in the colony; and it was with much gratification that the public received the news of Sir Henry Norman's refusing the higher office on re-consideration.

*South Australia.*—The colony of South Australia, although in a less degree, participated in the general collapse of the financial credit which was caused by the shrinkage of values and the withdrawal of deposits from the banks. Most of the banks which suspended payment had branches in Adelaide and the South Australian towns, and though South Australia did not sensibly contribute to the causes which brought about

downfall she could not but share in its calamitous effects, which affected her trade, her productions and her mines.

The year was marked by the usual political changes and shiftings of the *personnel* of the Government. After the general election at the beginning of the year the Ministry under John Downer underwent a process of reconstruction,—not, however, soon appeared, to any increase of strength or popularity. The Treasurer, Mr. Rounsevell, and the Commissioner of Public Works, Mr. Grayson, on seeking re-election were defeated. Parliament was opened for the session on June 8. On the same day a formal vote of want of confidence was moved in the Assembly by Mr. Kingston and carried by a majority of two. A new Ministry was formed under Mr. Kingston, Premier and Chief Secretary-General, with Messrs. Playford, Holder and Campbell, as his colleagues.

The Treasurer made his budget speech on August 15. The revenue in the past year was stated to be 2,500,000*l.*, showing a surplus of 300,000*l.*, which, added to the existing deficit of 1,000,000*l.*, made the total deficiency nearly 1,000,000*l.* sterling. A bill imposing various new taxes was carried through the Assembly on August 7, which was thrown out (Dec. 6) by the Legislative Council by a majority of 10 to 9. Parliament was prorogued on December 23.

A number of colonists left Adelaide for the new settlement at Port Lincoln, which was to be called New Australia, on May 29. This movement, which extended to the other colonies, may be taken as a tangible evidence of the great depression prevailing throughout Australia, of which the banking failures were at the time the cause and the consequence.

*Western Australia.*—The Parliament was prorogued on July 12, and opened again on July 4. The governor, in his opening speech, spoke in glowing terms of the favourable prospects of the colony. The new discoveries of gold in the eastern districts had proved most valuable, and were attracting population from all the neighbouring colonies.

John Forrest, the Treasurer, made his financial statement on August 29, announcing that the revenue had increased 100,000*l.*, an increase of 10 per cent. The credit balance was 1,000,000*l.*

As the population having reached 60,000, the Legislative Council, by the Constitution Act, had to be changed from a nominated body into an elective chamber; but the scheme for carrying out the change was postponed for a few months.

An amendment to the Constitution Act was passed on August 16, making the suffrage for the Assembly virtually one of manhood suffrage.

The Homesteads Bill was introduced on July 31, under which 160 acres of land were made to all males above eighteen



s, subject to certain conditions as to residence, fencing, improvements.

Very rich gold deposits, in the shape of reefs of auriferous quartz, were discovered in the district of Coolgardie. A great number of miners set in, and already a large population is located in a region hitherto sterile and desolate. The yield of gold was very satisfactory, exceeding in the percentage to quantity the reefs hitherto worked in the older colonies. The total output of gold for the year was 277,000*l.* Great distress, however, was experienced from want of water, which put a stop to the workings and caused the temporary withdrawal of a large number of the miners. The only water available was brackish and unfit for domestic use. In spite of these drawbacks the traffic from the other colonies to Coolgardie was continued, several steam vessels being specially put on the line for the service from Melbourne and Sydney.

The South Western Railway was opened for a portion of its line on September 15.

A proof of Western Australia having attained to the dignity of an independent colony was given by her appearing in the London market this year, as a successful borrower of 435,000*l.* at 4 per cent.

*Tasmania.*—The uneventful record of the year is chequered by the usual tale of financial deficiency, with Ministerial applications. Like all the rest of the Australian colonies, Tasmania was a sufferer by the failure of values and the pressure on credit. The Treasurer, in his budget speech delivered on May 9, confessed to a deficit of 301,000*l.* To provide the necessary revenue of the year new taxes were proposed, namely, a levy over a field which had hitherto been free. An increase of 10*d.* in the pound, with primage duties on imports, and an increase of the existing duties on tea and sugar, formed the principal feature in the Ministerial programme. The tax scheme, adopted by the Assembly by a narrow majority, was thrown out by the Legislative Council, which instituted a general land tax.

The new governor, Lord Gormanstown, landed at Hobart on August 9.

In the last days of the year the Government decided to issue of a new loan to the extent of 1,000,000*l.* sterling.

*New Zealand.*—The leading feature in the year's history of New Zealand is the cheerful condition of her financial position among the colonies of Australasia. New Zealand stands out as a check in her onward progress. The chronicle of her year is undimmed by any financial reverses, and for once without deficit and no borrowing. On the contrary, although the Government made several large strides forward in the policy of State Socialism, to which New Zealand is more than in any other colony is now committed, all was accomplished with an increase of revenue and a steady growth of prod-

Mr. John Ballance, the Premier, to whose personal guidance this new and improved condition of New Zealand must be ascribed, died, after a long illness, on April 25. He was succeeded by Mr. Seddon, who, in his speech delivered to his constituents on April 3, justified the policy of the Government, declaring it to have been entirely successful. He reminded his hearers that the three years during which the late Ministry had promised not to borrow had expired, and pledged himself to continue in that self-denying resolution for two years more.

The Treasurer made his financial statement on July 4, declaring a favourable state of affairs. The revenue of the year was estimated at 4,539,000*l.*, against an expenditure of 4,409,000*l.* The surplus expected was 130,000*l.* A quarter of a million was to be devoted to public works. The policy of self-reliance was asserted, and a new assurance given that there would be no borrowing.

Some changes were made in the *personnel* of the Ministry in consequence of the libel action Cadman *versus* Rees. In this Mr. Cadman, Minister of Native Affairs, sought redress in the court against Mr. Rees, a political opponent, who had charged him with maladministration in his office. The jury gave Mr. Cadman a verdict with twenty shillings damages—a result which led to the Minister's resignation. Mr. Cadman was afterwards re-admitted to the Cabinet as Minister of Laws and Justice.

The Female Suffrage Bill, after twice being rejected, was finally passed by the Legislative Council—by the help of the new members nominated to that body for the express purpose—by a majority of 20 to 18. At the general election, which was concluded on November 25, women went to the poll, for the first time in any British community, to record their votes. A considerable proportion of the female voters exercised their right on this occasion, voting largely for the candidates who professed Christianity and temperance. In other respects the effects of the women's suffrage were not easily to be distinguished. The Ministry gained a great victory, securing fifty-four members to eighteen of the Opposition. The leader of the Opposition himself, Mr. Rolleston, was among those who were defeated, while no fewer than thirty-three of the elected were new to political life.

The policy of the Government since its victory at the general election underwent a further expansion; and the measures promised and in process of being introduced partake of a large and comprehensive spirit of State Socialism, such as no British colony has ever attempted to embody in practical legislation, the working of which will be watched with great interest outside of New Zealand. Not content with being the largest employers of labour, as in most of the other colonies, the Government of New Zealand has proposed, and has already



partially carried out, a scheme of State agriculture and even State sheepfarming. It was decided to establish four public farms in different parts of the colony, on which the labour was to be conducted on the most advanced Socialistic principles, and of which the profits (if any) were to go into the general treasury. The grazing estate of Cheviot, which was sold because the owners could not pay the excessive land tax, was bought by the Government, which actually attempted to work it as a pastoral occupancy. Failing in this, the land was cut up into portions and turned to agriculture. In addition to farming on its own account the Government announced that it was prepared with a great scheme for assisting individual and *bond-fide* settlers in working their lands, one feature of which is that the people are to be "supplied inexpensively with capital from the United Kingdom," in other words, that the credit of the State is to be employed for the benefit of the citizens. To this end, the uninvested capital of the friendly societies in the United Kingdom is to be asked to spend itself in New Zealand, interest to the extent of 4½ per cent. being guaranteed by the State to the lenders.

A Maori Parliament was assembled to deliberate at Mamakawān, from which Europeans were excluded. Its proceedings, which were wrapt in a good deal of mystery, though they excited very little attention, were closed on June 11. There was a large attendance of natives. The once famous insurgent chief Te Kooti, the author of the Poverty Bay massacre, who was for some years in hiding with a large reward offered for his head, died on April 18, having long ceased to be dangerous.

*Polynesia.*—In Samoa there was a serious outbreak, arising out of the rivalry between the acknowledged king, Malietoa, and Mataafa, the son of the chief whom the Germans once set up as king, and civil war broke out in July. After some slaughter on both sides the warships of England, Germany, and the United States intervened, Mataafa surrendered, placing himself under the protection of the British cruiser *Katoomba*, and was deported to one of the islands of the union group. There has since been peace in Samoa, which has been further secured by the recall of Herr Cederkranz, the judge, and Baron von Sennft Pilsach, the President of the Apia municipality, by the three Powers. Mr. Henry Ide, an American, succeeded Herr Cederkranz as judge.

A new king was crowned at Fonga, in succession to his great-grandfather, King George, whose first act was to recall Mr. Thurston Baker, the missionary politician, who had been removed from the islands by Sir John Thurston, the British commissioner in the Pacific.

# PART II.

## CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

### IN 1893.

#### JANUARY.

1. A large body of the unemployed attended service at St. Paul's Cathedral, in response to an invitation from Canon Scott Holland, whose sermon was frequently interrupted by the applause of those present.

2. The inauguration of the Lord Mayor of Dublin took place with unusual play. The troops, whose presence had been dispensed with for twelve years, accompanied the procession, in which the Lord Mayor of London in person took part.

— Sir Gerald Portal and his staff left Mombasa on his mission to Uganda.

— Rev. W. C. Ingram, Vicar of St. Matthew's, Leicester, appointed Dean Peterborough.

— A sharp encounter took place between the Egyptian Camel Corps on the Upper Nile and a body of dervishes. An English officer and about twenty men were killed on the side of the Egyptians, who were at length after desperate fighting forced to retire.

3. The Water Committee of the Birmingham Town Council adopted a higher scale of water rates to meet the increased charge of bringing water from North Wales.

— Snowstorms of unprecedented violence visited Trieste and Vienna, rendering the streets absolutely impassable until ways had been cut through the solid drifts. The Seine and Thames above the tide-way were also frozen over, and severe cold was reported from all parts of Europe and North America.

4. At a meeting of the Evicted Tenants Commission, Mr. Dillon, M.P., stated that the total amount received in support of the Plan of Campaign had been £234,431*l.*, of which about £125,000*l.* had been disbursed in grants to the landless peasantry.

— The Victorian Government decided to prosecute the chairman and directors, as well as the manager and auditor, of the Mercantile Bank of India on the charge of issuing a false balance sheet.



4. A railway collision between two workmen's trains occurred on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway near Pittsburg. Eight workmen were burnt under the debris of the cars which had caught fire.

— The New Zealand Government, in answer to a demand from the "Knights of Labour," decided to set up a co-operative settlement on one estate, and that four State farms should be established.

5. Lord Winchilsea presided at a largely-attended agricultural conference at York, at which he explained the principle of new agricultural union of which the threefold object was to be: (1) the remission of unfair local burdens, (2) the protection of cattle, &c., from disease, and (3) the co-operation of producers and consumers.

6. In consequence of the unsatisfactory relations existing with the Government of Morocco, Sir J. West Ridgeway, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Under-Secretary for Ireland, appointed special envoy to Tangier.

— Three large cotton store-houses in Juniper Street, Liverpool, and one of the oldest cotton mills at Accrington, totally destroyed by fire. In the former case two firemen were killed by the fall of a wall, and two constables severely injured.

— A daring burglary took place about half-past six in the evening at Charing Cross, when a show-case, containing gold studs and other jewellery, of the value of several hundred pounds, was carried off from the front of the shop at a time when traffic was usually large and in the full blaze of electric light. The case, which required two men to carry, was subsequently found with all its contents in Tottenham Court Road.

7. The court martial on Admiral Fairfax charged with negligence in connection with the stranding of H.M.S. *Howe* in Ferrol Bay, after lasting several days, resulted in his acquittal, the charge not having been proved; the stranding of the ship being attributed to an inaccurate chart, and to her divergence from the course taken by the flagship.

— In consequence of heavy losses having been incurred by several young members of Austrian nobility, the police issued a notice warning the Vienna Jockey Club against allowing games of chance to be played on its premises.

9. Lord Rosebery addressed to the Sultan of Morocco an ultimatum regarding the murder of a British subject at Tangier by the native police, and giving his Majesty forty-eight hours to decide whether or not he would grant an indemnity.

— The Porte declined to allow the new United States Minister at Constantinople to pass to the Dardanelles in the war vessel which had brought him from America, but he was conveyed in an imperial yacht sent expressly for him.

10. The Wheal Owles Tin Mine, St. Just, one of the oldest in Cornwall, flooded by an inrush of water from the old workings, and twenty out of forty-one workers drowned.

10. The French Cabinet on the day of the reassembling of the Chambers resigned, and M. Ribot was charged with its reconstruction. In the Chamber M. Floquet did not present himself for re-election as President, M. Casimir-Périer being chosen in his place. Simultaneously the trial of the Panama directors was commenced at the Paris Court of Appeal.

— Mr. Gladstone returned to London from Biarritz, and was cordially greeted on his arrival at Folkestone.

— Mr. W. H. Long (C.) returned for the West Derby division of Liverpool by 3,682 votes against 2,275 given to Mr. Shilton Collins (G.L.).

— The marriage of Prince Ferdinand of Hohenzollern, Crown Prince of Roumania, with Princess Marie of Edinburgh, celebrated with great rejoicings at Sigmaringen, where representatives of all the Crown heads in Europe attended.

11. The Miners' Conference assembled at Birmingham, attended by delegates representing 850,000 miners, decided after a long discussion in favour of an Eight Hours Bill—the Durham delegates alone dissenting.

— The three Moorish guards charged with the murder of a British subject at Tangier imprisoned by the governor of the city.

— The United States Senate passed a stringent Quarantine Bill under which it would be possible to restrict immigration.

— In the New South Wales House of Assembly a strong resolution embodying the principle of intercolonial federation was agreed to after a long debate.

— The German Chancellor, Count von Caprivi, delivered an important speech to the committee of the Reichstag to which the Army Bill had been referred, in which he reviewed the political state of Europe and the policy of Germany.

12. At a conference of farmers' delegates from Lancashire, Cheshire and North Wales, held at Chester, it was resolved to form a federation of tenant farmers, and that the establishment of a land court and the three "F's" should be the basis of their union.

— The first of a series of Unionist demonstrations to be held in Ulster took place at Enniskillen, at which a resolution pledging the audience to uncompromising resistance to Home Rule was passed unanimously.

— A widely-organised conspiracy to carry off the Crown Prince of Montenegro in order to compel his father to comply with certain demands failed in consequence of information given to the authorities. Some hundreds of men scattered through various villages were disarmed.

13. A general outcry from traders in all branches, especially agriculturists, against the new rates of charges made by the railway companies and sanctioned by the Board of Trade.

— The first conference of the Independent Labour party, attended by 115 delegates, met at Bradford and elected Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., president for the year.



13. Small-pox assuming an epidemic form showed itself in Manchester, the cases under treatment rising rapidly each day.

— An express train on the Chicago and Erie Railway ran into a suburban train, causing the immediate death of twenty persons and seriously injuring many others.

14. Queen Liliuokalani having attempted to abrogate the existing constitution of Hawaii, the foreign population of Honolulu formed a provisional government, dethroned the queen, and applied to the United States warship for assistance and support. A body of marines was landed and no violence ensued.

— The correspondents of an Italian and of a Hungarian newspaper expelled from Paris for making false charges against foreign ambassadors in connection with the Panama scandal.

— The first anniversary of the death of the Duke of Clarence was marked by a special visit from the Prince and Princess of Wales, who went from Sandringham to Windsor to deposit crosses on the coffin in the Albert Chapel. Afterwards they returned to Sandringham.

15. The London and Brighton steamship *Brighton* whilst entering Dieppe harbour struck on the West Pier and sunk in a very short time. The passengers and their effects were landed in small boats.

16. The Khedive of Egypt without warning or reason suddenly dismissed his Premier and the Minister of Finance and Justice who had steadily supported the reforms urged by the British Resident. On the news reaching London a Cabinet Council was hastily summoned, and Lord Cromer instructed to inform the Khedive that the British Government expected to be consulted on any such important step.

— At a consistory held at the Vatican the Pope created fourteen new cardinals, of whom six were Italian, two French, two Prussian, one Spanish, one Hungarian, one English (Archbishop Vaughan), and one Irish (Archbishop Logue).

— The Sultan of Morocco after consulting the *ullmas* consented to pay an indemnity of 1,000*l.* for the murder of a British subject, and to imprison the guards who shot him.

17. One of the five blocks constituting the Military Hospital at Devonport was destroyed by fire, but all the patients were rescued with some difficulty.

— A large and enthusiastic mass meeting held at Belfast under the presidency of the Marquess of Londonderry to confirm the decisions arrived at by the Ulster Convention of the previous summer.

— Charles Wells, who had acquired notoriety by having broken the bank at Monte Carlo, brought up at Bow Street on an extradition warrant, and charged with obtaining 28,900*l.* from various persons by false and fraudulent pretences.

18. The crisis at Cairo terminated by the Khedive expressing his regret, and appointing Riaz Pasha to be Prime Minister.

18. An inspection of the funds of the Rome branch of the Bank of Naples led to the discovery of a deficiency of 2,500,000 lire. The cashier was arrested, and a warrant issued for the apprehension of the manager.

— The cold prevailing in Central Europe and especially in North Germany far exceeded any registered for several years. At Berlin the thermometer marked nine degrees below zero (Fahrenheit), and at Stuttgart fourteen degrees. The Rhine between Bingen and Getzenheim, and parts of the Neckar and Moselle, were completely frozen. Hamburg and Lübeck were entirely enclosed in ice. Snow fell at Algiers and along the Riviera, where it had not been seen for nearly thirty years.

19. The annual conference of the National Liberal Federation held at Liverpool under the presidency of Dr. Spence Watson, who expressed his confidence that Mr. Gladstone, having endorsed, would deal *seriatim* with the various parts of the Newcastle programme. About 2,000 delegates were present, but the Ministry was only represented by Mr. T. E. Ellis, Junior Lord of the Treasury.

— A reconciliation between ex-King Milan and Queen Natalie of Servia effected in a highly dramatic fashion at Biarritz, where the latter was suddenly visited by her husband, from whom she had long been separated.

— Alderman Ben Tillett committed for trial by the Bristol magistrates for inciting to commit a riot and on other similar charges.

— Dr. Cornelius Herz arrested at Bournemouth on a charge of fraud in connection with the Panama Railway Company.

20. Eighteen persons died of cholera in the lunatic asylum of Nietleben near Halle in the course of two days, and nearly as many more were seriously attacked.

— James William Hobbs, builder, and Henry Granville Wright committed for trial on charges in connection with the Liberator Society and other companies financed by it.

— Mr. Chaplin, M.P., presided at a meeting of nearly 3,000 farmers at Lincoln, and a resolution was carried in favour of the formation of a National Agricultural Union.

— Demonstrations were made by the unemployed Socialists in the streets of Amsterdam which led to several collisions with the police.

21. James Egan who in 1884 had been sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude for treason felony, and Thomas Callan who was undergoing a fifteen years' sentence for his connection with the "Jubilee dynamite plot" in 1887, released from Portland Prison by order of the Secretary of State.

— A collision occurred at Alton on the Cleveland and St. Louis Railway, an express train running into a goods train carrying a large quantity of oil. Several explosions followed and nine persons were killed, eleven fatally burnt, and eighty-three others more or less seriously injured.

— The Prince of Wales presided at a meeting at Burlington House to consider the subject of a memorial to the late Sir Richard Owen.



23. A terrible accident occurred at the Dowlais Company's new pit near Pontypridd, where a body of men were sinking a new shaft. A boulder weighing seven or eight tons suddenly fell from the side to the shaft and instantly crushed six of the men working below, and seriously injured several others.

— The Earl of Jersey resigned the Governorship of New South Wales, having been suddenly obliged to return to England for private reasons.

— In consequence of the attitude of the Khedive, and the state of feeling in Cairo and other parts of Egypt, the Government decided to increase the British force in that country.

24. The coffins of Rev. John Newton and his wife discovered in the crypt of St. Mary, Woolnote, Lombard Street, having been placed in fresh coffins were removed to Olney and re-interred. Newton, the part author with Cowper of the Olney Hymns, died in 1807.

— The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Mundella) explained to a deputation of the Co-operative Union of Great Britain and of the Trades Union Congress the outlines of the measure by which the Government proposed to establish a Labour Department of the Board of Trade.

— The marriage of the Archduchess Margaret Sophia, daughter of Archduke Karl Ludwig, to Duke Albert, son of Duke Philip of Wurtemberg, celebrated at Vienna.

— An explosion of fire damp in a coal mine at Dux (Bohemia) caused the death of seventeen miners, the morning shift having just gone to work.

25. The marriage of Prince Frederick Charles of Hesse with the Princess Margaret of Prussia, youngest daughter of the Empress Frederick, celebrated with great pomp in the chapel of the Royal Palace at Berlin.

✓ — A deputation representing the agricultural interests in different parts of the kingdom had an interview with the President of the Board of Trade to represent the injury done to producers and traders by the new railway rates as sanctioned by the Board.

— The funeral at Madrid of the Spanish Laureate, José Zorrilla, was made the occasion of a great public demonstration, upwards of 50,000 of all classes following the coffin from the hall of the Academy where it had lain in state to the cemetery of St. Justus.

26. The annual convention of Irish landowners, held at Dublin under the presidency of the Duke of Abercorn, passed a series of resolutions protesting against Home Rule.

— The German Emperor took advantage of a luncheon given by the 1st Grenadier Guards at Berlin in honour of the Cesarewitch to toast the Czar in most cordial language.

✓ — The Local Government Board issued an order giving authority to any guardian to visit any part of the workhouse at any time, and empowering boards of guardians to appoint committees of ladies as visitors of female paupers and pauper children.

26. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 8 to  $2\frac{1}{2}$ , the reserve standing at 17,864,111*l.* or  $47\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 25,788,866*l.*

27. Mr. Krüger re-elected President of the Transvaal Republic by a majority of nearly 1,000 votes.

— The first detachment of the troops sent to reinforce the Egyptian garrison arrived at Cairo, where all symptoms of uneasiness at once disappeared.

— In the case of *Morley v. Loughman*, which had lasted four days, Mr. Justice Wright in his judgment decided that the defendant, a "close" Plymouth Brother, had exercised undue influence over the plaintiff, one of the sons of the late Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., and held that the executors should recover such sums as were remaining from the 150,000*l.* which had been transferred or bequeathed to the plaintiff by Mr. Hope Morley.

28. The dispute between the cotton mill owners and the operatives having lasted twelve weeks without result, beyond the loss of wages amounting to 960,000*l.*, the President of the Board of Trade was requested to mediate between the employers and the men. This, however, he declined to do without previous evidence that his award would be accepted.

— In the Italian Parliament, after a prolonged and excited discussion, the Premier's refusal to grant a parliamentary inquiry into the bank scandals was endorsed by 274 to 154 votes.

— The Federal Bank of Australia, of which the chief office was at Melbourne, Victoria, suspended payment with liabilities of above 2,000,000*l.* sterling.

30. At a council held at Osborne the Queen settled a proclamation announcing the issue of a new coinage from designs by Mr. Brock, Mr. Poynter and others, to replace the jubilee issue of Sir E. Boehm.

— Mr. Blaine's funeral at Washington took place with marks of general respect. President Harrison and the members of his Cabinet, and the representatives of the chief European powers, attended the ceremony.

— The rowing match for the championship of England between George Buebear (11 st. 12 lb.) of Hammersmith, and George Hosmer (11 st.) "the Lightning Boy" of Boston. U.S.A., took place on the Thames course, and resulted in an easy victory for the English rower.

— A terrible storm broke over the Loffoden Isles and the northern coast of Norway, destroying the greater portion of the fishing fleet assembled in those parts, and causing the loss of more than 120 lives.

31. The second session of the thirteenth Parliament of the reign opened at Westminster by Royal Commission.

— A violent earthquake occurred at Zante and was felt in other parts of the Ionian Islands. Several buildings were totally destroyed, others seriously injured, and several lives were lost.

— Dr. Wm. Price, "the last of the Druids," cremated on the hillside of



Llantrissant in accordance with his wishes. The vicar of the parish conducted the service, the family wearing the Welsh dress, and the dear little son a Druidic dress.

## FEBRUARY.

1. The bakers of Marseilles struck in consequence of certain measures taken by the municipality to fix the price of bread. The bakers surrounding towns having refused to supply bread, the Marseilles bakers were temporarily occupied by the military and bread made by the military for distribution.

— All the children, upwards of ninety, attending the National School at Newmarket-on-Fergus, Co. Clare, withdrawn by their parents in consequence of the refusal of the teacher to expel the son of the caretaker of an adjacent farm.

— The Royal Commission on Lighthouses recommended the establishment of electric communication between twenty-five lighthouses on the mainland at a cost of about 25,000*l.* per annum.

— During the absence of the royal family at a ball, jewellery of value of 300,000 fr. was carried off from the residence of the Comte de Flandre at Brussels.

2. In the Dublin Queen's Bench Division, the Lord Chief Justice delivered judgment on the application of the Sheriff of Kerry to the effect that the order from the castle to withhold protection was illegal, and that the person issuing it was liable to criminal prosecution.

— M. Thureau Danquin, the historian, and M. Henri de Bournier, members of the French Academy. M. Zola again failed to obtain more than four votes.

— Osman Digna, at the head of about 400 men, suddenly appeared at Tamanieb, about eighteen miles from Suakin.

— The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council gave judgment in the case of *Moseley v. Yelverton*, in which the former, the editor of a new newspaper, was sentenced to imprisonment by the latter, the Chief Justice of the Bahamas, for refusing to declare the name of the writer of a letter received by him on the Chief Justice. The Privy Council decided that there had been contempt of court, and that the judge's action could not be upheld.

3. A further severe shock of earthquake at Zante completed the series which the previous shocks had commenced. The principal public buildings were more or less injured, and private dwellings destroyed to the extent that 10,000 persons were rendered homeless, and the damage was estimated at 8,000,000 drachmas. Almost simultaneously, the evening tide at Zante ebbed so low that many of the canals were left without water, and consequently suspended.

— A daring robbery took place in broad daylight in Threadneedle Street when a well-dressed man carried off 700*l.* in gold, which was being conveyed from the City Bank to a cab waiting outside. He represented himself

of a branch bank, and offered to assist the messenger who was bringing money from the bank to the clerk waiting in the cab to receive it.

4. The Allan steamship *Pomeranian*, on her voyage from Greenock to New York, caught in a storm about 1,200 miles west of the Irish coast. In midst of the gale a sea carried away the bridge, chart-house, and saloon the fore deck, together with the captain and ten passengers. The ship put about, all her instruments having been swept away, and she was brought back into the Clyde a week later.

— Lord Salisbury opened at Liverpool the Electrical Western Railway, of seven miles in length, and connecting the docks and the exchange.

— The polling at Huddersfield, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of W. Summers (G.L.), resulted in the return of Sir Joseph Crosland (C.), who received 7,068 against 7,083 votes given to Mr. J. Woodhead (G.L.).

— The Lord Chief Justice and four other judges, sitting as a court for consideration of Crown cases reserved, decided, in the case of *Penn v. Alexander*, that 180 men who had walked, on a Sunday, from Little Houghton to Northampton, a distance of three and a half miles, and had been supplied with beer, were not *bonâ fide* travellers under the Licensing Act, 1874.

6. The judges appointed to try the Cirencester election petition decided that there was an equality of votes, and that the election was therefore void.

— The election at Burnley, in consequence of the retirement of Mr. J. Spencer Balfour (G.L.), resulted in the return of Hon. P. Stanhope (G.L.), 99, against Mr. W. Lindsay (C.), who polled 5,506 votes.

— Leeds and Sheffield, on petition to the Queen, raised to the rank and dignity of cities.

— Three further severe shocks of earthquake at Zante added to the horror and general demoralisation of the inhabitants, whom the king and queen arrived from the mainland to encourage.

7. The Chamber of Indictments at Paris committed for trial, on charges giving or receiving bribes, MM. C. de Lesseps, Fontane, Blondin and Antonin; MM. Dugué de la Fauconnerie and Proust, deputies: M. Béral, senator; MM. Baihaut, Sansleroy and Gobron, ex-deputies.

— In the House of Commons, Mr. Keir Hardie's amendment to the Address, expressing regret that prompt legislation in the interests of the unemployed had not been promised, was negatived by 276 to 109; and Mr. Harton's amendment, that no measures were announced for the relief of agricultural distress, by 272 to 232.

— Most disastrous floods occurred in Queensland, inundating the streets of Brisbane, the capital, and Ipswich, one of the largest towns, to the depth of twenty feet and upwards, suspending all traffic, and doing damage calculated at 8,000,000*l.* Victoria Bridge, connecting North and South Brisbane, was swept away, as well as numerous houses and public buildings.

8. The steamer *Trinacria*, belonging to the Glasgow Anchor Line, on her voyage to Gibraltar, wrecked off Cape Vilano, on the west coast of Spain, and nearly all the passengers and crew—thirty-four in number—drowned.



8. A statue of Father Mathew, the apostle of temperance, unveiled at Dublin by the Lord Mayor.

— A number of the members of the Cabinet attended a conversazione at the National Liberal Club, at which speeches were made by Sir William Harcourt and others.

— The electoral vote of the United States Congress declared Mr. Cleveland to be elected President, and Mr. Stevenson Vice-President, the vote being : Cleveland, 277 ; Harrison, 145 ; Weaver, 22.

9. The election at Halifax resulted in the return of Mr. Rawson Shaw (G.L.), son of the late member, by 4,617 votes against 4,249 recorded for Mr. Alfred Arnold (C.), and 3,028 for Mr. John Lister (Lab.). At Walsall Sir Arthur Hayter (G.L.) was returned by 5,255 votes against 5,156 given to Mr. C. T. Ritchie (C.).

— The Paris Court of Appeal sentenced Messrs. Ferdinand and Charles de Lesseps to five years' imprisonment and 3,000 fr. fine each ; Messrs. Fontane and Cottu to two years' imprisonment and a similar fine ; and M. Eiffel to two years' imprisonment and 20,000 fr. fine. The charges against all the defendants were of breach of trust and swindling, but in M. Eiffel's case the swindling was not brought home to him.

— In the Chancery Division of the High Court Mr. Justice Stirling decided that "word" competitions were illegal, and advised the refunding of 23,000*l.* paid into court to Mr. Pearson to deal with the 460,000 competitors, or to be left in court, when it would ultimately go towards the repayment of the National Debt.

10. The Stafford County Lunatic Asylum (Maine) totally destroyed by a fire, ignited by one of the patients in her cell, and forty-four of the inmates burned to death.

— The Khedive returned to Cairo from a prolonged tour in Upper Egypt, during which he was everywhere received with great enthusiasm.

— At Ghent a number of Socialists charged with rebellion, arising out of a street riot in the previous December, found guilty and sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from eighteen months to fifteen days.

— Heavy and prolonged rainfall throughout the Transvaal occasioned serious floods, which did much damage throughout the country. At Pretoria the Crocodile River rose twenty feet above the bridge, and carried away the principal hotel and about forty houses.

11. The caravel *Santa Maria*, designed on the lines of Christopher Columbus' famous vessel, left Cadiz for the United States, in tow of a Spanish cruiser as far as the Canaries.

— In the House of Commons the question of the immigration of aliens led to the last amendment on the Address being defeated by 234 to 119 votes.

— In the Chamber of Deputies a tax of 10 frs. on all cyclists, one-fourth to be paid to the local authorities, adopted by 294 to 173 votes.

12. A wooden scarlet fever hospital at Kidderminster destroyed by fire, and one child, a patient, burnt to death.

13. In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone introduced his Home Rule bill for Ireland in a speech of two hours and a quarter.

— The election at Pontefract, consequent on the succession of Mr. Rowland Winn (C.) to the peerage, resulted in the return of Mr. Harold Eckitts (G.L.), who polled 1,228 votes against 1,165 recorded for Mr. Shaw (C.).

— At the annual dinner of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, Lord Dufferin, in reply to the toast of his health, referred to the attack recently made upon various ambassadors by the French papers, and especially to the charge of his having disbursed 8,000,000 francs amongst French journalists.

— Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria betrothed to Princess Marie Louise of Bourbon, a daughter of the Duke of Parma.

14. The Hunterian Oration delivered on the centenary of Hunter's death by Mr. Bryant, the President of the Royal College of Surgeons, who dealt chiefly on Hunter's methods and modes of work.

— Renewed shocks of earthquake felt at Zante, accompanied by audible rumblings, whilst in the island of Samothraki a severe shock destroyed several of the public buildings besides doing much damage.

— The Duke of Devonshire presided at a dinner given at St. James Hall to Lord Wolmer, M.P., in recognition of his services as whip to the Liberal Unionist party.

— Seven hundred English pilgrims headed by the Duke of Norfolk left London for Rome to congratulate the Pope on his jubilee.

15. Seventeen persons burned to death and twelve others seriously injured by the explosion of a cask of petroleum in the cellar of a village inn at Deutsch-Pereg, in Hungary.

— The Earl of Dunmore reached Constantinople, having ridden all the way from the Punjab frontier, by way of the Pamirs, on the same horse, the journey having lasted almost twelve months.

— The rivalry between the Republicans and the Populists in the Kansas State Legislature reached an acute stage. The Populists having sworn in the sergeants-at-arms, and caused the entrance to be blocked, left the building. The Republicans then swore in their own officers and advanced to occupy the capital. The occupants presented their rifles, but did not fire, and after a short struggle, during which the Speaker broke open the door with a sledge hammer, the Republicans entered the House and proceeded to business.

16. The Irish Court of Appeal decided that they had no jurisdiction to hear an appeal from the decision of Queen's Bench Division as to the duties of the police authorities towards the sheriffs' officers.



16. President Harrison sent a message to the United States Senate advising the annexation, rather than the protectorship, of Hawaii, with pension to the dethroned queen and 80,000*l.* to the princess in succession.

— In the House of Commons an excited debate arose on an allegation made at a Unionist banquet that many of the Nationalist members were paid by the party in power. Mr. Sexton, having denied the charge, moved that the *Times* article on the subject was a pure breach of privilege. This was agreed to without a division.

17. In the House of Commons, after four nights' debate, the Irish Home Rule Bill brought in and read a first time without a division.

— The election for the Hexham Division, consequent upon the unseating on petition, of Mr. R. Clayton (C.), resulted in the return of Mr. M'Innes (G.L.) by 4,804 votes against 4,358 recorded for Mr. R. Clayton (C.). South Meath Mr. J. Jordan (A.P.) polled 2,707 votes against 2,638 given to Mr. Dalton (P.).

— A renewal of the heavy rainfall in South Queensland brought about fresh floods, which placed the greater portion of Brisbane and the surrounding districts under many inches of water.

18. A meeting held at Berlin for the establishment of a German Agrarian League was attended by upwards of 4,000 persons, who adopted resolutions demanding a return to protection and the adoption of bimetallism.

— The Russian Minister of the Interior (M. Durnovo) notified the repeal of the permission to reside outside the pale, granted by his predecessor to Jews settled previous to 1880.

19. The Queen sent a congratulatory telegram to the Pope on the occasion of his episcopal jubilee, wishing him every happiness. The Pope celebrated mass in full state in St. Peter's, which was filled to overflowing with pilgrims from all parts of the world.

20. At the annual meeting of the "Peasants' League" held at Berlin the president urged the league to dissolve itself and unite with the new Agrarian League in order to show a united front against the destructive forces of Radicalism, Judaism and Social Democracy.

— The plague of field-mice which had been severely felt in Thessaly and Phthiotis in the preceding year reappeared in a serious form, the local authorities being quite unable to check the devastation caused.

— A serious panic took place on the New York Stock Exchange in consequence of the directors of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway placing their affairs in the hands of receivers. Upwards of 4,000,000*l.* worth of shares were thrown upon the market.

21. The Irish Agricultural Association—a new body advocating fair rent, a fair price for land, compensation for improvements, made or inherited, and cottages and allotments for labourers—held its inaugural meeting in Dublin under the presidency of Mr. A. J. Kettle.

— M. Le Royer, President of the French Senate, resigned on the ground of ill-health and advanced age.

21. Cardinal Vaughan took possession of his titular church of San Gregorio on the Cælian Hill.

— The polling for North Meath resulted in the return of the Nationalist candidate, Mr. Gibney, by a majority of 269 over the Parnellite, Mr. Pierce Honey.

22. Mr. Hilton Barker, a banker against whom proceedings were in progress on charges of fraud, &c., committed suicide on the Metropolitan Railway whilst travelling to the Mansion House, where his case was being heard.

— The German Emperor received a deputation of agriculturists from the eastern provinces of the empire, to implore his help to improve the prospects of agriculture.

— Lord Justice Bowen elected a trustee of the British Museum in succession to the Very Rev. G. H. Liddell, formerly Dean of Christ Church.

— The election at Stockport, consequent on the death of Mr. J. L. Jennings (C.), resulted in the return of Mr. J. Whiteley (C.) by 5,264 votes against 4,799 polled by Major Sharp Hume (G.L.).

23. In the Cirencester division of Gloucestershire, where the judges had decided that both candidates had obtained an equal number of votes at the general election, a fresh polling resulted in the return of Mr. W. H. Lawson (B.L.) by 4,687 against Col. Chester-Martin (C.) who polled 4,445 votes.

— Right Hon. R. W. Duff, M.P. for Banffshire, appointed Governor of New South Wales in succession to the Earl of Jersey.

— Mr. Grover Cleveland, President-elect of the United States, completed his Cabinet, which comprised three ministers from the Southern, two from the Western, and one from the New England States, together with two from New York.

— A fire, aided by a strong gale, destroyed a considerable portion of Kadikeni, a suburb of Constantinople. Three hundred houses were burnt down.

24. Dr. Masson, Professor of English Literature and Rhetoric in Edinburgh University, appointed Queen's Historiographer in Scotland.

— M. Jules Ferry elected President of the French Senate by 148 out of 249 votes.

— At Gateshead Mr. Allan (G.L.) was elected by 6,434 votes against 5,566 given to Mr. Ralli (L.U.), and at the Horsham division of Sussex Mr. J. H. Johnstone (C.) was elected, receiving 4,150 votes against 2,666 given to Mr. R. G. Wilberforce (G.L.).

— In the coursing matches at Lydiate, near Liverpool, the Waterloo Cup was won by Mr. R. L. Cotterell's Character; the Waterloo Purse by Mr. W. A. Smyth's Sir Sankey; and the Waterloo Plate was divided between Mr. W. Thompson's Tasmania and Lord Anglesey's Annihilator.

25. Dr. Wilkinson, ex-Bishop of Truro, declined the Bishopric of St. Andrews to which he had been elected, but ultimately accepted the See.



25. The Irish National League at New York issued a manifesto denouncing the Home Rule Bill as injurious to Ireland, and criticising its most prominent features.

26. At Brussels an informal plebiscite was taken under the auspices of the Liberal Association to ascertain popular feeling on the extension of the suffrage. Upwards of 30,000 votes were taken, the majority in favour of unopposed suffrage.

27. A conference of miners, under the auspices of the Miners' Federation, opened at Birmingham to consider whether production should be suspended and for how long.

— In the House of Commons the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in a bill to establish the control of the liquor traffic by a popular vote operating through the direct veto.

— Mr. Mackay, the American millionaire and silver mine owner, shot and slightly wounded by a man named Rippi, at an hotel in San Francisco.

— Serious floods in various parts of Hungary, the lower Danube, and many of its affluents between Buda-Pesth and Temesvar, overflowing the banks and causing great damage.

28. The Queen held a drawing-room at Buckingham Palace which was attended by the Empress Frederick of Germany and all the members of the royal family.

— The people of Tirnova acting on their own initiative expelled the Metropolitan, Mgr. Clement, and forcibly conveyed him to the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul in the Balkans, on account of his opposition to the Government of Prince Ferdinand.

— The United States Senate adjourned the consideration of the demand of the Hawaiian delegates to take over the government of their islands.

## MARCH.

1. The Marquess of Salisbury, as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, presided at a meeting held in the Sheldonian Theatre to appeal for funds for extending the Radcliffe Infirmary.

— A great fire broke out in the yard of a timber merchant at the Globe Wharf, Mile End, and raged during three whole days, all the offices and stacks of timber being completely destroyed.

— A serious conflict took place between the populace and gendarmes arising out of the imposition of market tolls, at Szoboszlo, Hungary. Three persons were killed by the military and several wounded.

2. The Pope celebrated his eighty-third birthday, receiving congratulations from all quarters. The contribution of Peter's Pence on the occasion of his jubilee amounted to 263,000*l*.

— The remains of the Duke of Clarence transferred to the sarcophagus designed by Mr. A. Gilbert, R.A., and placed in the Albert Chapel, Windsor.

2. A mass meeting of Ulster Protestants and Orangemen, calculated at 1000 persons, assembled in the Linen Hall, Belfast, to protest against the Irish Home Rule Bill. With uplifted hands, they repeated an oath after Mr. W. Johnston, M.P., who held an open Bible in his hand, to resist by all lawful means the proposed bill.

3. Mr. Gladstone and the Home Secretary (Mr. Asquith, Q.C.) received a deputation from the Miners' Federation advocating legislation in favour of an eight hours' day. Mr. Gladstone expressed himself generally unfavourable to interference with adult labour.

4. The inauguration of Mr. Grover Cleveland as President of the United States took place at Washington. Large crowds, many of whom had come from afar, filled the streets, notwithstanding the inclement weather. The outgoing and in-coming presidents were alike cordially received.

— An extensive subsidence of land, extending over an area of more than a mile of frontage, took place at Sandgate, near Folkestone. Nearly two-thirds of the town was affected, and 500 houses were more or less wrecked. The heavy rains of the previous fortnight on the one hand and the sea encroachments on the other were the joint causes of the landslip.

— A farewell banquet given by the Lord Mayor in honour of the French Ambassador, M. Waddington, who had represented his country at the Court of St. James since 1884. A large and distinguished company assembled to support the Lord Mayor.

— The Prince of Wales formally opened, at Brixton, the South London Public Library presented by Mr. Henry Tate.

5. The Sultan of Zanzibar having died quite suddenly, the English Resident, Mr. Kenneth Rodd, in anticipation of any disturbance, applied to the naval officers in the port for a body of marines and blue jackets, and proclaimed the late sultan's grand-nephew as his successor. A cousin of the late sultan and another pretender had already found means of entering the palace when Mr. Rodd arrived, and, having ejected them both, administered the oath of allegiance to the new sultan.

6. The election at Great Grimsby consequent on the resignation of Mr. Josse (G.L.) resulted in the return of Right Hon. E. Heneage (L.U.), who polled 4,427 votes against 3,463 given to Mr. H. Broadhurst (G.L.).

— A serious hurricane passed over New Caledonia and the neighbouring groups of islands, doing enormous damage to the sugar and cocoa-nut plantations and rendering many hundreds of people homeless.

— A circular signed by the Duke of Westminster, Lords Selborne, Cranbrook, &c., issued "to all members of the Church of England and other lovers of justice among our countrymen," setting forth the objections to the Welsh Suspensory Bill.

— The result of the general election in Spain showed a large majority of 822 members had been returned as supporters of the Liberal Ministry. The most noteworthy feature was the increase of the Republican vote, six out of eight candidates who stood as Republicans being returned for Madrid.



The Opposition consisted of sixty-three Conservatives, twenty-three Advanced and sixteen Moderate Republicans, and six Carlists.

7. The anniversary of the birth of Emmet, the Irish "patriot," celebrated by a grand banquet at the Cooper Union in New York, presided over by General O'Beirne.

— A severe shock of earthquake felt at Long Island and in New York. At Long Island City considerable alarm was felt, and some damage was done to crockery and pictures.

8. A conference of the Conservative party held at the Carlton Club, presided over by Lord Salisbury, to discuss the course of action with regard to the Irish Home Rule Bill.

— A Nationalist Convention largely attended met at the Rotunda, Dublin, when resolutions were passed to the effect that the Home Rule Bill was in the main satisfactory.

— The trial of the persons charged with giving and receiving bribes in connection with the Panama affair commenced in Paris.

9. A Parnellite Convention presided over by Mr. J. Redmond, M.P., met at the Rotunda, Dublin, when resolutions were passed approving of the action of the Independent Irish members in refraining to commit themselves on the bill until the amendments made in committee were seen.

— President Cleveland sent a message to the United States Senate withdrawing the Hawaii Annexation Treaty from further consideration.

— The King of the Belgians received in audience M. Grimard, president of the Organising Committee of the Brussels Municipal Referendum, who urged the claims of the working classes to manhood suffrage.

10. The Army Bills Committee of the German Reichstag rejected the clause of the bill fixing the peace strength of the army, and providing for the formation of new fourth battalions.

— The opening of a new Protestant Church at Madrid which was to have taken place prohibited at the last moment by the Civil Governor.

— A serious fire at Boston, Mass., originating in the works of the Woonsocket Rubber Company, spread with great rapidity to the adjoining buildings, destroying property valued at 4,500,000 dollars, and involving the loss of two lives, many firemen and others being much injured.

11. After a trial lasting over seven days, the special jury stopped the Howard de Walden divorce case, and finding Lord Howard de Walden guilty of cruelty, granted his wife the separation she demanded, as well as the custody of their child.

— At Cambridge, the Chancellor's medal for the best English poem composed by an undergraduate awarded for the third time in succession to Mr. J. B. Masterman of St. John's College.

— Information reached this country that Bishop Tucker's mission party to Uganda had, on 8th December, 1892, discovered some of the remains of Bishop Hannington at Busoga-Niumia.

18. In the House of Commons the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William Harcourt, on behalf of the Prime Minister, moved the postponement of the second reading of the Home Rule Bill (Ireland) until after Easter.

— At the trial of the Panama directors and others bribed by them M. Bourgeois, who had temporarily resigned the post of Minister of Justice, attempted to deny and confute the evidence given by Mad. Cottu, tending to implicate him in an attempt to stifle the inquiry.

— Viscount Gormanston appointed Governor of Tasmania in succession to Sir R. G. C. Hamilton, K.C.B.

— A "People's Diet," numbering 160 members, elected by the unfranchised classes on the basis of manhood suffrage, met at Stockholm.

14. At the Central Criminal Court, Mr. Justice Hawkins presiding, Charles Wells, known as "Monte Carlo Wells," in consequence of his having broken the bank at the gaming tables on one occasion, sentenced to eight years' penal servitude for obtaining large sums of money under false pretences.

— The German Conservative members of the Reichstag announced that the only condition on which they would support the Army Bill of the Government was the abandonment of the commercial negotiations with Russia.

— The late managing director of the Anglo-Australian Bank at Melbourne (Victoria) sentenced to five years' penal servitude for fraudulent conduct, one of the auditors to two years', and the accountant to six months' imprisonment.

15. In the House of Commons the Welsh Local Option (Liquor) Bill read a second time and passed by 281 to 246.

— The election for Banffshire resulted in the return of Sir Wm. Wedderburn (G.L.) by 3,166 votes against 2,395 polled by Mr. J. A. Grant (L.U.).

— The Bishop of Rochester, acting under the powers conferred by the Clergy Discipline Act, passed sentence of deprivation in Rochester Cathedral on a beneficed clergyman of his diocese who had been convicted of drunkenness.

— A great demonstration against Home Rule took place at the Leinster Hall, Dublin, presided over by Lord Iveagh, and attended by Roman Catholics and Protestants of all classes.

— Madame Waddington, the wife of the French ambassador, presented with a handsome bracelet by Mrs. Gladstone and the Marchioness of Salisbury on behalf of a committee of English ladies.

16. Professor Rudolf Virchow of Berlin delivered, in English, before the Royal Society, the Croonian lecture, taking as his subject "The Position of Pathology among Biological Studies."

— The London Russo-Jewish Committee issued a strongly-worded appeal to all Jews connected with banking to ignore Russian loans and securities.



16. In the House of Lords the Church Patronage Bill, which aimed at restraining the traffic in next presentations and mortgaging Church incomes, introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, read a second time without a division.

— Woolerton House, Cheshire, the seat of Baron Schröder, entered, whilst the family were at dinner, by burglars who carried off jewels to the value of 8,000*l*.

17. M. Jules Ferry, the recently elected President of the French Senate, died quite unexpectedly.

— The Army Bills Committee of the German Reichstag rejected the second reading of the whole of the Government measures, together with all the amendments brought forward by the different parties.

— A Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Carrington, appointed to inquire into the conditions under which land is held, occupied and cultivated in Wales and Monmouthshire.

— The Norwegian Storthing carried by 64 to 50 votes a resolution maintaining the right of Norway to a separate consular establishment.

18. A memorial window—subscribed for by members of the House of Commons—designed by Mr. J. H. Seddon, and placed in St. Margaret's Church in memory of Right Hon. W. H. Smith, unveiled by Mr. A. J. Balfour after a short ceremony.

— A special performance of Lord Tennyson's "Becket" given at Windsor Castle by Mr. Irving and his company.

19. The new Protestant Chapel at Madrid, erected at the expense of the Archbishop of Dublin, opened for the first time for public worship.

— After a long spell of warm spring-like weather the temperature suddenly fell to 12° below freezing over the greater part of England. In Scotland heavy falls of snow took place in various parts.

20. The Queen left Windsor for Portsmouth *en route* to Florence. The Prince of Wales paid a formal visit to the Record Office to inspect some of the national treasures deposited there.

— The Castle of Valsö, a convent for noble ladies erected in the sixteenth century near Kjöge in Zetland, completely destroyed by fire, together with the pictures and library.

— In the House of Commons Mr. Labouchere's motion to omit the cost of Sir G. Portal's mission from the supplementary estimates negatived, after a long debate, by 368 to 46 votes.

21. The trial of the persons accused of giving and receiving bribes in connection with the Panama Canal, after lasting seven days, concluded with the acquittal of MM. Fontane, Gobron, Béral, Dugué de la Fauconnerie, Sansleroy and Proust; MM. Charles de Lesseps and Blondin were found guilty with extenuating circumstances and sentenced to one year's imprisonment, Blondin to two years', and Baihaut, the former minister, to five years' imprisonment and a fine of 750,000 frs.

21. The price of silver in the London market was quoted at 87½d. per ounce, the lowest price ever touched.

— The Lincolnshire Handicap won by Mr. J. W. Smith's Wolf's Crag, yrs., 6 st. 7 lb. (Bradford). Twenty started.

— The House of Commons at a morning sitting without a division agreed to the first reading of the Government Bill establishing Parish councils, and at the evening sitting to Sir John Lubbock's resolution in favour of shortening shop hours by legislation.

22. The University boat race rowed from Putney to Mortlake, the two boats holding together for the greater part of the way, and Oxford finally winning by 1½ lengths. The time was 18 min. 47 seconds, or 34 seconds quicker than in 1892, which had been up to that time the quickest on record. The following were the crews:—

OXFORD.	ST. LB.	CAMBRIDGE.	ST. LB.
H. B. Cotton, Magdalen (bow)	9 13	C. A. H. Branson, Ft. T. (bow)	10 9½
J. A. Ford, Brasenose	- 11 13	2. R. F. Bayford, Trinity Hall	- 11 9½
J. A. Morrison, New	- 12 4	3. C. T. Fogg-Elliot, Trin. Hall	11 10½
H. Legge, Trinity	- 12 12	4. E. H. M. Waller, Corpus	- 12 4½
V. Nickalls, Magdalen	- 13 3	5. L. A. E. Ollivant, First Trin.	13 4
W. A. L. Fletcher, Christ Ch.	13 9	6. G. C. Kerr, First Trinity	- 12 7
G. M. Pitman, New	- 12 0	7. R. O. Kerrison, Third Trinity	12 1
M. C. Pilkington, Mag. (st.)	11 10	T. G. Lewis, Th. T. (stroke)	- 11 12½
A. Porfman, University (cox)	7 7	C. T. Agar, Third Trinity (cox)	7 9

— The Lord Chancellor received at the House of Lords a deputation of above 200 Radical members of Parliament, who urged that county justices should be appointed by the Lord Chancellor without the intervention of the Lord Lieutenant.

— The body of M. Jules Ferry conveyed with great pomp from the Palace of the Luxembourg to the Eastern Railway Station for conveyance to St. Dié, where in accordance with his wish he was buried.

23. M. Challemeil-Lacour elected a member of the French Academy in succession to M. Renan, receiving 17 votes from 31 members present.

— At the Inter-University sports, held at West Kensington, Cambridge won the mile race—W. E. Lutyens, 4 min. 22 sec.—and the three mile race—F. S. Horan, 14 min. 44½ sec. The other seven events were carried off by Oxford.

— The Princess of Wales, accompanied by the Duke of York, received by the Pope in private audience at the Vatican. The interview lasted about an hour.

24. In the House of Commons a resolution in favour of the payment of members—indirectly supported by the Government—although not formally voted upon, was endorsed by 276 against 229 on the motion of going into Committee of Supply.

— After a prolonged conference between the employers and workmen's representatives the Lancashire cotton trade dispute was finally adjusted, the men accepting a reduction of 7d. in the pound. The strike, which affected nearly 100,000 hands, had lasted five months, and involved a loss in wages alone of 1,000,000l.



24. The Grand National Steeplechase at Liverpool won in a canter by the favourite, Mr. C. G. Duff's Cloister, aged, 12 st. 7 lb. (Darley), by forty lengths. Fifteen started.

25. The representation at Washington raised to the rank of an embassy, and Sir Julian Pauncefote, K.C.B., accredited as first ambassador to the United States.

— The Bishopric of Norwich, vacant by the resignation of Hon. and Rev. Dr. Pelham, conferred upon Rev. John Sheepshanks, Vicar of St. Margaret, Anfield, Liverpool.

— A man named Berardi threw a paper bag filled with earth into King Humbert's carriage in Rome, as an insult to the king for declining to be reconciled with the Pope.

27. Mr. Gladstone summoned a meeting of the Liberal party at the Foreign Office to discuss the best means of expediting public business.

28. — In the House of Commons a vote of censure on the Irish policy of the Government defeated after a short debate by 319 to 272 votes.

— At the Central Criminal Court the various trials arising out of the frauds on the Liberator Building Society were concluded, and the prisoners having been found guilty, the manager Hobbs and the solicitor Wright were sentenced to twelve years' penal servitude each, and Newman, a subordinate, to five years. The defalcations of the Liberator and affiliated societies were estimated at upwards of 7,000,000*l*.

— M. Challemeil-Lacour elected President of the French Senate in succession to M. Jules Ferry.

28. Mr. Gladstone received a deputation from Belfast, consisting of members of the Chamber of Commerce, the Harbour Commission and Linen Merchants' Association, and subsequently another deputation of the leading members of the city of London.

— Herr Otto Brandes, the French correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, expelled from Paris on the assertion of certain officials that he had been the author of a report affecting the honour of M. Carnot's son in connection with the Panama scandals.

— The German Government invited Herr Dowe of Mannheim to submit to its test a bullet-proof textile of which he claimed to be the inventor.

29. A commercial treaty between Spain and Portugal signed at Madrid and settling certain frontier questions which had been for a long time in dispute.

— A new water supply, conducted by an aqueduct sixty-three miles long, by which the quantity available for the city of Paris was nearly doubled, opened by the civic authorities.

— Mr. F. T. Bayard, of Delaware, nominated ambassador to Great Britain by the President of the United States.

30. H.M.S. *Howe*, after several weeks' preparation, taken off the rocks in Farrol Harbour on which she had stranded, and safely towed to her anchorage.

— The French Ministry of M. Ribot defeated by 247 to 242 votes, in the Chamber of Deputies, on the proposed changes in the Budget introduced by the Senate, which the Ministry wished to maintain.

— The village of Checkmore, near Buckingham, almost completely destroyed by a fire which spread rapidly through the main line of cottages of which the village was composed.

31. A fire broke out on the premises of Messrs. Judd & Co., printers and lithographers, occupying a large block of buildings between Queen Victoria Street and St. Paul's Cathedral. The greater part of the offices, together with thirteen adjoining houses and other buildings, were destroyed.

## APRIL.

1. The United States Protectorate withdrawn from Hawaii, and the national flag again hoisted on all the public buildings.

— A severe earthquake shock felt at Catania and at other places round the base of Mount Etna.

— A fire broke out in the outskirts of Manila and spread with great rapidity, destroying 4,000 homes before it could be arrested.

— The twenty-second annual match between the football teams representing England and Scotland took place at Richmond, and resulted in the victory of England by five goals to two.

2. At Constantinople one of the palace steamers met with a serious accident whilst conveying a large pleasure party on the Bosphorus. Sixty persons were drowned, and a splendid silver dinner service in use on board was lost. The sultan had gone ashore shortly before the accident.

— An international Socialist Congress opened at Ghent, at which upwards of 1,000 French delegates, headed by the Mayor of Roubaix, were present.

3. The Easter volunteer manœuvres comprised the mobilisation of various bodies of volunteers at different spots in Kent and the south coast, and were carried out in the most magnificent weather.

— It was officially admitted that upwards of seventy deaths from cholera had occurred at Lorient, on the west coast of France, in the previous fortnight.

— The new Sultan of Zanzibar consented to remove the insanitary fort which had been used as a prison, and promised to release 300 slaves belonging to his predecessor.

— The annual conference of the National Union of Teachers opened at Liverpool under the presidency of Mr. C. Bowden.



4. A great demonstration against the Home Rule Bill and in honour of Mr. A. J. Balfour (whose journey from Larne had been a triumphal progress) took place at Belfast, when a procession estimated from 80,000 to 120,000, with 500,000 spectators, filed past the Linen Hall, where a grand stand had been erected.

— The Commercial Bank of Australia, of which the head office was in Melbourne, stopped payment with liabilities estimated at nearly 15,000,000.

— The sittings of the Behring Sea arbitrators commenced at Paris, Mr. C. Russell and Sir Richard Webster appearing in support of the English interests.

5. A serious collision took place at Hull docks between the local dockmen on strike and a number of "free labour" men brought down by the ship owners. The police were powerless to prevent intimidation, and the labourers had to give up work.

— The Queen Regent of Spain in opening the new Cortes made an appeal to the nation to make the sacrifices necessary in view of the critical state of the finances.

— Sir John Gilbert, B.A., offered a large collection of his oil and water colour pictures to the Art Galleries of London, Liverpool and Manchester.

6. The House of Commons met after the Easter recess, Mr. Gladstone moving the second reading of the Irish Home Rule Bill in a long speech.

— The new French Ministry under M. Dupuy met the Chambers and laid before them a programme of its policy.

— The Duke of Devonshire at Bristol and Lord Randolph Churchill at Liverpool addressed large meetings held to protest against the Home Rule (Ireland) Bill.

7. The South Eastern Railway Company's steamer plying between Portsmouth and Boulogne stranded off the rocks near Cape Grisnez in a fog, and soon afterwards sank. There were no passengers on board and all the crew were saved.

— Lord Roberts on leaving his Indian command entertained at the Byculla Club, Bombay, and spoke of the satisfactory state of the frontier defences on the north-west.

— The Bishop of Carcassonne ordered the closing of the church of Mailloc in consequence of the dangers and outrages to which the curé was exposed, owing to the supineness of the civil authorities.

— Shocks of earthquake felt over a wide area in Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, and property to the value of several millions of francs was destroyed, but the only loss of life was reported from Serbia. In certain districts of Western Serbia thousands of houses and a great number of churches were wholly or partially ruined.

8. A great Unionist demonstration was made at the Leinster Fields, Dublin, when Mr. A. J. Balfour addressed upwards of 5,000 people, and severely criticised the Home Rule Bill.

8. The 800th anniversary of the consecration of Winchester Cathedral celebrated by a series of musical services, which drew together a large number of people.

— A demonstration of the London United Workmen's Committee against the Direct Veto Bill arranged to be held in Trafalgar Square was broken up by a rival crowd, which occupied the space and defended the approaches. Many collisions occurred.

— The tercentenary of the execution of Barrowe, Greenwood and Penry who were hanged at Tyburn for their religious opinions in 1593 commemorated by a meeting in Hyde Park presided over by Mr. T. Ellis, M.P.

10. A dismissed servant made an attempt to stab Cardinal Vaszary, Primate of Hungary, who was only saved by the devotion of his secretary, who was seriously wounded.

— A strike of 4,000 workmen engaged on the buildings of the World's Fair took place at Chicago, arising out of the employment of non-unionist men.

— Disturbances having occurred in various parts of Chili, the provinces of Santiago, Valparaiso and Aconcagua placed under martial law.

11. A fire caused by sparks from the engine broke out in the workings of the Great Western Colliery, Rhondda Valley, whilst 138 men were at work. The flames spread so rapidly that seventy-one were with difficulty rescued alive.

— Lord Randolph Churchill spoke at great length at two large meetings held at Perth to protest against the Irish Home Rule Bill.

— The Belgian Chamber of Representatives rejected by 115 votes to 26 M. Janson's proposal of manhood suffrage at twenty-five years of age coupled with one year's residence.

— One of the most violent and destructive cyclones on record swept over the States west of the Mississippi, wrecking a number of small towns and villages and causing serious loss of life as well as property.

12. The English, Scottish and Australian Bank, with liabilities amounting to nearly 8,000,000*l.*, suspended payment in consequence of a prolonged run upon its assets, locked up in land advances.

— Large meetings held at Birmingham, Manchester and Cork at which resolutions against the Home Rule Bill were passed.

— The Lord Mayor entertained Cardinal Vaughan and the English Roman Catholic bishops at a banquet at the Mansion House. The toast of "The Pope and the Queen" proposed by the Lord Mayor gave rise to some umbrage among the citizens.

— At the Epsom Spring Meeting the Great Metropolitan Stakes won by the favourite, Madame Neruda II., 5 yrs., 10 st. 9 lb. (T. Loaters), 9 started; and the City and Suburban Handicap by an outsider, Mr. A. Taylor's King Charles, 4 yrs., 6 st. 6 lb. (Gough), who beat the favourite, Baron Hirsch's Windall, 4 yrs., 8 st. 9 lb. (Barrett), by a head. Fourteen started.



12. A German force of 200 men stormed the stronghold of a Hottentot chief in Damaraland in retaliation for raids on some neighbouring tribes, and killed seventy women, ten men and some children.

13. Mr. Gladstone received a deputation from the Imperial Federation League which presented to him a report on the mutual responsibilities of the mother country and the colonies in the matter of common defence.

— King Humbert paid a visit to the Queen at Florence, arriving early in the morning and returning the same night to Rome.

— The general strike, ordered by the executive council of the Belgian Labour party, in consequence of the rejection of universal suffrage by the Assembly, commenced in various parts of that country.

— During a state banquet at the palace in Belgrade in honour of the young king having successfully passed certain examinations, King Alexander rose and announced that he assumed full regal powers and requested the regents and ministry to resign, and on their refusal they were placed under a military guard.

14. A serious collision took place at Brussels between the gendarmes and a large crowd assembled to support the demands of the Labour party. A barricade was thrown across the Rue du Epéroniers, near the Hotel de Ville, and the police held at bay. On the following day the burgomaster, M. Buls, was severely assaulted whilst walking in the Avenue Louise.

— A serious outbreak of cattle plague reported to be raging in South Eastern Russia, the herds of the Don Cossacks suffering very severely.

15. In connection with the dockers strike at Hull meetings were held in London and other ports, at which resolutions were passed in favour of a general strike at all ports against the Shipowners' Federation.

— Mr. Ben Tillett, whose trial for inciting to riot at Bristol had been transferred to London, found guilty of uttering the words imputed to him, but in haste and without intention to provoke violence. He was consequently acquitted.

— The International Sanitary Congress at Dresden closed its sittings after signing a provisional convention for enforcing certain precautions against cholera.

17. Another and still more violent earthquake, extending over the Island of Zante, laid almost every house in ruins, and buildings which had escaped the previous catastrophe altogether collapsed. Many lives were lost from the falling ruins, and a large number of people were injured.

— Agitation increased throughout the mining and industrial centres of Belgium, especially at Mons, Antwerp and Courtrai, where collisions took place with the soldiery and civic guards and the strikers.

— The Lord Mayor of Dublin, accompanied by the sheriff and aldermen of Dublin, appeared in state at the bar of the House of Commons to present a petition in favour of the Home Rule Bill.

— An absolute drought lasting twenty-nine days, during which no rain fell in the South of England, was brought to an end by a slight shower.

18. The Dowager-Duchess of Sutherland committed to Holloway Prison for six weeks, in addition to a fine of 250*l.*, for contempt of court by destroying a document in its custody.

— A disastrous fire completely gutted the Fürstenbau wing of the palace of the Prince of Hohenzollern at Sigmaringen and destroyed many valuable works, but the Künstab, where the chief collections are, was preserved.

— A party of English travellers arriving at Fez from Tangier subjected to serious ill-treatment and robbed of a portion of their baggage.

19. Mr. Gladstone received a deputation of Durham and Northumberland miners who expressed their strong objection to the interference with adult labour as contemplated in the Eight Hours Bill.

— Lord Salisbury, in his capacity of Grand Master, presided over the annual meeting of the Primrose League held in Covent Garden Opera House, which was densely filled.

— The Queen whilst staying at Florence paid a visit to the old Tuscan town of San Gimignano, famous for its fine frescoes and pictures.

— The Belgian House of Representatives having accepted in principle a system of universal suffrage combined with plural voting, the threatened disturbances in the large towns were not made by the advanced section of the workmen.

20. The Australian Joint Stock Bank, of which the chief office was in Sydney, suspended payment with liabilities estimated at nearly 11,000,000*l.*

— The marriage of Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria with the Princess Marie Louise of Parma celebrated at the Villa Pianore, the residence of the Duke of Parma.

— The Emperor and Empress of Germany, accompanied by a large suite, arrived at Rome, and were received with great ceremony and popular enthusiasm.

— In the course of the protracted trial of the Hansard Union directors, Mr. Justice Hawkins directed that in the case of Sir Henry Isaacs, ex-Lord Mayor, a verdict of "not guilty" should be returned.

21. After a debate extending over twelve nights, the Irish Home Rule Bill read a second time in the House of Commons by 347 to 304 votes. Fourteen members were paired, and these with the Speaker and four others made the full House of 670 members.

— A serious fire in Earle Street, Westminster, which was unextinguished for more than eighteen hours, destroyed a large store of timber and placed in great danger a portion of the works of the Gas Light and Coke Company.

— The Dowager-Duchess of Sutherland surrendered to the Chancery tipstaff and conveyed to Holloway Gaol.

22. The second reading of the Home Rule (Ireland) Bill celebrated at Belfast by the Nationalists by a large bonfire, which at once led to an attack upon them by the Royalists, and very serious rioting between the



two parties, the Protestants in many cases refusing to allow the Roman Catholics to work with them.

22. The silver wedding of the King and Queen of Italy celebrated with great enthusiasm throughout Italy, and especially in Rome, where the Emperor and Empress of Germany had arrived to take part in the festivities.

— A grand Anti-Home Rule demonstration was made at the Albert Hall, Kensington, when 1,200 delegates from Ireland were welcomed by about 8,000 English friends and sympathisers, presided over by the Duke of Abercorn. Banquets were given at various places in London in honour of the Irish delegates.

23. At Naples, during service at the Church of Torre dell' Annunziata, a candle set fire to the hangings and a panic ensued. In their attempt to escape eight women and five children were crushed to death and a large number of others injured.

— The Pope received the Emperor and Empress of Germany in audience which lasted for some time. The visitors came to the Vatican direct from the German Embassy, and not from the Quirinal where they were residing as guests of the King of Italy.

24. In the House of Commons the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir W. Harcourt) introduced his Budget, in which he anticipated a deficit of 1,500,000*l.* in the current financial year, and proposed to add a penny to the income tax.

— At Hull the efforts to bring about a settlement between the ship-owners and the dockers having proved unsuccessful, constant collisions occurred between the union and free labourers. A large timber-yard was also set on fire—intentionally as was supposed—which destroyed an enormous quantity of property.

— Lord Salisbury received at Hatfield a body of upwards of 1,600 Loyalist Irish delegates who had attended the Albert Hall meeting. Speeches were made by Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain and others.

25. The London Chartered Bank of Australia, with liabilities chiefly in deposits of nearly 10 000,000*l.*, suspended payment in consequence of the run on its reserve.

— A grand historical tournament, held at the Villa Borghese, in the presence of the King and Queen of Italy, the Emperor and Empress of Germany, and numerous other foreign princes, assembled in Rome. The scenes represented various episodes in the history of the house of Savoy.

26. The Queen left Florence, and travelling by way of Milan, Lucerne, Basle, Luxembourg, and Brussels, reached Flushing in about thirty-six hours.

— The annual dinner of the Royal Literary Fund, presided over by Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P., who, after paying a warm tribute to the late Earl of Derby, surveyed the actual state of literature.

26. After a trial extending over twenty-four days, the only two remaining defendants in the Hansard Union case, Mr. H. Bottomley and Mr. C. Dollman, acquitted, the judge, Mr. Justice Hawkins, expressing a very strong opinion as to the animus shown in the prosecution, and as to the manner in which it had been conducted.

— A man named Townsend apprehended in Downing Street for discharging a revolver, the four other barrels of which were found to be loaded. He had also in his pocket a memorandum with reference to the second reading of the Home Rule Bill and to Mr. Gladstone.

27. A great naval review took place at New York—attended by squadrons sent by all the European powers—stationed in a line extending over three miles. President Cleveland and the members of the Cabinet passed through the two lines of ships, and subsequently received the captains of the various ships. The post of honour at the head of the line was occupied by the three “caravels” which had safely crossed the Atlantic.

— The Belgian Senate agreed by fifty-two votes to one to the proposal for manhood suffrage with plural voting.

— Myriads of locusts coming from Morocco fell on the Gibraltar Rock, the straits being also for many miles covered with their dead bodies.

— The Emperor and Empress of Germany visited Naples, where they were received with great enthusiasm by all classes of the population.

28. The Standard Bank of Australia, a comparatively small institution, with liabilities of about 1,000,000*l.*, suspended payment. Its chief office was at Melbourne, but it had numerous branches throughout Victoria and Queensland.

— An official inspection of *H.M.S. Howe*, stranded in Ferrol Harbour, showed that no vital part of the ship had been injured, and that she would be as efficient as ever after repairing.

— The Royal Geographical Society awarded its gold medals to Mr. F. C. Selous for his twenty years’ explorations in South and Central Africa; to Mr. W. Woodville Rockhill (U.S.A.) for his explorations in Western China and Tibet. The Murchison Grant was awarded to Mr. R. W. Senior for his surveys of the higher ranges of the Himalayas; the Gill Memorial to Mr. H. O. Forbes for his explorations in the Malay Archipelago; and the Cuthbert Peek Grant to Mr. Charles Hore for his explorations in North Borneo.

29. Another Australian bank, the National Bank of Australasia, of which the chief office was at Melbourne, with branches throughout the colonies, suspended payment in consequence of the constant drain upon its reserve by depositors. The liabilities were estimated at about 9,000,000*l.*

— The Victorian Government, with a view of preventing a run upon the remaining banks, proclaimed a bank holiday for five days from 1st May.

— Herr Ahlwardt, an anti-semitic member of the German Reichstag, having charged the Minister of Finance and other high officials with bribery and corruption, a Commission of Inquiry was appointed. Herr Ahlwardt being challenged to produce his proof was unable to do so, and refused to be examined.



## MAY.

1. The World's Fair at Chicago opened with great ceremony by the President of the United States, attended by his Cabinet and the representatives of nearly all the foreign powers. Especial honours were paid to the Duc of Veragua, a lineal descendant of Columbus, who had accepted the invitation given in the name of the American people.

— The May Day Labour demonstration passed off in the chief cities of Europe without serious disturbance. At Paris there was a slight attempt on the part of the Socialists to assert themselves, but the gathering was promptly dispersed.

— In the House of Commons Sir Charles Dilke's motion to revive the Drummond-Wolff Convention, and to go into conference on our continued occupation of Egypt, was negatived without a division, after a speech from Mr. Gladstone maintaining the duty of England to remain until the re-organisation of Egypt was carried further.

2. At Hull, where the struggle between the shipowners and the dockers still continued, another serious fire broke out in the neighbourhood of the docks, which destroyed a range of saw-mills and other property. With great difficulty the extension of the fire to the shipping was prevented.

— A strike took place at Dundee among the mill-hands, which involved the coming out of 24,000 workers. The masters proposed to reduce wages 5 per cent., but after two days an agreement was arrived at, and the men resumed work at a reduction of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

3. The official announcement made of the betrothal of the Duke of York and the Princess May of Teck, to which the Queen had gladly given her consent.

— In the House of Commons the Eight Hours Regulation Bill for Miners read a second time by 279 to 201 votes.

— At Newmarket the Two Thousand Guinea Stakes won by the favourite, Mr. H. M'Calmont's Isinglass, 3 yrs., 9 st. (T. Loates), by three-fourths of a length. Ten started.

— A large meeting of the citizens of London was held at the Guildhall under the presidency of the Lord Mayor to protest against the Home Rule Bill.

4. The Bank of England raised its rate of discount from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 per cent., the revenue standing at 15,010,820*l.*, or  $41\frac{3}{8}$  per cent. of the liabilities and the stock of bullion at 24,710,245*l.*

— At a general assembly of the Royal Academy Messrs. J. MacWhirter, H. Woods, and H. Moore were elected Academicians, and Mr. J. W. North an Associate.

5. The Colonial Bank of Australasia, of which the chief offices were at Melbourne, suspended payment, but the liabilities were inconsiderable and confined to the colony.

5. Further rioting took place at Hull, where the Federation had engaged a number of free labourers to carry on their work. They were attacked by the unionists, and many men on both sides were injured.

— In Austria, where, as elsewhere, the heat had been phenomenal, a sudden change of temperature took place. At Vienna there was a sharp frost, and in that city and in various parts of the country there was a heavy fall of snow.

— The One Thousand Guinea Stakes at Newmarket won by a complete outsider, Sir J. B. Maples' La Siffleuse, 3 yrs., 8 st. 12 lb. (T. Loates), defeating her stable companion, the favourite, Dame President, by a short head in the last stride. Eleven ran.

6. In the German Reichstag, the first paragraph of the Army Bill having been rejected, Herr von Huene's amendment was then put, and rejected by 210 to 162 votes, the Radicals and the Centre (Ultramontane) opposing the compromise. The Chancellor at once read an imperial rescript dissolving the Reichstag.

— The Queen reviewed at Windsor Great Park the Derbyshire and Nottingham County Colliery Ambulance Brigade.

— Lord Roberts, having resigned his Indian command, arrived in London, where he was enthusiastically received by a large concourse.

— Late at night a violent explosion took place in one of the quadrangles of the Four Courts, Dublin, and proved to have been caused by the bursting of a hand-thrown bomb. No persons were injured, but a good deal of damage was done to the surrounding windows and buildings.

7. A largely attended demonstration in favour of the Eight Hours Bill held in Hyde Park, organised by the London Trades Council and other bodies. Similar demonstrations were held at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Huddersfield, &c.

8. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of London attended at the bar of the House of Commons to present a petition from the Corporation, in Common Council assembled, against the Government of Ireland Bill.

— A great fire, involving the destruction of property valued at 1,000,000 francs, broke out in the warehouses of the Kattendyck Dock at Antwerp.

9. The Bank of Victoria, of which the chief office was established at Melbourne, suspended payment with liabilities of about 7,000,000*l*.

— At a Court of Aldermen held at Guildhall, a petition was presented, signed by 1,100 liverymen, protesting against the toast given by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House: "The Holy Father and the Queen." The Lord Mayor expressed his regret that his intention and meaning had been misinterpreted, and a resolution expressing regret that he had "departed from immemorial and constitutional usage" was unanimously adopted.

10. The Queen went in great state from Buckingham Palace to Kensington to open the Imperial Institute, and was received with great enthusiasm by the crowds which thronged the route.



10. The Cabinet of M. Tricoupis at Athens resigned office in consequence of its failure to conclude a loan requisite for the administration of the country.

— The Chester Cup won by Mr. C. Perkins' Dare Devil, 5 yrs., 8 st. 1 lb. (Fagan). Eight started.

— The bill for establishing responsible Government in Natal passed through all its stages in the Legislative Council by a majority of four votes.

— Lord Herschell received the distinction of G.C.B. for his services in connection with the Imperial Institute, the first instance for many centuries of the Lord Chancellor being decorated with any order.

11. The appointment of the Earl of Aberdeen to be Governor-General of Canada announced.

— Wm. Hy. Townsend, a gunmaker's assistant, committed for trial on the charges of sending a letter threatening to murder Mr. Gladstone, and of firing a revolver near Downing Street.

— The Bank of England raised the official rate of discount from 3 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., the reserve standing at 14,115,445*l.*, or  $39\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 24,006,200*l.*

12. The Cunard liner *Campania* arrived at Queenstown from New York after a voyage of 5 days 17 hrs. 27 min., the fastest east-going journey on record.

— The struggle between the Spanish Republicans and the Government in the Cortes ended after a continuous sitting of nearly sixty hours. The Opposition were unwilling to postpone the municipal elections, for which the Government were not prepared.

— Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria and his bride reached Tirnova, where they received a most enthusiastic reception from the population.

13. The Rev. W. Rogers, Rector of St. Botolph, laid the foundation stone of the Bishopgate Institute, to contain a library, lecture halls and amusement rooms, for the use of the poor of the neighbourhood.

— At Kempton Park the Jubilee Stakes (3,000 sovs.), one mile, won by Mr. J. H. Houldsworth's Orvieto, 5 yrs., 9 st. 5 lbs. (M. Cannon), defeating the favourite, Sir J. B. Maples' Gangway. Eleven started.

— The Home Secretary declined to sanction the release of the Dowager-Duchess of Sutherland from Holloway Prison on the ground of ill-health.

15. The Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, established 1834, with liabilities of about 11,000,000*l.*; the Queensland National Bank, established 1872, with liabilities of nearly 9,000,000*l.*, and the Bank of North Queensland, a small institution, suspended payment.

— The Agrarian League, a recently constituted party in Germany, issued a manifesto calling upon the people to support only such candidates as favoured protection and bimetallism.

15. After a drought which had lasted practically without break generally throughout Europe for eighty days, rain fell in many places, in some cases being accompanied by heavy thunderstorms.

16. The greater portion of Bishop's Court, near Ramsay, Isle of Man, the residence of the Bishop of Sodor and Man, destroyed by fire, the inmates coping with difficulty.

— The members of both Houses of Convocation and a large number of clergy and laity attended a service at St. Paul's Cathedral and afterwards went to the Albert Hall, where, at a large meeting of upwards of 8,000 persons, presided over by the Archbishop of Canterbury, resolutions were passed in opposition to the Welsh Suspensory Bill.

— The City of Melbourne Bank, an offshoot of the National Bank of Australasia, founded in 1878, suspended payment, with liabilities of about 1,000,000*l.* It was estimated that up to this date twelve banks had suspended, with deposits of about 80,000,000*l.*, of which 28,000,000*l.* had been received in England and Scotland.

17. The Prince of Wales held a reception at the Imperial Institute at which nearly 20,000 persons were present. Mr. Gladstone was unfortunately received with strongly expressed disapprobation from the guests.

— The Washington Cabinet, notwithstanding the decision of the Supreme Court in favour of the legality of the Chinese Exclusion Act, decided not to put the Act in force until after the re-assembling of Congress.

— The directors of the Chicago World's Fair decided to open the exhibition on Sundays, and to return the \$2,500,000 voted by Congress to obtain the closure of the grounds and buildings on that day.

18. The Bank of England raised its rate of discount from  $3\frac{1}{2}$  to 4 per cent., the reserve standing at 18,328,812*l.*, or  $86\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 28,462,902*l.*

— At the meeting of the London School Board, Sir Richard Temple stated that the gross expenditure of the year 1892-3 had been 1,968,414*l.*, and the receipts 570,804*l.*, whilst the estimated expenditure for 1893-4 was 1,67,511*l.*, of which 589,600*l.* would be provided by education grants and other sources.

— The General Assemblies of the Established and Free Churches of Scotland opened their annual session, the Marquess of Breadalbane acting as Lord High Commissioner.

— The Emperor of Germany unveiled at Görlitz a monument erected to the memory of his grandfather, Emperor William I.

— At Vaerdalen, in the district of North Trondhjem, a disastrous landslide occurred, carrying away a large tract of land with upwards of thirty large farmhouses, and causing the death by drowning of 120 persons, and destroying property to the value of 1,000,000 kroner (55,000*l.*).

19. After lasting six weeks and exciting a more than ordinary amount of disturbance and outrage, the Hull dockers' strike came to an end, the men offering to return to work "as soon as places were vacant for them."



19. In the Italian Chamber of Deputies all the separate items of the budget of the Ministry of Justice having been passed, the whole was rejected by 138 to 133, a result so unexpected that the Ministry at once resigned.

— An interview took place at Kladova, on the Danube, between Queen Nathalie and her son, King Alexander of Servia.

20. The Annual Congress of the Co-operative Societies of the United Kingdom, attended by more than 700 delegates, opened at Bristol.

— The Infanta Eulalia of Spain arrived at Washington on her way to Chicago, and was warmly welcomed by the President, his Ministers, and the population.

— The decree abolishing the capital punishment of women who were in future to be condemned to transportation officially promulgated throughout Russia.

21. A Home Rule demonstration made in Hyde Park under the auspices of the Irish National League, which was largely attended by crowds of spectators. Resolutions pledging the support of the meeting to Mr. Gladstone were passed at twelve platforms.

— The memorial erected at Buda-Pesth to the Honveds or Hungarian militia, who had fallen during the storming of the fortress of Buda in 1849 unveiled with much ceremony. The President of the Lower House of the Hungarian Diet deposited a wreath offered by the Hungarian Deputies.

22. The fourth International Congress of Miners met at Brussels in the Maison du Travail, Mr. Burt, M.P., presiding. The English miners, of whom 339,600 out of 560,000 belonged to trades unions, were represented by thirty-eight delegates; 92,000 Frenchmen by fourteen delegates; 183,000 Germans by one; and 100,000 Bohemians by one Austrian delegate. Two of the French delegates were subsequently ordered to quit the country, on the ground of having stirred up French miners against Belgians working in the north of France.

— Mr. Gladstone opened a new institute erected at Hawarden for the use of the villagers, and spoke at some length of the objects of such buildings.

— A deputation of Gladstonian working men from Northumberland and Durham, invited by the Ulster Unionists, arrived at Belfast and were most cordially received.

— The Brazilian corvette *Almirante Barroso* struck on a reef near Ras Sarib and shortly afterwards foundered. The officers and crew reached a small islet in safety, and were subsequently brought to Ismailia.

23. The Marquess of Salisbury arrived at Larne, and was most enthusiastically received by large crowds waiting to welcome him, on his way to Belfast.

— At Melbourne a difference of opinion arose between the Solicitor-General and the Attorney-General with reference to the alleged conspiracy by certain directors of the Mercantile. The former gave orders to the

officers of the Crown Law Department to commence proceedings, but the Attorney-General instructed the officials to take no steps in the matter. The Solicitor-General consequently resigned.

24. The Czar and Czarina arrived at Moscow to lay the foundation stone of a monument of Alexander II., and to take part in several *fêtes* in honour of the tenth anniversary of his coronation.

— The Congress of German Philologists opened at Vienna was attended by numerous savants from all parts of the German and Austro-Hungarian empires.

— The *médaille d'honneur* of the Paris Salon awarded to M. Roybet for his pictures of Charles the Bold and the Galant Toper.

25. A female aeronaut, attempting to descend near Dublin from a balloon by a parachute, met with a fatal accident. At a height of 150 feet the parachute failed to expand and the girl fell heavily to the ground.

— Lord Salisbury met with a tremendous ovation at Belfast, where he addressed a Unionist demonstration representing public bodies and institutions from all parts of Ulster.

— M. Henri de Bornier received at the French Academy and delivered an eulogy on his predecessor, M. Xavier Marmier.

26. A cyclone of great intensity, which for some days had been moving up the Bay of Bengal, burst upon the Hooghly, passing within fifty miles of Calcutta. In consequence of the warnings given, the shipping had taken precautions of safety, and comparatively little damage was done.

— Lord Salisbury at Londonderry and Lord R. Churchill at Bradford (Yorkshire) addressed large and enthusiastic meetings in support of the Union.

— The commissioners of fifteen of the foreign countries exhibiting at the Chicago World's Fair announced the withdrawal of their exhibits from competition for awards.

27. A gold-field extending over 900 square miles discovered at Wuntho, in Burmah, and reputed to be extremely rich in dust and ore.

— The buildings of the Aldine Publishing Company in Clerkenwell, covering a large area, almost totally destroyed by fire.

29. H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught opened the new engineering and electrical laboratories at University College, London, erected at a cost of 10,000*l.*

— At the annual meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, a motion to admit ladies as Fellows was, after a lively discussion, withdrawn, to be brought forward at a special meeting.

— The Duchess of Sutherland on her release from Holloway Gaol presented with a silver casket containing 250*l.* (the amount of the fine imposed on her) from a number of "sympathising English and Scotch friends."

— Shocks of earthquake felt at Thebes and in several other parts of Greece, but no considerable damage done.

30. Sir Gerald Portal and his mission left Mengo (Uganda), having concluded a satisfactory arrangement between the Protestant and Catholic parties, an extension of territory being granted to the latter.



30. Serious floods occurred at various spots along the Mississippi Valley, occasioning great damage to property. In Northern Louisiana upwards of 10,000 persons were reported to be destitute and homeless.

— At Epsom, the Woodcote Stakes won by Lord Rosebery's colt by Hampton—Illuminator, 8 st. 12 lbs. (A. White). Six started.

— Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria laid at Tirnova the foundation stone of a new royal residence to be erected on the site of the old palace of the Bulgarian kings.

31. A body of British Roman Catholics, numbering about 130, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, issued a statement of their reasons for resisting, as Catholics, the proposal for Irish Home Rule.

— At Epsom, the Derby (6,000 sovs.) won by a length and half by the favourite, Mr. H. M'Calmont's Isinglass (T. Loates). Eleven started.

— The native Court of Appeal at Cairo condemned eight policemen to two years' imprisonment for shooting a convict, a well-known brigand, when under their charge.

## JUNE.

1. The Achinese, who for some time had been giving symptoms of activity, attacked the Langkat oilworks and adjoining port. After a time reinforcements were obtained, and the Achinese retired.

— A serious dispute arose at St. John's, Newfoundland, owing to supplies brought for the French lobster packers being seized as liable for duty.

2. The Duke of Edinburgh, having completed three years' service as commander-in-chief of the port, left Devonport with the customary ceremonies.

— The Oaks Stakes at Epsom won by an outsider, the Duke of Portland's Mrs. Butterwick (J. Watts), defeating Lord Rosebery's Treasure by half a length. Seventeen started.

3. The "Birthday" honours included peerages for Sir Hussey Vivian, M.P.; Sir T. H. Farrer, Mr. Savile Foljambe, and Mr. J. Campbell White of Overtown.

— A bent-wood factory at Broadwall, Blackfriars, two laundries at the South-Eastern Fever Hospital, New-cross Road, and an immense timber-yard in the Kennington Road, with a number of adjacent houses, burnt; whilst at Cardiff the offices of the *Western Mail*, and a considerable portion of the Great Western Hotel, were gutted by fire, and property valued at 100,000*l.* destroyed.

4. A statue of Théophraste Renaudot, the father of French journalism and founder of the *Gazette de France* in 1631, unveiled in the Rue de Lutèce, Paris, by the Prime Minister, M. Dupuy.

5. The restoration of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, undertaken at a cost of 28,000*l.*, inaugurated and dedicated by a service at which the Archbishop of Canterbury officiated and the Prince and Princess of Wales attended.

— At a meeting of the Dublin Corporation an address of congratulation to the Queen and Prince and Princess of Wales on the occasion of the royal marriage rejected by 33 to 16 votes.

5. The Railway Union Conference, attended by all the States except Russia and Italy, met at Berne. The chief question for discussion was that relating to the transport of explosives.

— In the House of Lords the Duke of Richmond and Gordon carried *con.*, after a prolonged debate, a motion to the effect that it was inexpedient to disturb the long-established usage of appointing justices of the peace on the recommendation of the lords-lieutenant of the counties.

6. The Prince of Wales, accompanied by other members of the royal family, with full state formalities, laid the memorial stone of the new buildings of the United Service Institution, to be erected beside the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall.

— The Duke of Devonshire presided at the annual meeting of the Rural Labourers' League held at the Westminster Palace Hotel.

7. A memorial statue to Professor Fawcett, M.P., the gift of Sir H. Doulton, unveiled in Vauxhall Park by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

— Great distress caused in Bukowina and the adjoining districts of Galicia by the floods consequent upon seventeen days' continuous rain. In other parts of Europe the settled fine weather remained unbroken.

— The Persian Government conceded to a Russian company the construction of a cart-road from Enzelli—a port on the Caspian—to Resht, a distance of 125 miles, the Belgian company's railway between Teheran and the environs having previously passed into Russian hands.

8. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 4 to 3 per cent., the total reserve being 17,899,858*l.*, or 46½ per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion 27,485,428*l.*

— M. Brunetière elected to the French Academy in succession to M. John Lemoine by 22 votes to 4 given to M. Zola. Previous to the election the secretary had received notice that the Palais Mazarin would be blown up if an Anarchist candidate were not elected.

— Nearly the whole of the flourishing city of Fargo, North Dakota, containing 10,000 inhabitants, destroyed by fire, a strong gale fanning the flames, which soon got beyond control. The railway bridges to the east of the city having been burned, all communication with that side was cut off. Only six lives were lost, but property valued at \$3,000,000 was destroyed.

9. Ford's Theatre, in Tenth Street, Washington, where President Lincoln was assassinated in 1865, and subsequently occupied as the Record Division of the War Department, fell in ruins. Twenty-three clerks were killed and fifty others seriously injured. The foundations had been weakened by the installation of electric light.

— Mr. Justice Hawkins delivered judgment in the Pontefract election petition, pronouncing the seat vacant, and condemning the respondent to partial costs.

— The trial of seven Anarchists at Leipzig, accused of conspiring against the State, resulted in the acquittal of three and the conviction of the remainder, who were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from one to eight years.



10. A body of 600 convicts, on their way back to the Tourade Prison at Cairo, after their day's work at the quarries, mutinied, and about fifty got loose, escaping to some broken ground. The black troops, unable to surround them, fired and killed thirty-nine of the number, the others escaping.

— The Duke of York, accompanied by the Princess May and other members of her family, opened the new municipal buildings at Richmond.

— A large demonstration in support of the Local Veto Bill held in Hyde Park, attended by great numbers, and presided over by Sir Wilfrid Lawson and other leading Temperance advocates.

11. The Grand Prix de Paris won by the third favourite, Baron de Schickler's Ragotzky (T. Larne), defeating the favourite, Mr. C. D. Rose's Ravensbury (M. Cannon), by a short head. Eleven started.

12. A large meeting held in the Surrey Theatre, Blackfriars Road, under the auspices of the National Union of Conservative Associations, at which the Marquess of Salisbury was the principal speaker.

— The French Naval Estimates showed the intention of the Government to lay down thirty-two new vessels, including three first-class battle ships and five cruisers.

— The company of the Paris Comédie Française commenced a short season at Drury Lane Theatre, being their third visit to London.

13. Mr. A. J. Balfour unveiled a bust of Mr. W. H. Smith placed in the great hall of the municipal buildings of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

— The trial of the manager and cashier of the Bank of Naples, for the embezzlement of 2,500,000 lire from the branch bank at Rome, resulted in the conviction of both accused, who were sentenced to ten and six years' imprisonment respectively.

— The first anniversary of the opening of the Labour Exchange in Paris celebrated by a mass meeting, at which the Government was severely censured for refusing to double the amount of its subvention—25,000 francs per annum.

14. At the annual meeting of the British Economic Association, the president, Right Hon. J. G. Goschen, delivered an address on the existing relation between ethics and economics.

— The monument to the poet Shelley, by Mr. Onslow Ford, A.B.A., presented to University College, Oxford, by Lady Shelley, formally delivered over to the Master of the College.

— Lord Wolverton, one of the Lords-in-Waiting, resigned, having announced his separation from the Ministerial party, to which his family had hitherto been attached.

— The titles of Lord Mayor conferred upon the principal municipal officers of Liverpool and Manchester.

15. The results of the German elections showed that in 219 constituencies the first voting had been decisive, whilst in 178 second ballottings would have to be held.

14. The Bank of England reduced the rate of discount to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., the total reserve standing at 19,596,705*l.*, or  $49\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the liabilities, the stock of bullion at 29,896,385*l.*

— The Cour de Cassation at Paris quashed the convictions of MM. C. de Sereys, Fontaine and Eiffel on the charge of swindling, on the ground of two years having elapsed between the acts and the prosecution.

— The vacancy for Linlithgowshire, caused by the retirement of Mr. Hagan (G.L.), resulted in the return of Captain C. Hope (C.), who polled 230 votes against 3,071 given to Mr. Ure (G.L.).

16. The principal events of the Ascot meeting were decided as follows:—

Ascot Stakes.—Sir R. Jardine's Enniskillen, 5 yrs., 8 st. 7 lb. (T. Loates). Fifteen started.

Prince of Wales' Stakes.—Sir R. Jardine's Red Ensign, 3 yrs., 8 st. 3 lb. (T. Loates). Six started.

Coventry Stakes.—Earl of Rosebery's Illuminator colt, 3 yrs., 9 st. (A. White). Ten started.

Royal Hunt Cup.—Baron de Rothschild's Amandier, 5 yrs., 7 st. 3 lb. (T. Loates). Eighteen started.

Coronation Stakes.—Mr. D. Baird's Selema, 3 yrs., 8 st. 10 lb. (M. Cannon). Nine started.

Gold Cup.—Mr. R. Vyner's Marion, 3 yrs., 7 st. 7 lb. (J. Chandley). Four started.

St. James' Palace Stakes.—Lord Ellesmere's Phocion, 3 yrs., 9 st. (M. Cannon). Four started.

Wokingham Stakes.—Mr. C. J. Fawcett's Pitcher, 3 yrs., 6 st. 13 lb. (Huxtable). Sixteen started.

Hardwicke Stakes.—Baron de Hirsch's Watercress, 4 yrs., 9 st. 10 lb. (G. Barrett). Three started.

— Sir Mathew Davies, chairman of the Mercantile Bank of Australia, arrested at Colombo, at the instance of the Victorian Government.

— The French Consul-General at Bangkok received instructions to demand reparation for the murder of M. Grogurin from the King of Siam, and three French vessels despatched to Siamese waters to support the demand.

17. The large builders' premises of Messrs. Wm. Cubitt & Sons in Gray's Inn Road caught fire, and after burning fiercely for some hours destroyed the greater portion of the works, and at one time seriously threatened the Royal Free Hospital.

— Large meetings of workmen held in the various important towns of Austria-Hungary, demanding universal suffrage, civil marriage, and other points of the Radical programme. In several cases conflicts with the police and military ensued.

— A false alarm of fire, attributed to thieves, in a church at Romanoff, Smirniogiesk, in the province of Jaroslav, caused a terrible panic, and in the struggles of the congregation to escape by a door which had been locked, persons lost their lives.

18. In consequence of the long drought the watering of the streets in Birmingham and other towns had to be abandoned, and in the Welsh slate quarries and the black country iron works the men had to cease work on account of the great heat.



19. At the annual meeting of the Institute of British Architects, the Queen's Gold Medal awarded to Mr. Richard M. Hunt, of New York, the architect of the principal buildings at the Chicago Exhibition.

— A deputation waited upon the President of the Local Government Board to enforce special precautions against cholera on the coasts and estuaries and ports of the United Kingdom.

— Mr. W. Williams (G.L.) returned unopposed in the Swansea District in succession to Sir Hussey Vivian, raised to the peerage as Lord Swansea.

— Several of the Australian banks in Melbourne and Sydney, which had suspended payment, reopened for business.

20. At Madrid a bomb exploded in the garden of Señor Canovas de Castillo's private residence, causing the death of the man placing it and severely injuring an accomplice, both of whom were subsequently recognised as well-known Anarchists.

— In the Queen's Bench Division, Lord Coleridge presiding, a special jury awarded damages of 5,000*l.* in the case of *Gatty v. Farquharson*, for a libel uttered during the general election, the plaintiff and defendant having been rival candidates for the Western Division of Dorsetshire.

— The following pensions were granted during the year ended June 30, 1893, and charged upon the Civil List :—

	£
Mr. William Smyth Rockstro, in consideration of his services in musical literature and of his inadequate means of support	100
Mrs. Cashel Hoey, in consideration of her literary merits and of her inadequate means of support	50
Mrs. Emilie Dittmar, in consideration of the services to chemical science rendered by her late husband, Professor William Dittmar, F.R.S.	75
Miss Lucy Mary Jane Garnett, in recognition of her literary merits and to enable her to prosecute her researches in Oriental folklore	100
Mr. Robert Brown, jun., in consideration of his merits as a student of archaeology	100
Dr. Samuel Davidson, in recognition of the value of his works on theology and biblical criticism	100
Rev. Richard Morris, in recognition of his merits as a student of early English literature and philology	150
Miss Margaret Stokes, in consideration of her researches into early Christian art and archæology in Ireland	100
Mr. John Gwenogvryn Evans, to enable him to continue his researches in Welsh literature	200
Mrs. Cornelia Minto, in consideration of the literary merits of her husband, the late Professor Minto, and of her inadequate means of support	75
Mrs. Annie S. C. Rogers, in recognition of the merits of her husband, the late Professor Thorold Rogers, as a writer upon political economy	50
Mrs. Thérèse Wolstenholme, in consideration of the merits of her husband, the late Rev. Joseph Wolstenholme, as a mathematician and of her straitened circumstances	50
Mrs. Frances E. Trollope, in consideration of the literary merits of her husband, the late Mr. Thomas Adolphus Trollope, and of her narrow means	50
Total	£1,200

20. A terrific thunderstorm burst over the valley of the Minho and other parts of Portugal, doing great damage to the crops, and causing the loss of at least a dozen lives.

21. A fire, caused by a boy playing with a toy pistol and matches in a barn, destroyed half the town of Gibson, New Brunswick—eighty dwellings, six stores, two churches, and the railway station being reduced to ruins.

— An overcrowded train carrying a thousand passengers from Sheepscot Bay Racecourse to New York met with a serious accident at the entrance to Parkville Tunnel, where the four rear cars left the rails, throwing many persons against the walls or under the wheels. Nine persons were killed on the spot, and about 100 more or less injured.

— At the Oxford *encœnia* the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred on Lord Rosebery, Dr. Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford; Sir John B. Lawes, C. Euan Smith, Dr. Liddell, late Dean of Christ Church; Mr. R. C. S. Sell, Professor of Greek, Trinity College, Dublin, and M. Paul Meyer.

— A dinner given at Caius College, Cambridge, to celebrate the tercentenary of the admission of William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood.

22. The National Liberal Convention assembled at Ottawa pledged itself to the principle of free trade, and decided to support a plebiscite in favour of reciprocity with the United States.

— In the Chamber of Deputies M. Millevoe brought forward serious charges of corruption against M. Clémenceau, which he failed altogether to substantiate. Finding themselves hoaxed by spurious documents he and his strongest colleague, M. Deroulède, resigned their seats.

— H.M.S. *Victoria*, a first-class iron-clad line-of-battle ship, run down H.M.S. *Camperdown* during some naval manœuvres off Tripoli, on the coast of Syria. The *Victoria*, which was the flag-ship of Admiral Tryon, sank and in fifteen minutes, with the admiral, thirty officers, and about 320 men out of a crew of 600.

23. Lord Herschell appointed Chancellor of the University of London in succession to the Earl of Derby.

— H.M.S. *Howe* arrived at the Nore in safety, having been towed nearly the whole way from Ferrol.

— Serious religious riots lasting over three days occurred at Rangoon, between Mahometans resenting the magistrates' prohibition of cow-killing near the Hindoo Temple. Twenty of the rioters were killed and many wounded.

— At the Forest Gate Industrial Schools, occupied by pauper children of the Poplar and Whitechapel Unions, 180 children were taken ill. Two of them died, and after a protracted inquiry a verdict was given to show that they had died from ptomaine poisoning, due to unwholesome food.



24. The centenary of the death of Gilbert White, the naturalist, celebrated by a "pilgrimage" to Selborne by the members of the Selborne Field Club and the Selborne Society.

— Dr. Nansen's expedition to the North Pole sailed from Christiania.

— The Prince of Wales unveiled a memorial to the late Duke of Clarence at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, and subsequently accompanied the Princess of Wales to open a new wing of the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children.

— The cricket match between Eton and Winchester resulted in the victory of the former by five wickets. Score—Eton, 1st inn. 212, 2nd 54. Winchester, 1st inn. 130, 2nd 135.

26. The Indian Legislative Council passed a bill based on the recommendation of Lord Herschell's Currency Commission, which stopped the free coinage of silver and provisionally fixed the value of the rupee at 1s. 4d. In the London market silver was quoted at 36d. per oz., the lowest price ever touched.

— The polling at Pontefract consequent upon the unseating of Mr. H. Reckitt (G.L.) resulted in the return of Mr. T. W. Nussey (G.L.) by 1,191 against Mr. Elliot Lees (C.) who polled 1,159 votes.

— A case of Asiatic cholera occurred in a steamer arriving in the Tyne from France, and the French authorities notified an outbreak of the epidemic in the Department of Gard. At Mecca the deaths had risen from 400 to 1,000 per diem.

— Disturbances, attributed to the conduct of Turkish officials, reported from various parts of Armenia, followed by the arrest and summary punishment of several Armenians, especially at Angora, where the so-called judicial proceedings were so scandalous that the representatives of the foreign Powers protested, and a fresh trial was ordered with very different results.

28. In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone intimated his intention to propose certain resolutions by which the debate on the Home Rule Bill (Ireland) should be brought to a conclusion within a month.

— The Queen, attended by the Prince and Princess of Wales, was present at the unveiling, in Kensington Gardens, of a statue of herself, executed by H.R.H. the Princess Louise.

— The final results of the German elections showed that the Government would on its Army Bill obtain a majority of twenty-three (205 to 172). The Ultramontane party lost thirteen seats to the Conservatives, and the Socialists gained eight from the Radicals; but the aggregate increase on the Socialist poll since 1890 was 22 per cent.

29. A memorial to the Earl of Shaftesbury, executed by Mr. A. Gilbert, R.A., unveiled at Piccadilly Circus by the Duke of Westminster.

— In London and on most of the European and American markets the price of silver continued to fall, and all securities of Mexico and other silver-producing countries were much depressed.

29. In the House of Commons, Mr. T. W. Russell's amendment to the "guillotining" process proposed by the Government to the debate on the Irish Home Rule Bill negatived by 306 to 279 votes, after which several hours were spent in opposing the resolution of the Government, and at 4 A.M. the House adjourned.

30. A disastrous fire destroyed one of the largest lace warehouses in the town of Nottingham, known as the Lace Market. The damage done was estimated at 100,000*l*.

— The Silver Miners' Convention held at Denver unanimously decided the suspension of silver mining throughout Colorado. In Australia the directors of the Broken Hill Mine, the most productive of all the Victorian silver mines, decided to shut down. The President, moreover, hastily summoned Congress for an extraordinary session in view of the prevailing disaster.

— A bicycle ride from Vienna to Berlin, for which 124 riders—87 German and 37 Austro-Hungarian—entered, decided in favour of Herr Fischer, Munich, who covered the distance in 31 hours (582 kilometres), as compared with 71 hrs. 40 min., the time of the winner in the military ride, and 16 hours, the time of the express train. The later starters were seriously delayed by heavy thunderstorms between Iglau and Kolin.

## JULY.

1. The three main railways to the north introduced on their Scotch express trains dining cars available for third-class passengers.

— The Cobden Club, after an interval of six years, held a dinner at Greenwich, at which Lord Playfair presided.

— An accident to a North Western train occurred on the Preston and Lyne Railway near Blackpool, where at a sharp curve three carriages ran off the line, causing the death of the engine-driver and two passengers, and seriously injuring many others.

— The Prince of Wales opened at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, the National Workmen's Exhibition, especially intended to show the position of manual industry in that country.

— Two Swedish missionaries massacred during a riot at Sung-pu, about 100 miles north-east of Hankow.

3. At a special general meeting of the Royal Geographical Society a proposal to elect women Fellows of the Society was negatived by 172 to 158 votes.

— The students of the Quartier Latin, Paris, caused serious disturbances as a consequence of one of their body having been killed by a blow from a police officer during a street quarrel.

— Lieut. Peary, of the United States navy, with his wife and twelve companions, left New York on board the whaling barque *Falcon*, on a voyage of discovery to the North Pole.



4. The University match, which gave rise for the first time to chat and counter-charges of finessing a "follow on," ended in the victory Cambridge by 266 runs. Scores:—

## CAMBRIDGE.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. F. S. Jackson, c and b Wood	38	b Berkeley	
Mr. J. Douglas, c Bathurst, b Wilson	25	b Berkeley	
Mr. P. H. Latham, c L. C. H. Palairat, b Fry	21	c Bathurst, b Berkeley	
Mr. K. S. Ranjitsinhji, b Berkeley	9	c Wilson, b Bathurst	
Mr. A. J. L. Hill, b Fry	1	c Brain, b Bathurst	
Mr. E. C. Streatfeild, c Brain b Berkeley	30	c Brain, b Wilson	
Mr. C. M. Wells, c Brain, b Berkeley	8	c Leveson-Gower, b Fry	
Mr. T. N. Perkins, c Brain, b Bathurst	18	b Wilson	
Mr. L. H. Gay, b Berkeley	6	b Bathurst	
Mr. A. O. Jones, b Berkeley	2	not out	
Mr. H. Bromley-Davenport, not out	2	b Berkeley	
B, 11; l-b, 9; w, 2.	22	B, 18; l-b, 5; w, 2.	

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## OXFORD.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Mr. L. C. H. Palairat, c Gay, b Davenport	32	b Jackson	
Mr. R. C. N. Palairat, c Hill, b Wells	4	lbw., b Wells	
Mr. R. W. Rice, c Ranjitsinhji, b Jackson	7	c Gay, b Wells	
Mr. C. B. Fry, b Wells	7	c Davenport, b Streatfeild	
Mr. G. J. Mordaunt, b Wells	1	c Jones, b Jackson	
Mr. H. Leveson-Gower, lbw., b Wells	12	b Jackson	
Mr. L. C. V. Bathurst, c Gay, b Streatfeild	6	b Davenport	
Mr. J. B. Wood, c Ranjitsinhji, b Davenport	0	b Davenport	
Mr. W. H. Brain, not out	10	c Ranjitsinhji, b Davenport	
Mr. G. F. H. Berkeley, c Hill, b Wells	14	not out	
Mr. T. S. B. Wilson, st Gay, b Streatfeild	0	b Streatfeild	
B, 2; l-b, 2; w, 4; n-b, 5	13	B, 3; l-b, 1	

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— A State performance of Gounod's "Romeo and Juliet" given at Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden, by command of the Queen, in hon of the guests invited to the royal wedding.

— An explosion took place at Combs Colliery, near Dewsbury, noon, when about 140 men and boys were in the workings, all of whom, with the exception of six, who were rescued after twenty-four hours, were killed.

— The London County Council, after an exciting debate, rejected by 44 votes a proposal to acquire, for 750,000*l.*, land at Westminster on which to erect their offices and place of meeting.

— The Emperor of Germany opened the new Reichstag, earnestly appealing to the members to pass the Army Bill which would be at once submitted to them.

5. The disturbances in the Latin quarter of Paris culminated in the erection of several barricades, and in repeated attacks on the police guard at the Charité Hospital. Troops were quartered at various points round the Luxemburg, and several collisions took place with the population in the course of which several lives were lost.

6. H.R.H. the Duke of York married to Princess Victoria Mary of Teck the Chapel Royal of St. James' Palace. Although the day had not been proclaimed a public holiday, the event was celebrated as such in most parts of the Queen's dominion. In London great preparations were made along the route of the wedding procession, and in the city through which the royal couple drove on their way to the Great Eastern Railway station the streets were gorgeously and in many cases tastefully decorated, and thronged with dense crowds equal to those which assembled on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee.

— In the House of Commons the first instalment of the sections of the Irish Home Rule Bill (clauses 6-8) closed without discussion by majorities 15, 36 and 82 respectively.

— The French Government in view of the continued rioting in certain quarters of Paris closed the Bourse des Travail, which had become a hotbed of anarchy and revolution.

7. The principal events at the Henley Regatta were decided as follows :—

Stewards' Challenge Cup.—Magdalen College, Oxford, beat Thames' Rowing Club,  $\frac{2}{3}$  length.

Grand Challenge Cup.—Leander Boat Club beat London Rowing Club,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lengths.

Thames Challenge Cup.—Thames Rowing Club beat Eton Excelsior Club, easily.

Visitors' Challenge Cup.—Third Trinity Boat Club, Cambridge, beat First Trinity Boat Club, Cambridge, easily.

Ladies' Challenge Cup.—Eton College beat Radley College, 3 lengths.

Diamond Challenge Sculls.—Guy Nickalls, Magdalen College, Oxford, beat G. E. B. Kennedy, Kingston Rowing Club, 3 lengths.

— In the House of Commons Mr. C. V. Conybeare, M.P. for the Camerorne Division of Cornwall, censured by the House for reflecting on the Speaker's impartiality, and his letter declared unanimously to be a grave breach of privilege. After some time Mr. Conybeare made an apology, which the Speaker consented to accept.

— Terrible devastations caused by a cyclone, which passed over the north-western parts of Iowa, partially destroying several towns, and causing much loss of life.

8. The King and Queen of Denmark, accompanied by the Cæsarewitch, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and other members of the royal family, attended a luncheon given in their honour by the Lord Mayor at the Guildhall. They were also presented with addresses of welcome from the corporation.

— Severe thunderstorms broke over many parts of England, doing a vast amount of damage to fruit and glass buildings. At Skegness, on the coast of Lincolnshire, a pleasure yacht was caught by a sudden squall and upset, twenty-six out of twenty-nine excursionists being drowned.

— The Italian Chamber of Deputies, by 222 to 185 votes, passed the bill transferring the note liabilities of private banks of issue to the State.

10. The Queen addressed a letter to the nation expressing in touching terms her sense of the welcome given to her "beloved grandson, the Duke of York, and his dear bride," on the occasion of their wedding.



10. The House of Commons, after a prolonged discussion as to the actual effect of certain amendments, decided by 290 to 266 in favour of retaining at Westminster 80 Irish members instead of 103, after the passing of the Home Rule Bill.

— A serious fire broke out in a warehouse at the World's Fair, Chicago, in which fifteen men and two women lost their lives, and about forty others were injured. The coroner's jury found four important officials guilty of criminal negligence.

— The Khedive arrived at Constantinople to pay his respects to the Sultan, and was received with great honours.

11. Cholera officially declared to have appeared in Eastern Hungary and Southern France.

— In the House of Commons a heated debate, accompanied by an extraordinary display of disorder, arose out of certain irregular expressions used by Mr. Sexton, who was ultimately suspended by the chairman for the remainder of the sitting.

— The Lord Mayor of London, Alderman Stuart Knill, received a baronetcy, and the two sheriffs knighthoods, in honour of the Duke of York's wedding.

12. It was announced that, in consequence of the scurrilous articles in French newspapers, which the Government had taken no means to restrain, the British ambassador (Marquess of Dufferin) had left Paris on an indefinite leave of absence.

— An important trial of nickel-steel armour plates made on the Government proving grounds near Washington, when the most satisfactory results were obtained as to the resisting power of the plates.

-- The jubilee of Marlborough College celebrated with much rejoicing, and attended by upwards of 500 old Marlburians.

— In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone announced the intention of the Government to adopt the principle of retaining eighty Irish members for all purposes—British as well as Irish.

13. In the German Reichstag the second reading of the Army Bill was commenced, and the crucial clause fixing the peace footing of the German Army up to 1895 at 479,228 men was carried by 198 to 187 votes.

— Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Siamese Government and the assurances of the French resident at Bangkok, two French gunboats crossed the bar of the Menam River, and were fired upon by the forts.

— In the House of Commons the Government amendment to leave out the "in and out" section of clause 6 of the Irish Home Rule Bill was carried by 325 to 298 votes, and the various other clauses up to clause 26 were summarily disposed of under the closure resolution.

14. At Sandown the Eclipse Stakes (10,000*l.*) won by the Duke of Westminster's Orme, 4 yrs., 10 st. 2 lb. (M. Cannon), defeating Baron Roths-

edieis by half a length, and the favourite, Baron Hirsch's *La Flèche* (4), by more than two lengths. Six started.

disastrous railway accident occurred on a branch line of the Railway of Spain near Zumarraza, whilst the train was passing gh embankment. The hindmost carriages left the line, and five ere killed and about thirty seriously injured.

the German Reichstag the Army Bill passed the third reading by 5, three Anti-Semites voting with the Government.

e Eton and Harrow cricket match played at Lords resulted in the Eton by nine wickets. Scores :—

## HARROW.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
Rome, c Cobbold, b Cunliffe	18	c and b Pilkington	15
Vibart, b Pilkington	3	c Meeking, b Cunliffe	0
Woodward, b Harrison	26	b Harrison	10
Ferris, b Cobbold	5	c Bircham, b Cunliffe	13
Williams, not out	19	c Meeking, b Cunliffe	1
Gore, b Harrison	15	c Meeking, b Cobbold	1
Stogdon, b Harrison	0	st Meeking, b Cobbold	1
C. Munro, lbw, b Harrison	0	not out	2
Bulloch, b Harrison	0	c Meeking, b Pilkington	1
Halliday, b Harrison	15	b Harrison	1
V. Sandilands, c Kettlewell, b			
ton	16	c Gosling, b Harrison	1
3, 6; 1-b, 2	8	B, 8; 1-b, 5; w, 1	1
	125		10

## ETON.

First Innings.		Second Innings.	
V. G. Egerton, c Stogdon, b Munro	30	not out	1
c Meeking, b Williams	50	b Sandilands	1
E. Bromley-Martin, c Rome, b			
	7	not out	1
E. Cunliffe, lbw, b Sandilands	3		
Pilkington, c Munro, b Williams	30		
Kettlewell, c Stogdon, b Rome	14		
E. Harrison, c Williams, b Vibart	1		
W. Bircham, b Sandilands	2		
Mitchell, b Rome	10		
Gosling, not out	3		
Cobbold, c Bulloch, b Sandilands	24		
3, 20; 1-b, 3; n-b, 2	25		
	199		

ixty-eight matches played Eton has won twenty-eight (included in 1805) and Harrow twenty-nine. Eleven were unfinished.

e negotiations for a new commercial treaty between Germany ne to a close in consequence of the difficulties arising out of hol and Spanish cork.

ie Court Martial on the surviving officers of H.M.S. *Victoria* op on board H.M.S. *Hibernia*, under the presidency of Admiral S ymour.

lera in an epidemic form recognised to exist in various pa



Russia to an alarming extent. An outbreak occurred in Moscow, originating in one of the prisons, whence it spread rapidly.

18. The second International Maritime Congress invited to London. Opened its proceedings at the Institution of Civil Engineers under the presidency of Lord Brassey.

— A very destructive fire broke out in the premises of a wholesale stationer in St. Mary Axe, City, and spreading rapidly to the surrounding buildings, caused the total loss of fifty warehouses and property valued at over 300,000*l*.

19. At a conference of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, held at Birmingham, it was decided to resist the proposed reduction of wages. The Durham miners opposed the resolution, and the Northumberland did not vote.

— The contest for the Wingfield Sculls and amateur championship of the Thames was decided in favour of Mr. G. E. B. Kennedy, who defeated the holder, Mr. Vivian Nickalls, by 100 yards, after a hard race, in which Mr. Nickalls led nearly all the way from Putney to Barnes Bridge.

— After a five days' debate the Servian Skuptshina agreed almost unanimously to the impeachment of the late Ministry.

— A French ultimatum despatched to the King of Siam, which if refused was to be followed within forty-eight hours by the blockade of Bangkok.

— In the Victorian Legislative Assembly the Treasurer proposed to cover a portion of the deficiency by a differentiated and progressive income tax from 3*d*. to 1*s*. in the pound.

20. The Prince of Wales went to Dover to lay the memorial stone of the new harbour works to be constructed out of a poll-tax of one shilling per head on all passengers crossing the channel, producing about 16,000*l* per annum.

— In the House of Commons the remaining clauses of the Irish Home Rule Bill passed under the closure resolution. Two and a half hours were spent in the merely mechanical process of taking ten successive divisions.

— In consequence of a dispute between the rival tribes of the Matabele and Mashonas, a violation of the territory of the British South Africa Company occurred. The former having refused to retire were attacked by a body of colonists and driven over the frontier with some loss.

21. The Marquess of Dufferin suddenly ordered to return to Paris in consequence of the attitude of the French Government towards the King of Siam.

— The King of Portugal and his aide-de-camp savagely attacked by a drunken man whom they had prevented from murdering a comrade in a fit of drunken fury.

— The three squadrons of the fleet destined to take part in the naval manœuvres left for their respective stations, more than a dozen ships having met with accidents, more or less serious, whilst preparing for sea.

At Dover the premises of the National Provincial Bank were d by an explosion of gas, and at Broadstairs a house in course of con- on was seriously damaged by the explosion of a package delivered to ner. In each case one person died from injuries received.

The reply of King of the Siam to the French Government, delivered the stipulated time, announced the willingness of the former to cede districts south of the 18th degree of north latitude.

The Metropolitan Clement of Bulgaria tried and found guilty of ing a seditious sermon inciting the people against the prince and the ument. He was sentenced to perpetual banishment.

The annual meeting of the National Rifle Association at Bisley con- with the distribution of prizes by Lady Roberts. The following were ncipal winners and scores :—

## PRIZES.

Prizes.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Winner.
grave (any rifle) . . .	800, 900	100	Murray, C. G., Bagshawe . . 97
r Cup (any rifle) . . .	500	35	Sgt. Sheppell (Uppingham) . 32
and Navy Chal- . . .	200, 500	70	{ Sgt.-Inst. Rolinson (Hythe
Cup . . . . .			{ Staff) . . . . . 66
bert . . . . .	—	175	{ Col. Sir H. Halford, 1st V.B.
			{ Leicester . . . . . 168
exandra (Martini- . . .	500, 600	70	Pte. Poxley, 1st Middlesex . 68
y) . . . . .			
Queen's (Martini- . . .	—		{ Pte. Stocks, 2nd V.B. . . . 96
y)—1st stage . . . . .			{ Liverpool . . . . . 208
stage . . . . .	500, 600 } . . . . .	300	{ Pte. Stocks, 2nd V.B. . . . 212
			{ Liverpool (Sil. Med.) . . . .
stage . . . . .	800, 900 } . . . . .		{ Sgt. Davies, 1st V.B. Welsh
			{ (Gold Medal, &c.) . . . . .
stage . . . . .			{ 1st stge. 2nd stge. 3rd stge.
			{ 93 111 70 . . . . . 274
orge's Vase (Mar- . . .	600	35	Pte. J. P. Henery, 20 Mdx. . 34
Henry) . . . . .			
of Wales . . . . .	200, 600	110	Corp. Scott, 1st Rox. . . . 103

## MATCHES.

Matches.	Distance.	Highest possible score.	Total scores.
urs and Volunteers (any )	800, 900, 1,000	2,250	{ English Eight Club. 1,915
urs and Volunteers (any )	800, 900, 1,000	1,800	{ Army . . . . . 1,911
			{ Volunteers . . . . . 1,622
			{ Regulars . . . . . 1,558
hry Cup (any rifle) . . .	900, 900, 1,000	900	{ Cambridge Univ. . . . . 761
rton Shield (any rifle) . .	200, 500	560	{ Oxford Univ. . . . . 660
l Services Challenge Cup .	200, 500, 600	840	{ Bradfield College . . . . 447
mini-Henry) . . . . .			{ Regulars . . . . . 744
Shield (any rifle) . . . .	800, 900, 1,000	1,800	{ England . . . . . 1,688
			{ Ireland . . . . . 1,662
			{ Scotland . . . . . 1,649
ore Cup . . . . .	200, 500, 600	840	{ Mother Country . . . . . 741
ellor's Plate (Martini- . .	200, 500, 600	840	{ Cambridge . . . . . 671
ry) . . . . .			{ Oxford . . . . . 610

One third of the north-west district of the town of Port Louis in tius, being the portion which had best escaped the hurricane of the us year, destroyed by a fire which burnt upwards of 200 houses and rty valued at over 1,000,000 rupees.



24. In consequence of the rejection of the French ultimatum, the Minister and three gunboats left Bangkok, and passed down the river Menam.

— An open-air demonstration, attended by upwards of 20,000 persons, held at Brünn, Moravia, in favour of universal suffrage.

— Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, bombarded by two insurgent steamers, doing much damage to the public and private buildings.

25. The 500th anniversary of the founding of Winchester School celebrated with great rejoicings, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and several bishops taking part in the proceedings.

26. The serious financial depression in America, which had followed the closing of the Indian mints to silver coining, brought about a panic on the New York Stock Exchange, and many failures were reported throughout the country. A receiver appointed for the Erie Railway.

— The various squadrons of the two fleets (red and blue) having reached their respective stations, the naval manœuvres of the year commenced. The object of the admiral of the blue, whose fleet was divided between Bantry and Blacksod Bays, was to obtain command of St. George's Channel, which was protected by the red fleet, of which one portion had given rendezvous at Arran and the other at Torbay.

27. The last schedule of the Home Rule Bill (Ireland) passed through Committee under the "gagging" resolutions. A disgraceful scene, however, marked the closing proceedings; personal encounters taking place between the Conservatives and Irish Nationalists. The Speaker was at length sent for to restore order.

— The Court Martial on the survivors of H.M.S. *Victoria* exonerated Captain Bourke from all blame, and found that the loss of the ship was wholly due to the commander-in-chief's order.

28. At the Goodwood meeting the principal races were:—

Stewards' Cup.—Mr. H. Milner's *Medora*, 3 yrs., 6 st. 12 lb. (Huxtable) Nineteen ran.

Goodwood Stakes.—Mr. J. Cannon's *Red-Eyes*, 4 yrs., 8 st. 1 lb. (G. Barre) Eight ran.

Sussex Stakes.—Mr. D. Baird's *Harbinger*, 3 yrs., 9 st. 1 lb. (M. Cannon) Six ran.

Goodwood Cup.—Mr. J. B. Burton's *Barmecide*, aged, 8 st. 6 lb. (G. Barre) Five ran.

Gordon Stakes.—Duke of Westminster's *Orme*, 4 yrs., 9 st. 12 lb. (M. Cannon) defeating Baron Hirsch's *La Flèche*, 9 st. 5 lb., by a neck, and Walter Cress, 9 st. 8 lb., by six lengths. Four ran.

— The miners in connection with the Federation ceased work in compliance with the decision taken at the Birmingham conference. About 75,000 in all came out, but their action affected many more.

— At Paris a fire, which broke out in a timber-yard at La Rapée, spread rapidly to an adjoining distillery and wine vaults, causing the destruction of property valued at several millions of francs.

— The Siamese Government telegraphed to Paris that they submit unconditionally to the French ultimatum.

29. The German Emperor arrived off Cowes in his yacht the *Hohen-~~oller~~ern* on a visit to the Queen, and was cordially received by the yachts and other craft assembled to welcome him.

— The Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Herbert Gardner, M.P., unveiled a massive granite memorial, erected at Harpenden, in recognition of the completion of fifty years of agricultural, chemical and botanical experiments carried on there by Sir John Bennet Lawes and Dr. Gilbert.

— The Lords Mayor of London and Dublin arrived on a state visit to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and attended the session of the Health Conference held in that city.

30. The Khedive arrived at Alexandria on his return from Constantinople, and was received by an imposing demonstration got up by the Nationalist party.

31. In the House of Commons, Mr. Hayes Fisher and Mr. Logan expressed their regrets for the part taken by them in the fracas of the previous week.

— An insurrection, followed by serious fighting, took place in various provinces of the Argentine. Rosario and La Plata were both besieged by the rebel forces.

— The Italian Government officially announced that cholera had appeared at Naples and at Alessandria in Piedmont.

— The Government of New Zealand intimated its definite determination not to participate in the proposed scheme of Australasian Federation.

## AUGUST.

1. The Siamese Minister in Paris notified the acceptance by his Government of the new conditions imposed as "guarantees" for the fulfilment of the terms of the ultimatum.

— A tariff war of serious importance to German traders opened between Russia and Germany, the former Government threatening to impose import duties in excess of the maximum tariff in the event of being refused facilities to the export of her cereals.

— The Welsh national Eisteddfod opened at Pontypridd under the presidency of Lord Tredegar.

— The race for the Queen's Cup in the Royal Yacht Squadron Regatta at Cowes won by the Emperor of Germany's cutter *Meteor*, 116 tons, which defeated in her time allowance the Prince of Wales' cutter *Britannia*, 151 tons, and Lord Dunraven's *Valkyrie*, 148 tons, disqualified. The owners of the yachts were on board throughout the race.

2. In a cricket match between the Australians and Oxford and Cambridge Past and Present played at Portsmouth, the former, after holding the wickets for the whole of two days and a portion of the third, scored 848 runs.



2. A decree, published at St. Petersburg, imposed an additional duty of 50 per cent. on all German imports, and raising to one rouble per ton the tonnage dues payable by German vessels.

— Mr. W. H. Grenfell, Gladstonian M.P. for Hereford, announced his intention of resigning his seat in consequence of the Government policy on the currency question and on that of retaining the Irish members in Parliament after the passing of the Home Rule Bill.

— In the House of Commons a discussion took place on the Franco-Siamese question, in the course of which the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs—Sir E. Grey—explained with certain reserve the action of the Government.

3. The Bank of England advanced its rate of discount from  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 per cent., the reserve standing at 16,813,272*l.*, or  $46\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 27,523,167*l.*

— An explosion of a cartridge took place on board the *Baden*, the flagship of the German squadron, in the Baltic, by which nine men were killed and eighteen injured.

— Mr. A. J. Balfour, M.P., addressed, at the Mansion House, a crowded audience of city bankers and merchants, and in the interests of bimetallism urged the necessity of finding a stable measure of value.

— The indictment against the chairman and manager of the Mercantile Bank of Australia for conspiring to issue a false balance-sheet quashed by the Supreme Court at Melbourne.

4. A rather severe shock of earthquake felt at Leicester and in the surrounding district.

— At Cowes the Royal Yacht Squadron prize won after a fine race by Mr. A. D. Clarke's cutter *Satanita*, 162 tons, defeating the *Valkyrie* by three seconds. The American yacht, *Navahoe*, 161 tons, was last, but only seven and a half minutes behind the winner. Course about fifty miles.

— The French blockade of the Siamese coasts and harbours officially raised, the ratifications of the treaty having been formally confirmed by both Powers.

5. Mr. Gladstone distributed the prizes to the successful exhibitors at the National Workmen's Exhibition at the Agricultural Hall, Islington, and afterwards made a long speech on the relations of art and industry.

— A great fire in the neighbourhood of the Canada Dock, Liverpool, destroyed four large timber-yards, doing damage estimated at upwards of 100,000*l.*

— At Liverpool a demonstration, originated by the Conservative Working Men's Association, attended by upwards of 30,000 persons, held in Abercromby Square, to protest against the resort to the closure in passing the Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons.

6. The canal through the Isthmus of Corinth formally opened by the king of the Hellenes, attended by the royal family and an imposing semblage.

— An international Socialist and Labour Congress, attended by upwards of 500 delegates, sixty-one being British, opened at Zürich. The Anarchist party was also represented, and claimed to have a voice in the proceedings.

7. A pleasure boat, having on board twenty-eight excursionists from the Iondda Valley, capsized off the breakwater at Port Talbot, South Wales, and only six were saved.

— An extra Session of Congress, called to legislate on the monetary crisis, assembled at Washington. The Democratic candidate for the Speakership, Mr. Cook, was re-elected by a large majority.

— The German Emperor left Cowes in his yacht *Hohenzollern* for Heligoland, where on his arrival he was warmly welcomed by the inhabitants.

8. The Bishop of Salisbury re-opened the ancient church of Holy Cross Ramsbury, near Hungerford, originally built in the thirteenth century and for some time the seat of a bishopric. The tenth and last bishop of Ramsbury was Herman, chaplain of Edward the Confessor. The church had been stored at considerable cost by the neighbouring landowners and others.

— At the Royal Victoria Yacht Club Regatta, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales' cutter *Britannia* won the Rear Commodore's Cup, defeating the American cutter *Navahoe* by 4 min., on a fifty-mile course, with very light winds.

— At a meeting of the Dublin Corporation a resolution was carried, by 11 votes to 20, after a stormy debate, rescinding the vote passed a month previously nominating Lord Mayor Shanks for a second year's term of office. The cause of complaint was his failure to invite his colleagues to meet the captain and officers of the United States ship *Chicago*, when visiting Dublin.

9. The scarcity of small currency throughout Italy was most severely felt in the industrial centres. A large firm at Milan issued small tokens stamped with its name (Gavazzi) in payment of wages, and they were promptly accepted throughout the city in place of Government money.

— At the Socialist Congress at Zürich a resolution in favour of a working day of eight hours was carried with only two dissentients, those of the representatives of the Durham miners.

— A draft commercial treaty between Spain and Italy on the basis of strict reciprocity signed at Madrid.

— Thunderstorms of exceptional severity broke over the country, and in the south-western and midland counties considerable damage was done by both lightning and rain.

10. In the Legislative Assembly at Melbourne a resolution imposing a graduated income tax was carried by a majority of four votes.



10. The Bank of England raised its rate of discount from 3 to 4 per cent., the reserve standing at 14,615,974*l.*, or 43 per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 25,232,259*l.* The disturbance of the New York money market and the pressure for currency throughout the United States had drawn large quantities of gold bullion from Europe.

— Witu, the stronghold on the Zanzibar coast of the insurgent chief Furno Moari, stormed after a stout resistance, and the town destroyed.

11. Serious rioting, arising out of the hostility between Hindoos and Mahometans, occurred at Bombay. The Mahometans attacked a Hindu temple, and came into collision with the police stationed to protect it. Disturbances followed in other parts of the native town; several mosques and temples were destroyed, and the troops were at length called out to clear the streets, and about fifty rioters were killed and several hundreds injured.

— At Auckland, New Zealand, the House of Representatives passed a bill conferring the Parliamentary franchise on European and Maori women.

— The resistance of the tenants of the Bodyke Estate, County Clare, suddenly collapsed, and all the tenants came in to pay their rent and arrears, which under the Plan of Campaign they had withheld for years.

12. At Kismayu, near Gobwen, a settlement of the British East Africa Company, a number of the Arab soldiers—Somalis—revolted, and killed the British officer, Mr. Hamilton. On the same day the Vice-Governor of German East Africa, Freiherr von Schele, stormed, and after four hours' fighting, carried the strongly-fortified camp of Sultan Meti on Kilima-Njaro.

— A railway accident, resulting in the death of twelve persons and injury to sixty more, occurred at Llantrissant Junction, on the Taff Vale line. The first six carriages of a train filled with holiday-makers left the rails and fell over a steep embankment.

— A memorial, addressed to the Queen by 103,000 Irish women, belonging to all classes and needs, protesting against Home Rule, sent to the Home Office for presentation, the Home Secretary having declined to receive a deputation.

— A letter from the Pope (dated Aug. 3) addressed to Cardinal Lück, Archbishop of Bordeaux, published, in which his Holiness strongly condemned the attitude of those who putting themselves forward as Catholics sought to be better armed in their opposition to the Republic.

13. Charles Moore, a native of Savoy, and known in Paris as the *chansonnier*, fired two shots from a revolver at M. Lockroy, an *ex-ministre* and a deputy for Paris, wounding him in the chest. His reason was that Lockroy had refused to publish his last volume of poems.

14. Thoby Priory, near Brentwood, an old house, the seat of G. Arkwright, built on the site of a religious building of the tenth or almost completely destroyed by fire. The contents, with the exception of a collection of armour, were saved.

14. Serious floods took place in Galicia, and in the northern districts of Hungary, causing great loss of life and destruction of property. Several hundred houses and six railway bridges were washed away, and upwards of 12,000 square kiloms covered with water.

— A fire broke out in a box factory at the head of St. Anthony's Falls, Minneapolis. A strong wind carried the sparks across the Mississippi, setting fire to great piles of dry timber. Two hundred houses were burnt, upwards of 1,500 people rendered homeless, and property valued at \$2,000,000 destroyed. In London also, in Camden Town, a destructive fire occurred, by which a large furniture establishment, containing upwards of a dozen shops, and twenty of the adjoining houses, were burnt or seriously damaged.

15. The award of the Behring Sea Arbitration Tribunal, which had assembled in Paris, issued, and was in great measure favourable to the contention of the counsel appearing for Great Britain. The arbitrators were Baron de Courcel (France), Marchese Visconti Venosta (Italy), M. Gregers Gram (Sweden), Lord Hannen and Sir John Thompson (Great Britain and Canada), Mr. Justice Harlan and Mr. Senator Morgan (U.S.).

— The election at Hereford resulted in the return of Mr. Radcliffe Cooke (C.), who polled 1,504 votes against 1,460 recorded for Sir J. Pulley (G.L.).

— Mr. H. N. Lucas, of New College, Oxford, lost his life on the Täscherhorn, on which his party had been benighted. It was supposed that in his sleep Mr. Lucas had shifted his position and rolled off the narrow ledge of grass chosen for the bivouac. His body was found at the foot of a rock about 200 feet high.

16. The Northumberland miners, by a majority of 1,600, decided not to join the strike inaugurated by the federation. In South Wales the military had to be called out to protect the non-strikers at Ebbw Vale.

— A pleasure boat, containing seventeen persons, capsized off Carrig Island, on the Kerry side of the Lower Shannon, and all the party drowned.

— A cricket match at the Surrey Oval between the Australians and England ended in the defeat of the colonists by one innings and 43 runs, the English eleven scoring 483, against 91 first innings and 349 second innings by the Australians.

— Unprecedented drought prevailed throughout Spain and many parts of the continent; the heat at Madrid registered 112° in the shade, and in London for nearly a fortnight it varied between 85° and 92° during the day. The Tagus was fordable below Toledo, and the water in the Ebro was insufficient to drive the mills or provide for irrigation.

17. At Biskupitz, in Croatia, the police arrested three men, part of a body of persons making a regular trade of the mutilation of children, who were subsequently sent to large towns to beg.



17. The Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the Sea Fisheries reported that a considerable diminution, especially of flat fish, was noticeable in the North Sea, owing probably to the increased efficiency in the apparatus for catching them. An increase in the size of the fish taken was recommended.

— Serious disputes, culminating in a general attack, occurred at Aigues-Mortes between the French and Italian workmen in the salt-works. In the final struggle fifty men were killed and 150 wounded, the troops being powerless to preserve the peace.

18. The heat in London rose to 98° at 1:30 P.M., but afterwards a general fall in the temperature took place throughout the kingdom. Several cases of sunstroke and heat apoplexy were reported in both town and country. The heat wave extended to St. Petersburg, where a higher temperature was registered than had been known for forty years.

— The action of the Secretary of State for India in selling Council drafts at 15½d., and thus setting aside the previously settled rate of 16d. per rupee, caused great excitement and perplexity throughout India.

— By an explosion of fire-damp in a coal pit at Dortmund (Westphalia) fifty miners were killed and many more seriously injured.

19. The Russian Government notified the selection of the admiral to whom the command of the fleet to be permanently established in the Mediterranean would be given.

— Statistics published semi-officially showing that between 1870 and 1890 the number of emigrants from Alsace-Lorraine was upwards of 285,000, as compared with 100,000 immigrants, but that from 1891 against 22,971 persons who had renounced their civic rights, 22,025 imperial subjects and naturalised foreigners had settled in the Reichsland.

20. A *plébiscite* taken on a popular demand throughout Switzerland, calling upon the authorities to prohibit the slaughter of animals unless rendered insensible before being bled, voted by a large majority.

— The general elections held throughout France, and resulted in large gains to the Republican party, the Monarchists and Boulangists suffering serious losses. In about one-third of the constituencies second ballots were necessary.

21. In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone's motion to closure the debate on the Report stage of the Irish Home Rule Bill carried by 200 to 162 votes.

— A monument to Abraham Lincoln and the Scottish American soldiers who fought in the American civil war unveiled in the old Calton burying ground by the daughter of the United States Consul. The Lord Provost and Town Council attended in state.

— At Rome, Milan, Palermo, and Naples, and other anti-French towns, demonstrations made by the populace, the Italian and German national anthems being sung with great enthusiasm. At Rome an attempt to attack

French embassy was only frustrated by the active intervention of the ce. supported by the troops.

21. Enormous damage done to shipping on the coast of Nova Scotia by worst hurricane known for thirty years. On shore the electrical ems at Halifax and elsewhere were wrecked, trees uprooted, and the s seriously injured, and upwards of twenty vessels were wrecked.

22. Strike riots, arising out of a quarrel between the soap and candle cers and their employers, entailing collisions with the police, took place ienna, and continued for some days, during which several persons were rely injured.

— At Sutton Bridge, on the river Nene (Lincolnshire), a boat containing rty of ten persons was capsized by a sudden gust of wind, and all with exception of one woman were drowned.

— Serious floods occurred in Tirhoot and Tipperae, doing much damage he indigo and other crops.

23. The Duke of Edinburgh formally took the oath as Duke Alfred of e-Coburg-Gotha in the presence of the Emperor William.

— A West-Indian cyclone swept over the coast of the New England tes, and extending as far south as New York. The rainfall in twelve rs measured 8.82. Upwards of fifty telegraph cables were torn up along : coast, and the injury to land wires was enormous.

— The cab-drivers of Naples struck for an increased tariff and against : omnibuses and trams, which were forced to cease running. Disturb- ces took place in various parts of the city, and several collisions with the lice ensued.

— Lieut. Lewes, H.M.S. *Blanche*, and thirty-five blue-jackets, attacked : Somalis who had murdered Mr. Hamilton at Kismayu, on the Juba ver, dispersing the mutineers and relieving the garrison which was leaguered.

24. The Bank of England raised its rate of discount from 4 to 5 per cent., e reserve standing at 15,015,662*l.*, or 45 per cent. of the liabilities, and the ock of bullion at 24,818,487*l.*

— Fresh disturbances between Italian and French workmen took place different places. At Toul, in the Vosges, the French workmen employed making a railway struck work because the contractor refused to dismiss s Italian navvies, and several affrays between the men took place.

— A fire broke out in the southern district of the city of Chicago, and reading rapidly consumed upwards of 250 houses, chiefly built of wood, ndering 5,000 persons homeless, and destroying property valued at 600,000.

25. In the House of Commons the Report stage of the Irish Home Rule ill closed.

— Mr. Gladstone received a deputation from the Scottish Disestablish- ent Council, and in reply to a request for his support of the Disestablish-



ment Bill before Parliament, declined to give any definite pledge as to how and when that support would be given.

25. A message from Lobengula, the Matabele King, addressed to Sir E. Loch (Governor) and Mr. Rhodes (Prime Minister) reached Cape Town, in which he refused to make good the damage done by his troops to the European settlers on the land of the Chartered Company.

26. Serious rioting took place at San Sebastian, where the Queen Regent of Spain was spending the holidays, attended by some of the Ministry. The rioters, who demanded the retention of certain Biscayan privileges which were threatened, attacked the hotel at which the Prime Minister—Señor Sagasta—was lodging. The military occupied the town for several days.

— Mr. J. Morley addressed a large body of his constituents at Newcastle and reviewed the course of the debates on the Irish Home Rule Bill, and censured the conduct of the Opposition in hindering the discussion. The conduct of the Ministry was enthusiastically endorsed by the meeting.

— The palace of the Negroni Caffarelli, in the centre of Rome, almost completely destroyed by a fire which broke out in a furniture store on the ground floor. The valuable library of Monsignor Fausti, chief auditor of the Pope, was wholly consumed.

— A passenger train from Rockaway Beach ran into a crowded New York train coming from Manhattan, at Bushwick Junction, Long Island, and completely wrecked the rear carriages. Sixteen persons were killed and upwards of forty injured.

27. A submarine telegraph between Lisbon and the Azores inaugurated by the King of Portugal in the presence of a large body of distinguished guests.

28. The Silver Purchase Repeal Bill, moved by Mr. Wilson, passed the House of Representatives at Washington by 241 ayes to 109 noes, after successive amendments tending to fix the ratio of silver to gold—from 16 to 20 to 1—had been rejected by large majorities.

— The funeral of the Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha took place with great ceremonial at Gotha, whither the body had been brought from the Castle of Reinhardsbrunn. The Emperor of Germany, the King of Saxony, the Prince of Wales, and many others supported Duke Alfred.

— A ground frost was registered over nearly the whole of the inland counties of England, and a serious hurricane passed over the Northern Azores, doing great damage at Fayal and Terceira.

— A fire, lasting for five days, laid waste upwards of 5,000 hectares of pine forest in the district between Mont de Marsan and Dax in the Landes. At one time a sea of fire seemed to cover an area of twenty-five kilometres. Many villages were attacked, and with difficulty saved from the flames.

— Lord Justice Bowen appointed a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary in succession to Lord Hannen, resigned.

29. A destructive cyclone passed over Georgia, the two Carolinas, and the south-eastern coast of the United States. The cities of Savannah and

harleston suffered terribly, the public buildings and harbour works, as well as numerous streets of private houses, being swept over. More than 500 persons were lost, and property valued by some as high as 2,000,000*l.* destroyed, and subsequently it was found that upwards of 20,000 persons, mostly negroes, were brought to the direst extremity by hunger, thirst and disease.

29. In view of the continued coal crisis, the Durham miners voted on the question of joining the general strike, but 19,704 voting against 20,782—a two-thirds' majority being necessary—work was continued. In South Wales the men in certain districts returned to work.

30. At the close of the cricketing season the county championship fell to Lancashire, which had won twelve matches and lost three; Lancashire followed with nine victories and five defeats, whilst Surrey, which had kept the championship since 1887, was fifth on the list.

— The army manoeuvres commenced in the district round Swindon, about twenty battalions being detached from Aldershot, and other troops marched from other depôts to the rendezvous.

— Two Frenchmen who had arrived at Kiel from Cowes on a yacht flying an English Yacht Club ensign arrested as spies, and on a search being made a large number of drawings and notes on the Baltic fortifications found in their possession.

31. Three deaths of Asiatic cholera officially notified at Great Grimsby, and special precautions at once adopted, the port being declared infected and outward and inward traffic prohibited.

— The Home Secretary, Mr. Asquith, Q.C., addressed a large out-door meeting in Althorpe Park, and after warmly defending the course of the Government during the session, announced their intention of proceeding with other measures of the Newcastle programme before the prorogation.

— Part of the western express, on the Boston and Albany Railway, fell through a bridge, which was undergoing repair, over the Westfield River near Chester, Mass. Fifteen passengers were killed and thirty-six injured, six of them fatally.

## SEPTEMBER.

1. In the House of Commons, on the eighty-second night of the discussion, the third reading of the Irish Home Rule Bill carried, shortly after midnight, by 301 to 267 votes, the pairs numbering about fifty. It was at once sent to the House of Lords and read a first time at one A.M., on the motion of Earl Spencer.

— The Emperor and Empress of Germany, after having been received with great enthusiasm at Coblenz by the Rhinelanders, gave a banquet in honour of the Crown Prince of Italy, who had come to attend the autumn manoeuvres held this year around Metz.

2. After nearly two years of almost unintermittent debate, the work of the revision of the Belgian Constitution was accomplished, the Senate agreeing by 59 to 5 votes on the qualifications of the Senate.



2. The Irish National Federation of America and other similar bodies sent telegrams of congratulation and gratitude to Mr. Gladstone for the passing of the Irish Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons.

3. In the second balloting necessary in 129 districts in France, M. Floquet, M. Clémenceau, M. Paul de Cassagnac, and M. Laguerre, a prominent Boulangist, were all defeated.

4. Sir Henry Norman, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., successively member of Council for India, Governor of Jamaica and Queensland, appointed Governor-General of India to succeed the Marquess of Lansdowne.

— The Trades Union Congress opened at the Ulster Hall, Belfast, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. Wilson, M.P., the presidential address on the relation of the State to the working classes being delivered by Mr. S. Monro.

— The body of Lient. Hamborough, whose death from a gunshot wound at Ardlamont, Ayrshire, had excited much suspicion against his tutor, Mr. Monson, exhumed at Ventnor by order of the Secretary of State.

— A fire broke out in the house of an oil and colourman in Fulham Palace Road, near London, and in less than twenty minutes five of the inmates lost their lives by suffocation or burning, whilst one of the three who escaped was severely injured.

5. Whilst the coal strike in South Wales was drawing to a close, and the men gradually resuming work, the pitmen in Derbyshire and round Barnsley became very riotous and attacked the non-unionists. Military aid was obtained from Sheffield, but several sharp struggles took place before the strikers were dispersed.

— After a review of the Army Corps at Metz, the Emperor of Germany, at a banquet given to the civil authorities, expressed his satisfaction at the friendly attitude of the people of Lorraine, and at the warm welcome they had given him, which proved their loyalty to the German Empire.

6. At Doncaster, the St. Leger Stakes won by half a length by the favourite, Mr. H. McCalmont's Isinglass, 9 st. (T. Loates). Seven started.

— The squadron of the Brazilian navy lying off Rio de Janeiro called upon President Peixoto to resign, and on his refusal revolted and blockaded the harbour.

— The great body of the Welsh colliers, except about 6,000 in the neighbourhood of Llanelly, agreed to return to work on the masters' terms. At Trimble, near Llanelly, miners who had come from the North of England and the Midlands were ordered by the federation to leave at once, and those who remained were severely maltreated by the natives, notwithstanding the presence of the Inniskilling Dragoons, who patrolled the district.

— The festival of the 300th anniversary of the Swedish Reformation (postponed from March 20) celebrated with great pomp at the Cathedral of Upsala, where in 1593 the royal letter adopting the Augsburg Confession had been signed by Charles IX.

7. Serious rioting among the miners took place in the neighbourhood of Sheffield and Dewsbury, where an enormous quantity of property was

not only destroyed, and private dwelling-houses sacked. The local police being found quite insufficient to preserve order, large drafts of the metropolitan police were despatched from London, and pending their arrival the crowds were held in check by the military, but not until several volleys were fired and several of the rioters injured.

7. Cases of cholera reported from Hull, Grimsby, and Rotherham, and a man employed as a cleaner in the House of Commons died from what is pronounced to be cholera.

— The Cunard steamer *Campania* arrived at Queenstown from New York, having made the passage in 5 days 14 hrs. 55 min.

8. The House of Lords, after four nights' debate, rejected the second reading of the Irish Home Rule Bill by 419 to 41.

— At the Trades Union Congress resolutions were passed declaring it to be the duty of the Government to consider for providing honourable and remunerative work for the unemployed, and fixing May-day for a general hour demonstration in favour of an eight hours' day.

— The Legislative Council of New Zealand, by 20 votes to 18, passed the Electoral Bill sent up from the Legislative Assembly, including, among other provisions, clauses conferring the franchise upon women.

— A revolution broke out in the Tucuman province of the Argentine Republic, spreading with such rapidity through the rural districts that the Governor, Señor Delarosa, found himself surrounded at Cabillo with about 800 men.

9. Large drafts of military and police despatched to various parts of Berkshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire prevented any renewal of rioting. The South Wales colliers, recognising the uselessness of prolonging the struggle, returned to work, and in North Staffordshire the men were allowed to resume at the former rate of wages.

— A decree published in Paris, signed by President Carnot, organising the Universal Exhibition of 1900.

— At Dunkirk, fêtes were held in commemoration of the raising of the siege by the English in 1793, the Government being represented by the Marshal commanding the 1st Army Corps.

— The inhabitants of Santander, finding that the authorities had not for some time taken proper steps to provide the town with a sufficiency of water, stormed the town hall and threatened the mayor and aldermen, who were with difficulty rescued by the police. The rioters held the town for nearly two days against the authorities.

11. A severe earthquake felt throughout Eastern Europe, extending from Moscow and Bucharest to Odessa. The shock, which lasted from thirteen to fifteen seconds, was accompanied by subterranean rumbling, and caused the utmost panic to the inhabitants of the cities and villages.

— The Queen laid the foundation stone of the new parish church at Rathie, near Balmoral.



11. The third of the international matches between H.R.H. the Prince of Wales' yacht *Britannia* (151 tons) and Mr. Carroll's *Navahoe* (155 tons), for the Victoria Challenge Cup, ended, like the two preceding, in favour of the Prince of Wales' yacht, which having thus won three races out of five, secured the cup.

— The insurgent fleet, after bombarding ten of the suburbs of Rio de Janeiro, tried to land their troops and occupy the city, but they were repulsed with heavy loss by the loyal troops who held the forts.

12. A party of about twenty masked men stopped an express train bound for New York, about forty miles east of Chicago. They compelled the guards and engine-driver to surrender, kept watch over the passengers with armed rifles, burst open the treasure van with dynamite, and carried off \$250,000 in gold. They were promptly pursued by the sheriff and a posse, and overtaken and compelled to surrender.

— The National Liberal Association issued a circular to its federated bodies denouncing the conduct of the House of Lords in rejecting the Irish Home Rule Bill.

— M. Charles de Lesseps, who had been in prison since December 16, liberated.

13. M. Janssen announced to the Paris Institute of Science the completion of the observatory on the summit of Mont Blanc.

— Sir Horace Davey, Q.C., appointed Lord Justice of Appeal in succession to Lord Justice Bowen, created Lord of Appeal.

— Sir Mortimer Durand accepted the invitation of the Ameer of Afghanistan to pay him a visit at Cabul.

— The price of silver from the Government mines in Hungary reduced from ninety to fifty-seven florins per kilogramme, in consequence of the rapid decline in the market value of the metal.

— The Brenton Reef Challenge Cup won by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales' cutter yacht *Britannia*, defeating Mr. Carroll's *Navahoe* by 24 seconds, over a course of 120 miles—to Cherbourg and back. There was a full wind and heavy sea throughout the race, which occupied 10 hrs. 37 min. 35 sec.

14. The Bank of England reduced its rate of discount from 5 to 4 per cent., the total reserve standing at 17,584,596*l.*, or 52½ per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 26,890,000*l.*

— Thirteen persons attacked with choleraic symptoms at Ashbourne Derbyshire, of whom eight succumbed. All the persons attacked lived in the same court and drank from the same pump.

— A Royal Commission, consisting of seventeen members, appointed to inquire into the agricultural depression prevailing in Great Britain, and to report upon measures for its alleviation.

— The report of the Royal Commission on the London water supply published, recommending certain measures for the prevention of the con

mination of the rivers Thames and Lea and their tributaries, and for the more effectual filtration of water.

15. The famous temple of Hongwanji in Japan, with all its valuable contents, totally destroyed by fire.

— The new central hall and buildings of the Working Men's Club and Institute, erected in Clerkenwell Road at the cost of 20,000*l.*, opened by Lord Brassey.

— Violent rain storms in the province of Toledo, followed by heavy floods, inflicting much damage. In the town of Villacañas, on the river Manzanares, where a large portion of the population lived in cave dwellings, about eight feet square, cut out of the hill-side, the majority of the occupants were drowned by the sudden rising of the river.

— The Philadelphia Mint reported that 5,000 ounces of gold were missing from a vault which had been sealed up since 1887.

16. The Cape May Cup, a sister trophy to the Brenton Reef Cup, won by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales' *Britannia*, defeating the challenger, Mr. Carroll's *Navahoe*, by 36 min. 23 sec. on a 120 mile course—to Cherbourg and back to Alum Bay. There was little wind, and the race occupied 24 hrs. 8 min.

— A serious fire at Paddington completely destroyed the forage stores of the London General Omnibus Company.

— A down express train on the Great Western Railway ran off the rails in the Box Tunnel, and a local up train ran into the down train, with the result that two passengers were very dangerously injured and several others were much hurt, and the traffic blocked during the whole day.

17. A great demonstration, attended by 10,000 persons, presided over by the mayor, held at Limerick in favour of an amnesty to all political prisoners under sentence.

18. The miners in the Pas de Calais, to the number of 40,000, came out on strike against a proposed reduction of wages. Telegrams were at once sent to the Belgian miners to join in the movement against the coal owners.

— At an international cycling match held in Paris, the Swiss champion, Lerna, covered 696,568 kilometres (433 miles) in twenty-four hours, defeating the representatives of all other countries, and making the highest record.

— The Austrian military manœuvres, on a very imposing scale, commenced at Kőszeg, in Hungary, in the presence of the Emperor Francis Joseph, the Emperor of Germany, the King of Saxony, and the Duke of Connaught.

19. The Emperor of Germany, having learnt of the serious illness of Prince Bismarck, telegraphed to offer him a royal castle in Central Germany for the winter months. The offer was respectfully declined by the prince.

— The Governor of New Zealand gave the royal assent to the Electoral Bill, recently passed by both Houses of Parliament, giving the franchise to women.



19. A fatal fire occurred in Whitechapel in a pastry-cook's shop, by which the proprietor and four other persons were burnt to death before rescue could arrive.

20. Sir Henry Norman withdrew his acceptance of the vice-royalty of India, feeling his strength unequal to such an arduous post.

— The Dolcouth tin mine in Cornwall was the scene of a serious accident; a portion of the roof falling in and burying eight men, who were, however, almost miraculously rescued after several days' imprisonment.

— The Legislative Assembly at Brisbane decided by 31 to 16 votes against a motion for erecting North Queensland into a separate colony.

21. The ceremony of presenting new colours to the Dutch army took place at the Hague. The troops were passed in review before the young queen, who personally presented the flags which had not been renewed since Waterloo.

— News reached Europe that Emin Pasha was murdered on October 21, 1892, at a place about four days' journey from Kibourge, at the instigation of the Arab chief, Menhi Moharra.

— A great fire broke out in the Leeds Central Market which was not extinguished for several hours and until property valued at 80,000*l.* was destroyed. The roof of the Corn Exchange was set on fire and narrowly escaped destruction.

22. Parliament, after passing the Appropriation Bill, adjourned for six weeks, when the session was to be resumed.

— At the Conference of the Institute of Journalists, held at Lincoln's Inn Hall, M. Zola delivered a long address in French on "Anonymity in Journalism."

— Increased mortality from cholera reported from Northern Spain, Sicily, Hamburg, and Russia, and a serious outbreak occurred at Brest. Out of 44,200 Egyptian pilgrims to Mecca who passed through Suez, only 30,388 returned.

— The *juges de paix* of the departments of the Nord and Pas de Calais by order of the Minister of the Interior issued invitations to the pitmen on strike and coal owners to state their case, with a view to arbitration. The offer was only partially accepted by the men.

23. The Vienna police arrested fourteen persons charged with being implicated in an Anarchist plot, and seized a private printing press and a quantity of explosives.

— A Russian iron-clad, the *Roosalka*, lost, with twelve officers and 166 men, between Revel and Helsingfors. No trace was found of the missing ship.

— The Lancashire Plate (value 8,000 sovs.) won by Duke of Portland's Raeburn, 3 yrs., 9 st. 1 lb. (J. Watts), easily defeating the favourite, Mr. M'Calmont's Isinglass, 9 st. 4 lb., by a length, and Baron Hirsch's La Flèche. Four ran.

24. At Barcelona, during a review of the troops, a bomb was thrown amongst the staff of Marshal Martinez Campos, whose horse was killed and he himself injured. Thirteen other officers and men were also wounded and a large number of the spectators. The man who threw the bomb was arrested without difficulty, and proved to be an Anarchist named Pallas.

25. A sculling match for the Championship Cup and 200*l.* rowed from Putney to Mortlake by George Bubear, champion of England, and Tom Sullivan, champion of New Zealand. Sullivan led almost from the first, and eventually won by five lengths.

— H.M.S. *Camperdown*, when leaving Malta harbour, stranded near the entrance, her helm having jammed. She was ultimately floated off without damage.

— Brzeznicza, a flourishing little town in Russian Poland, completely destroyed by fire, and upwards of 500 families rendered homeless were forced to encamp in the neighbouring woods.

— At Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, a Mr. and Mrs. Reese, who had become acquainted with some secrets of an Anarchist organisation, brutally murdered. At San Francisco a boarding-house frequented by non-unionist sailors wrecked by a dynamite bomb, six men being injured, of whom three died.

26. The autumn session of the Associated Chambers of Commerce opened at Plymouth under the presidency of Sir Albert Rollit, M.P., who in the course of his address expressed himself in favour of courts of conciliation under the Board of Trade to deal with labour questions.

— The freedom of the City of London presented to Sir John Gilbert, B.A., in recognition of his career as an artist and of the gift of pictures made by him to the Corporation Art Gallery.

— The Emperor of Germany arrived at Vienna to assist at the Austro-Hungarian manœuvres. He was warmly received by the Emperor Francis Joseph.

— The Argentine rebels, who had temporarily possessed themselves of Tucuman, defeated and driven out by Dr. Pellegrini, and the members of the Revolutionary Committee imprisoned.

27. Mr. Gladstone on his way south from Blairgowrie addressed a crowded meeting of his supporters at the Albert Hall, Edinburgh, reviewing the past session and referring at length to the action taken by the House of Lords with regard to the Irish Home Rule Bill.

— The Spanish Premier, Señor Sagasta, whilst walking in the streets of Madrid, slipped and fractured one of his ankle-bones.

— During a violent storm which passed over South Lincolnshire, the church of Pinchbeck, near Spalding, was struck by lightning and the roof set on fire.

28. A monument to Andreas Hofer, the Tyrolese patriot shot by order of Napoleon I., unveiled at the Iselberg, near Innsbruck, in the presence of the Emperor Francis Joseph and a large assembly.



28. The strike of Belgian miners extended over the Charleroi and Borinage coal-fields, the greater number of the men coming out for increased wages. The French miners, however, showing no eagerness to combine, the movement failed to become general throughout the northern coal-fields of France, as was intended by the strike leaders.

29. Alderman George Robert Tyler, the head of a firm of paper-makers and Master of the Stationers' Company, elected to be Lord Mayor of London.

— It was officially reported that the Matabele were raiding near Mogunda, and that their impis were being massed on the frontiers of Mashonaland.

— The Emperor Francis Joseph, attended by all the archdukes, held a grand court at Innsbruck, which was attended by deputations from all parts of the Vorarlberg and Tyrol, and also from various towns of the Trentino, of which the Italian populations form an autonomous administration.

30. The new Army Bill, under which the peace footing of the German army was fixed for five years at 479,229 men, came into force.

— Mr. J. Corvasjee Jehanghir of Bombay presented 200,000 rupees to the Imperial Institute to be applied to the special benefit of India.

— The insurgent squadron of the Brazilian fleet opened fire on the city of Rio and caused considerable damage to public and private buildings.

## OCTOBER.

2. A terrific cyclone, accompanied by a tidal wave of unusual magnitude, passed over the Gulf of Mexico, the Louisiana coasts, and especially Mobile Bay, being the centre of the chief disasters. Upwards of 1,200 lives were lost, and property valued at \$5,000,000, together with the Louisiana orange crop, was destroyed.

— A British mission under Sir Mortimer Durand, having been escorted by the Afghan troops, reached Cabul, and was received with great ceremony by the Ameer and with friendliness by the population.

— The Kabyle tribe of Moors attacked the Spanish fort of Melilla, garrisoned by 300 Spanish troops, and inflicted severe losses on the defenders.

— The Canadian Australian liner *Miocera*, on her first voyage from Sydney to Vancouver, went aground at the entrance of Honolulu, and became a total wreck. All the passengers and crew were saved.

3. The Duke and Duchess of York paid a state visit to Edinburgh to receive the marriage gift of the corporation, the freedom of the city, and to open a new wing of the hospital for incurables.

— The Thirty-third Church Congress opened at Birmingham under the presidency of the Bishop of Worcester, the inaugural sermon being preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

3. Mr. Goschen addressed a large meeting of Scotch Unionists at Edinburgh, presided over by the Marquess of Lothian. He replied to the various points of Mr. Gladstone's speech delivered in the same place in the previous week.

— The French treaty and convention with Siam finally signed at Bangkok, the French having consented to withdraw certain demands.

4. The Duke and Duchess of York visited Stockton-on-Tees to open the new park presented to the town by the Mayor, Major Ropner.

— It was reported from San Francisco that a steam whaler, the *Newport*, had worked her way during the summer to the 84th parallel of latitude, or 4° from the North Pole.

5. The Bank of England lowered its rate of discount from 8½ to 8 per cent., the total revenue standing at 16,654,498*l.*, or 45½ per cent. of the liabilities, and the stock of bullion at 26,765,998*l.*

— The Duke and Duchess of York visited York, and were received with great enthusiasm. The duke, having been presented with the freedom of the city, afterwards formally opened a free library.

— The first race between the yachts *Vigilant* and *Valkyrie* for the American Cup had to be abandoned in consequence of the absence of wind on the return course.

— A patrol of the Bechuanaland police fired upon by the Matabele whilst patrolling the south bank of the Shoushire River, an attack which was regarded as a formal notification of the commencement of hostilities.

— Sir Mortimer Durand and his staff received with great pomp and much friendliness by the Ameer Abdurrahman at his residence near Cabul.

6. The Spanish Anarchist, Pallas, who had thrown the bomb by which Marshal Martinez Campos was wounded, shot near the castle of Monjuich, at Barcelona, where he had been confined since the outrage.

— The late Master of Balliol, Professor Jowett, interred at St. Sepulchre's Cemetery, Oxford, beside his friend and colleague, Thomas Henry Green, and in the presence of a large attendance of old and distinguished members of the college and university.

— The Cunard steamer *Lucania* arrived at Sandy Hook after a passage of 5 days 18 hours 25 minutes, the fastest western voyage on record. A fortnight after the steamer *Campania*, belonging to the same company, performed the same voyage in twenty-three minutes less time.

7. The first race between the yachts *Vigilant* and *Valkyrie* sailed over again outside New York harbour, and ended in favour of the American yacht *Vigilant* by about six minutes.

— The insurrection in the Argentina brought to a close by the surrender of Rosario, of which the rebels had taken possession, and by the arrest of the chief leaders of the movement.

— At Kempton Park race meeting the Duke of York Stakes, a one-mile handicap (value 8,000*l.*), won by the favourite, Mr. W. Throckmorton's Abington, 7 st. Eleven ran.



8. The second anniversary of the death of Mr. C. S. Parnell commemorated at Dublin by a great procession, which marched through the city to Glasnevin Cemetery, where flowers and wreaths were deposited.

9. A conference of representatives of the coal owners and miners, with the mayors of six great industrial centres of the north of England, took place at Sheffield. The proceedings were private, but the basis of a settlement was published after the close of the meeting.

— The Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Duke and Duchess of York, opened the new South London art galleries, reading room and lecture hall, erected in Camberwell at the cost of Mr. J. Passmore Edwards. The Duke and Duchess of York subsequently visited Poplar in order to lay the foundation stone of new buildings of the Missions to Seamen Society.

— The second race between the *Valkyrie* and the *Vigilant*, on a triangular thirty-mile course off Sandy Hook, resulted in the victory of the American yacht by 10 min. 37 sec.

10. On the re-assembling of the Austrian Reichstag after the recess, the Prime Minister, Count Taaffe, introduced unexpectedly an Electoral Reform Bill, which practically conceded the suffrage to all persons able to read and write, having six months' residence in one locality.

— The coal strike in Belgium, which had been undertaken in conjunction with a similar movement in the north of France, came to an end, the men having failed to obtain anything beyond a slight increase of wages in a few cases.

— The first Ministry under the Constitution granting responsible Government to Natal constituted under Sir John Robinson.

11. The Earl of Elgin appointed Viceroy of India in succession to the Marquess of Lansdowne, Sir Henry Norman having declined the nomination.

— At Newmarket the race for the Cesarewitch Stakes resulted in a dead heat between the second favourite, Mr. Ellis' Red Eyes, 4 yrs., 7 st. 10 lb. (T. Loates), and the most extreme outsider, Mr. T. Jennings' Cypria, 3 yrs., 6 st. 5 lb. (W. Pratt). Seventeen ran.

— The endeavour to force the Silver Purchase Law Repeal Bill through the United States Senate by a continuous sitting began at Washington. Blankets, extra sofas, and an extraordinary supply of provisions were brought into the building, both sides encamping in the Chamber or the adjacent rooms. Senator Allen of Nebraska spoke for fifteen hours against the repeal.

12. In many collieries of the midlands work was resumed at the old rates, the men having thus successfully opposed the masters' attempts to enforce a reduction of wages.

13. A terrible accident took place at Jackson, on the Michigan Central Railway, in consequence of a train dashing at full speed into an excursion train standing in the station. Eighteen dead bodies and thirty-four persons seriously injured were taken from the wreckage.

13. At the Aberdeen Police Court a Jewish rabbi and his assistant were charged with cruelty to a bullock by their method of slaughtering according to the Mosaic law. The magistrates decided that there was no case against the butcher, and that it was not proven against the rabbi.

— The Russian squadron under Admiral Avellan arrived off Toulon, where the ships and crews received the most enthusiastic welcome, and ~~was~~ organised for the time of their stay.

— At Washington after a continuous sitting of thirty-nine hours the senate adjourned, it having been found impracticable to maintain a quorum, the supporters of the Silver Bill refusing to vote for the Repealing Bill sent up from the House of Representatives.

— The third race between the *Valkyrie* and the *Vigilant* resulted in the defeat of the English yacht by 2 min. 5 sec., but by about 40 sec. after deducting the time allowance.

14. An epidemic of the nature of cholera broke out in the Greenwich workhouse, and in the course of a week attacked 234 persons, of whom nine died.

15. The famous mosque of Omeyyad at Damascus—originally the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist, converted to Moslem use by the Caliph Omar—partially destroyed by fire. The tomb of Saladin and the rooms of Hassan and Hosein escaped, and the library with the unique copy of Othman's Koran was saved. Some eighty-five shops and twenty-five houses surrounding the mosque were also destroyed.

16. A British squadron arrived at Taranto in the course of the Mediterranean cruise, and were received with great enthusiasm by the Italian war-ships and population.

— A telegraph cable laid between Bundaberg in Queensland and New Saledonia, and subsidised by New South Wales, notwithstanding the Marquess of Ripon's protest against promoting a line which would be in the hands of a foreign power.

— Volunteers from the two regiments stationed at Cape Town—the Black Watch and the West Riding Regiment—having been called on for service against the Matabele, nearly all the men of both regiments offered themselves.

— Two columns of colonists from Forts Victoria and Salisbury had simultaneous engagements with the Matabele at a place about sixty miles west of Bulawayo. The natives were dispersed in both cases with serious losses, whilst on the side of the colonists Captain Campbell, R.A., died after the amputation of his leg, in which he had been wounded.

17. The Marquess of Salisbury at Preston, and the Home Secretary (Mr. Asquith, Q.C.) at Glasgow, addressed large and enthusiastic meetings of their respective adherents; the former attacking the policy of the Government and the latter the conduct of the House of Lords.

— A serious riot, arising out of the coal strike, took place at St. Helen's, Lancashire, when a body of strikers invaded the Ashton Green Collieries to



prevent the water being kept out of them, and injured several of the pumps sent to protect the property.

17. A fire in the militia orderly-room at Chester Castle destroyed the colours and records of the 3rd Cheshire Regiment.

— Admiral Avellan and the officers of the Russian squadron arrived in Paris from Toulon, and were received by enormous crowds and with the wildest enthusiasm.

18. Manchester College, a new college for Nonconformists at Oxford, erected from designs by Mr. Thomas Worthington at a cost of 55,000*l.*, opened by the president, Mr. Henry R. Grey, in the presence of a large assemblage of Unitarian and other Nonconformist leaders.

— The Emperor of Germany visited Bremen and unveiled a statue of his grandfather, William I. In his subsequent speech he alluded to the fact that the day was the anniversary of the battle of Leipsic and of the birth of his father, the Emperor Frederick.

— The Harveian oration delivered before the College of Physicians by Dr. Pye-Smith, who contended that Harvey was not only the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, but the first advocate of the study of medical anatomy.

— A destructive fire, resulting in losses estimated at \$3,500,000, broke out at New York in Messrs. Campbell's wall paper factory, spreading to Haviland's paper mills, a piano factory and furniture works.

19. The first Parliament under the new Constitution granting responsible Government to Natal opened by the Governor, Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson.

— General Bronsart von Schellendorf appointed to succeed General von Kaltenborn-Stachau as Prussian Minister of War.

— The London School Board, by 27 votes to 12, approved a rule holding head teachers in Board Schools responsible for the infliction of corporal punishment, but allowing them to delegate the power to their assistants, if fitted to be entrusted therewith.

— Lord Bowen, assisted by Sir Albert Rollit and Mr. Haldane, Q.C., opened, at Wakefield, their inquiry into the Featherstone riots.

20. Religious riots took place at Teola, near Nasik, where a Hindu procession passing a mosque made an attack upon it, leading to serious blood fighting, which was eventually suppressed by the troops.

— The winter in Eastern Europe reported to have set in unusually early and with extreme severity. Snow to the depth of several inches covered the country round Sofia, and was reported from Servia and Rumania.

— A British mission station on the Shiré River, belonging to the F. East Africa Company, attacked by natives, and an English officer and Sikh soldiers killed.

21. A memorial to the poet William Drummond, of Hawthornden, unveiled in the churchyard of Lasswade, Midlothian, by Lord Melville.

21. The Emperor of Germany went to Dresden to attend the military jubilee of the King of Saxony, which was celebrated with great rejoicings.

22. The state funeral of Marshal M'Mahon at the Invalides was the scene of much pomp. Enormous crowds thronged the streets, and special representatives of the various crowned heads, including the Emperor of Germany, attended in full state and laid wreaths on the marshal's coffin.

— A demonstration of political clubs, trade unions, and socialistic bodies summoned to meet in Trafalgar Square by the Social Democratic Federation, but attended by scarcely 1,000 persons.

23. The British Mediterranean squadron, under the command of Sir M. Dalme-Seymour, arrived at Spezia, where it was received by a large and imposing display of Italian ships of war, and with great enthusiasm by the inhabitants.

— A Roll of Honour, set in a carved oak frame, unveiled at the headquarters of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade in memory of the officers who since Superintendent James Baird in 1861 had lost their lives in the discharge of their duties.

— General Margallo, in command of the Spanish forces round Melilla, opened fire on the Riff tribesmen who were advancing their trenches against the town. The Moors were dispersed by the long-range Nordenfolt guns of the Spanish cruiser.

24. The Convention League of the Ulster Unionists, attended by 600 delegates representing 176,000 adult voters, opened at Belfast under the presidency of the Duke of Abercorn, who reviewed the position of the Home Rule question.

— The medical officer of health for the city of London reported a serious outbreak of scarlet fever at Christ's Hospital, and that the sanitary condition of the building rendered its further use as a school absolutely impossible.

— Sir Henry Loch, high commissioner, South Africa, announced his approaching departure for Mafeking, and that the settlement of the Matabele question had been placed completely under his control.

25. Admiral Avellan and the Russian naval officers left Paris for Lyons after a week of constant festivities and hospitalities. It was estimated that the gifts alone which they carried away with them were worth at least 100,000*l*.

— The funeral of Lord Vivian at Rome was made the occasion of a solemn demonstration of good-will on the part of the Italian Government and people, the ministry, the presidents of both Houses, and the Prince of Naples (representing the king) being present.

— At Newmarket the Cambridgeshire Stakes won in a canter by Lord Dunraven's Molly Morgan, 4 yrs., 6 st. 7 lb. (W. Bradford), defeating the favourite, the Duke of Portland's Raeburn, 3 yrs., 8 st. 1 lb. (G. Challoner), by four lengths. Twenty-two started.



25. The Dublin Court of Bankruptcy refused to admit Mr. Michael Davitt's plea that his bankruptcy was caused by circumstances beyond his control, and to set aside the decree.

26. The Earl of Derby opened a free library and museum at Preston, erected at a cost of 79,000*l.*, bequeathed by Mr. E. R. Harris, a former townsman, who has left nearly 300,000*l.* for public purposes. The museum was erected on a site given by the Corporation valued at 30,000*l.*

— Admiral Stanton, in command of the United States squadron in Brazilian waters, summarily removed for saluting the insurgent leader, Admiral de Mello.

— M. Tripone, who had been condemned to five years' penal servitude for revealing War Office secrets to foreign powers, released on the completion of one-third of the original sentence.

27. After several days' skirmishing on the march, the two columns of the troops of the British South Africa Company, having united, were attacked by the Matabele force, estimated at 5,000 men. The natives were driven off with great loss, and pursued by the British force in the direction of Buluwayo, the chief kraal of the Matabele.

— At the half-yearly meeting of the General Council of the University of Edinburgh a report by a sub-committee in favour of the abolition of theological tests and against the retention of the faculty of divinity as a training school for the ministry of one denomination, was lost by a large majority.

— President Carnot arrived at Toulon in order to pay a formal visit to the Russian fleet and to preside at the launch of the new French ironclad, the *Jauréguiberry*.

— In Paris the public funeral of M. Gounod, the composer, was celebrated at the Madeleine with great honour, and the body was subsequently conveyed with much military display to the Auteuil Cemetery.

— Mr. John Hare's company performed before the Queen at Balmoral the play of *Diplomacy*, an English version of *Dora*, by M. Sardou.

— During a religious celebration in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem a quarrel broke out between the Austrian and Italian monks. One of the latter was killed and two wounded by shots from a revolver.

28. The Spanish fortress of Melilla attacked by a large force of Riff tribesmen who drove back the Spanish troops, and in a renewal of the engagement General Margallo, the chief in command, was killed.

— Mr. Carter Harrison, Mayor of Chicago, murdered in his own house by a man who fired three shots at Mr. Harrison and then surrendered himself to the authorities.

— The prevalence of diphtheria and fever in the metropolitan district excited much attention. Of the former, upwards of 400 new cases were reported during the week, with a mortality of over eighty, and over 3,000 cases of fever of a less serious type.

29. An open-air demonstration, stated to have been attended by 20,000 Maltese, held at Valetta to protest against the proposed curtailment of the spiritual authority of the Bishop of Malta by the English Colonial Office.

— The elections for the Swiss National Council resulted in the defeat of the Socialist party in all districts where their candidates were not also supported by the Democratic party.

30. After a prolonged debate lasting over sixty-one days, of which fourteen were continuous, and notwithstanding persistent "lobbying," the Silver Purchase Repeal Bill passed by the Senate by 48 to 32 votes, with ten pairs. The bill was supported by 22 Democrats and 26 Republicans against 22 Democrats, 1 Republican, and 4 Populists.

— The Emperor Francis Joseph, in view of the complicated political situation, consented to prorogue the Reichsrath. Count Taaffe's Cabinet tendered their resignation, but it was not at once accepted.

— The French Minister of Marine gave to the Russian admiral on his departure a letter instructing all harbour masters and maritime prefects on the French coasts of the Mediterranean to treat Russian ships of war as French ones.

— The Executive of the Miners' Federation at Derby adopted a resolution to meet representatives of the coal owners to discuss the wages question.

— The Chicago exhibition closed without any special ceremony in consequence of the murder of the mayor. Contrary to expectation it had quite paid its expenses, apart from the sums guaranteed, and had been visited by 21,000,000 people.

— The first Congress of the Free Labour Association opened at the Foresters' Hall, Clerkenwell, and attended by 150 delegates. Resolutions were carried denouncing strikes and the tyranny of union pickets.

## NOVEMBER.

1. The Matabele, 7,000 strong, again attacked the East African Company's force when in laager on the Imbembezi River, and were thoroughly defeated with the loss of 1,000 men. Buluwayo was occupied on the following day, and the royal kraals destroyed. Three Europeans were killed in the fight and five wounded.

— The municipal elections throughout England and Wales showed that in those boroughs where politics entered in the contests the Conservatives had gained seats at Louth, Rochester, Exeter, Southampton, Warrington, Oldham, and some two score other places; the Liberals at Carlisle, Salisbury, St. Helen's, Manchester, Bristol, and a score of other places. Labour and Socialist candidates also came forward, the former gaining ten and the latter two seats—Burnley and Boston (one each).

— At Glasgow the West of Scotland Liberal Union Association was addressed by the Duke of Argyll, who delivered a remarkable speech on Mr. Gladstone's political career.



1. In the House of Representatives at Washington the Silver Purchase Law Repeal Bill, after a slight attempt at obstruction, was passed, as sent down by the Senate, by 191 to 14, and forthwith submitted to the President, who signed it at once.

— A band of Arnauts entered the town of Prisrend, and, having driven the Turkish garrison into the citadel, looted the shops and houses of the principal inhabitants.

2. The House of Commons reassembled, after a short recess, to conclude the business of the session.

— Two French poachers shot on the Alsatian frontier by a German gamekeeper, who was declared upon investigation to have acted in self-defence.

— The volunteers, under Major Goold-Adams, came into conflict with two impi of Matabele, and after a stubborn fight beat off their attack, killing their commander, Lobengula's son-in-law.

— At Hanover a gambling case, in which a large number of officers and county gentlemen were called as witnesses, resulted in the conviction and heavy punishment of the keepers of the gambling establishment and in the revelation of a wide-spread habit of gambling in Germany.

— Serious earthquake shocks felt in South Wales, North Devon, and as far east as Bristol, where almost a panic was produced by the violence of the shocks.

3. The Court of Appeal at Sofia acquitted Georgriff, one of the men condemned to death for the murder of M. Beltcheff, and for high treason. He was at once set at liberty.

— At Santander a vessel laden with dynamite and petroleum, which had obtained access to the harbour by means of a false declaration, caught fire. Attempts to extinguish the fire were made, and the amount of dynamite declared to have been on board was safely removed, when a terrific explosion occurred, shattering everything to pieces in the neighbourhood, setting the town on fire in several places, and causing the death of several hundreds of persons.

— Two officers and two men belonging to ships in the squadron lying off Rio de Janeiro killed by the explosion of a powder store which was close to the spot where the boat's crew had landed to obtain sand.

4. The joint conference of coalmasters and men held at Westminster Palace Hotel, after two days' negotiations, failed to arrive at any settlement of the dispute.

— In the north of France the coal strike, after lasting several weeks, ended in the resumption of work on the masters' terms.

— King Oscar made a speech at Christiania in celebration of the eightieth anniversary of the union between Norway and Sweden, declaring that the union must remain for ever intact.

4. In the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, Mr. Justice Wills and Mr. Justice Lawrence decided that there was no jurisdiction in this country against an Indian ruler like the Sultan of Johore, against whom a lady had brought an action for breach of promise of marriage, made when he was living in England under the name of Baker.

6. Captain von Meyerinck, one of the chief defendants in the gambling and swindling case tried at Hanover, who had been condemned to four years' imprisonment, hanged himself in his prison cell.

— Large meetings of colliers in Lancashire and Yorkshire endorsed the action taken by their delegates at the Westminster Conference.

7. In the House of Commons the Local Government Bill (England and Wales), after a long debate, read a second time without a division.

— A large part of the roof of the South Eastern Railway Station at Dover fell in just as the Paris mail was leaving for London, covering the engine and tender with broken glass, but injuring no one.

— At Barcelona during a performance of William Tell at the Liceo Theatre two bombs were thrown from the upper gallery into the stalls. Only one exploded, but it killed twenty-three persons and wounded seriously very many more. The theatre was wrecked, and in the panic which ensued more lives were lost. A general arrest of Anarchists was at once made by the police.

8. The fall elections in the United States, especially in New York, showed that the Republicans had gained very largely, the revolt in New York being chiefly against Tammany and "boss-rule." Mr. M'Kinley was re-elected Governor of Ohio by a large majority.

— The Duke of Devonshire arrived at Belfast in fulfilment of his promise to visit the Ulster Unionists. He met with a cordial welcome all along the route from Larne, and on the following day was entertained with great distinction at Belfast.

— Serious floods occurred in various parts of Japan, accompanied by great loss of life and destruction of property. More than 4,000 houses were washed away, and upwards of 200 vessels were wrecked along the coast.

9. The Greek Ministry, having been defeated on the election of the President of the Assembly, resigned, and the king at once sent for M. Tricoupis to form a Cabinet.

— At the Lord Mayor's banquet Earl Spencer and the Earl of Kimberley were the speakers on behalf of her Majesty's Ministers.

— The Hungarian Premier announced at the meeting of the Diet that the emperor-king had given his consent to the introduction of a Civil Marriage Bill.

— In the House of Commons Mr. Labouchere's motion to censure the Chartered South African Company negatived without a division.



10. The Viceroy of India (the Marquess of Lansdowne), replying to a municipal address at Agra, declared in the plainest language the intention of the Government to protect equally Hindoos and Mussulmans in the exercise of their religion, and to put a stop to attempts of one religion to trample on the other.

— The Government of Spain suspended the constitution in Barcelona, so far as the guarantees of the liberty of the subject were concerned, in order to make arrests wherever suspected persons were supposed to be found.

— In the House of Commons Mr. W. M'Laren's amendment to the Employers' Liability Bill, reserving to certain bodies the right to contract out of the Act, rejected by 236 to 217 votes.

— Liverpool Autumn Cup won by Baron Hirsch's La Flèche, 4 yrs., 9 st. 6 lb. (J. Watts), defeating the favourite by a length and a half. Twelve started. And the following day the great Lancashire Handicap by the same owner's Watercress, 4 yrs., 9 st. 2 lb. (J. Watts). Eight started.

11. Mr. Ingram Bywater, Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College and Reader in Greek, appointed Regius Professor of Greek in succession to Mr. Jowett.

— Lord Roberts (C.) elected Lord Rector of Edinburgh University by 1,145 votes against 728 recorded for Lord Reay (G.L.).

— An iron sailing ship came into violent collision with the newly erected promenade pier at Dover, carrying away the lighthouse and making a wide breach in the stonework.

— The London County Council visited and declared open twenty-one thoroughfares from which the gates and bars had been removed.

13. In view of the serious troubles to industry arising out of the continuance of the coal strike, Mr. Gladstone addressed a letter to representatives of the owners and miners proposing another joint conference under the chairmanship of Lord Rosebery.

— At the Colston banquets at Bristol Mr. Arnold Morley, Postmaster-General, was the chief speaker at the Anchor Society, and Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Mr. Plunket at the Dolphin Society.

— At the Royal Geographical Society Mr. Clement R. Markham delivered his inaugural address as president on the present standpoint of geography.

— Prince Albert von Windischgrätz succeeded in constituting a Cisleithan Ministry on the basis of a coalition between the various sections of the Moderates.

— The Servian Minister in Paris, M. Georgevitch, seriously wounded whilst seated at dinner in a restaurant. An Anarchist named Leauthier, who had previously dined at a Boulevard restaurant, and left without paying, entered the room where M. Georgevitch was seated, and, without a word, struck him with a knife in the side.

14. Mr. Edward Caird, sometime Fellow of Merton College, and Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, elected Master of Balliol in succession to Professor Jowett.

14. At a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, the Earl of Rosebery presiding, the Earl of Onslow read a paper on State Socialism in New Zealand, describing the experiments recently made in that colony.

— At the re-opening of the French Chamber M. Casimir-Périer was re-elected President by 295 votes against 195 recorded for M. Brisson, a more advanced Radical.

— After a stay of nearly six weeks at Cabul, during which time they were treated with the highest consideration by the Ameer and his people, Sir Mortimer Durand and staff left the Afghan capital, having placed the relations between the two powers on the most friendly footing.

15. The Lord Chancellor received a deputation of Radical members of the House of Commons with reference to the appointments to the county magistracy. In the course of a vigorous speech he declined to submit to dictation in his selection, and mentioned that amongst the names submitted to him by members and rejected by him were many who would have been a disgrace to the bench.

— The election of a Lord Rector of Glasgow University resulted in the return of Sir John Gorst (Conservative) by 916 votes against 695 recorded for the Home Secretary, Mr. H. Asquith, Q.C.

— A serious fire broke out in the Old Bailey and at one time threatened to spread to Newgate Prison. Three large warehouses were completely destroyed, and much damage was done to premises belonging to Messrs. Cassell, Messrs. A. & C. Black, and other publishers. The fire originated in the buildings of the London Perfumery Company.

— At Derby the Derby Cup won by the most complete outsider, Mr. W. Johnstone's Best Man, 8 yrs., 8 st. 4 lb. (Allsopp), defeating the favourites, Baron Rothschild's Harfleur II., 8 yrs., 7 st. 6 lb. (T. Loates), and the Duke of Portland's Raeburn, 8 yrs., 9 st. (J. Watts). Twenty-four started.

16. At Berlin the Reichstag opened by the German Emperor, who, in his speech enunciating the financial and other measures to be brought forward, expressed his confidence in the maintenance of peace.

— A bomb exploded at the barracks of the 15th Army Corps at Marseilles, by which a part of the general's quarters and guard house was blown to pieces and some adjoining houses shattered, but no one injured.

— In the House of Commons' inquiry into the Local Government Bill Mr. W. M'Laren carried, by 147 to 126 votes against the Government, an instruction empowering all women, whether married or single, to vote in elections for parish councils; if entitled to be on the Local Government Register of electors, or on the Parliamentary Register if they were men.

17. The joint conference of the Miners and Coalowners' Federation held at the Foreign Office, under the presidency of Lord Rosebery, resulted in a settlement of the dispute which had lasted four months. A board of conciliation was to be constituted, with a chairman from the outside, elected by the delegates or nominated by the Speaker of the House of Commons. All pits were to be re-opened and wages to be paid at the old rate until 31st January, 1894.



17. Admiral de Mello, the leader of the Brazilian insurgents, proclaimed the son of the Conde d'Eu, Emperor of Brazil.

— A very heavy gale experienced along the eastern, northern and western coasts, occasioning numerous shipwrecks, some of which were attended by serious loss of life. After a lull of about four-and-twenty hours it burst again with renewed violence over the whole of the United Kingdom. From St. Ives Bay to the Banffshire coast wrecks, accompanied by serious loss of life, were reported. Inland factory chimneys and roofed houses were blown down, and the telegraph system seriously impeded. The gale blew almost universally from the north-east, and was accompanied by a heavy fall of snow, over the greater part of England and Scotland, in which trains were imbedded for several hours. The mail service between England and France, Belgium and Ireland was interrupted, and a large portion of Calais pier swept away. On the east coast 298 vessels were wrecked and 293 lives lost.

18. The Marquess of Huntly (L.U.) elected, by 347 to 253 votes, Lord Rector of Aberdeen University against Mr. W. A. Hunter, M.P. (G.).

— Lord Roberts received from the Corporation the freedom of the City of Edinburgh, and at the same time the degree of LL.D. from the University.

— At the annual meeting of the University Extension Society, held at the Goldsmiths' Hall, and presided over by Right Hon. G. J. Goschen, it was stated that during the previous ten years the centres had increased from 25 to 59, and the students from 3,662 to 13,370.

20. At the Imperial Institute, the Prince of Wales presiding, Mr. Lee delivered an inaugural address on the relations between the United Kingdom and her dependencies.

— A plot to blow up with dynamite the Nelson monument in Montreal, having come to the knowledge of the Canadian authorities, precautions were taken, and three young men, one carrying a dynamite cartridge, were arrested on the spot, one of them being the son of the ex-Premier of Quebec, the Hon. Honoré Mercier.

— The Prince of Wales laid the memorial stone of the St. Bride Foundation Institute, a polytechnic in course of erection in Bride Lane, Fleet Street, under the City of London Parochial Charities Act.

— The Porte intimated its willingness to allow the free exercise of the medical profession by women duly qualified and prepared to pass an examination at the Imperial School of Medicine.

21. A severe epidemic of influenza declared itself at Blackburn, where it was estimated that upwards of 10,000 persons were suffering from a slight attack.

— Shocks of earthquake felt at Meshher, Kashan and other parts of Persia, the latter town being completely wrecked with great loss of life and property.

— Mr. Alexander Peckover of Wisbech appointed Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Cambridge, the first instance of a Nonconformist being nominated to that office.

22. An Anarchist club discovered by the police at Barcelona. Apparatus for the manufacture of bombs, and papers showing that the club was the head-quarters of a revolutionary movement, were found on the premises.

— The Marquess of Bute installed as Lord Rector of the St. Andrews University, and delivered an address on the archæology and ecclesiology of early Scotland.

— Mr. Thomas M'Greevy, ex-member of Quebec, and Mr. N. K. Conolly, resident of the Richelieu Ontario Steamboat Company, sentenced to one year's imprisonment for conspiring to defraud the Dominion Government of large sums of money.

23. The Secretary for War received a deputation of the Labour Reform Union on the subject of working shorter hours, with the object of making work more regular throughout the year.

— A correspondence published between Mr. Gladstone and the representatives of the Radical Party who had previously interviewed the Lord Chancellor on the subject of the addition of more Liberals to the county magistrature.

— At Sydney, N.S.W., the Legislative Assembly had an all-night sitting in committee on the Government Banknote Bill, which was opposed by the Labour Party. Eventually by the aid of the closure the bill was passed through the committee.

— A further Anarchist outrage took place in Spain at Cajar, near Granada, when the home of the secretary of the Agricultural Committee was blown to pieces by a bomb.

— At Detroit a dry goods store took fire and was burnt to the ground in a few hours, seven persons losing their lives, and property valued at 10,000*l.* being destroyed.

24. Lord Salisbury received a deputation representing 84,000 skilled workmen to hear their objections to Clause 4 of the Employers' Liability Bill—the Earl of Kimberley on behalf of the Government having previously declined to receive them.

— Signor Giolitti, at the opening of the sitting of the Assembly, announced the resignation of the Italian Ministry, in consequence of the blame thrown upon the Premier's relations with the Banca Romana.

— Sir West Ridgeway, titular Under-Secretary for Ireland, who had been despatched to Morocco shortly after the change of Ministry, appointed Governor of the Isle of Man.

— The Garter—vacant by the death of the Earl of Derby—conferred on the Marquess of Breadalbane.

25. Infernal machines, despatched from Orleans in France, received by the German Emperor and the Chancellor Count von Caprivi—a letter accompanying the latter stated the box to contain seeds for planting.



25. In the French Chamber of Deputies, whilst the debate on the Ministerial programme was under discussion, the resignation of three Radical members of the Cabinet became known. The leader of the Opposition thereupon declined to continue the debate, and the House having adjourned, the whole Cabinet resigned.

— A royal ordinance issued at Buda-Pesth setting aside Austrian Court functionaries when in attendance on the emperor-king in Hungary, and restoring their duties to the Hungarian "Gentlemen of the Banner."

— In the Greek Chamber M. Tricoupis announced that Greece was no longer able to fulfil her foreign engagements, and was anxious to come to an amicable compromise with her creditors.

26. Sermons preached in various churches and chapels in advocacy of the views of the Sunday Society, and during the afternoon several public and private picture galleries opened to the members of that body.

27. A tin box, with an extinguished fuse found to contain dynamite, thrown overnight into a yard adjoining Aldborough Barracks, Dublin. Two men were arrested on suspicion, but one was at once discharged. In the evening he was found shot dead in a lane near the quay.

— The Scotch coalmasters having refused to concede an advance of one shilling per ton, 30,000 out of 40,000 workmen declined to return to work.

— A severe shock of earthquake, causing considerable damage to property, occurred at Montreal, and was felt to a wide extent in the surrounding district.

— The German Imperial Budget, submitted to the Reichstag by the Secretary of the Treasury, showed an exact balance between revenue and expenditure, the amount being 65,281,611*l*.

— Lobengula sent proposals to Colonel Goold-Adams, commanding the imperial troops, for the pursuing force to be withdrawn, in order that he might come in and talk.

28. The annual conference of the National Union of Conservative Associations met at Cardiff under the presidency of Sir H. Stafford Northcote. At a mass meeting held subsequently, Lord Salisbury spoke at length on the political situation.

— The Prince of Wales was present at Lincoln's Inn at the consecration of a Chancery Bar Freemasons' Lodge.

— A memorial window placed in the vestibule of the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey to the memory of James Russell Lowell unveiled by Mr. Leslie Stephen in the absence of Mr. A. J. Balfour. The American Ambassador and many distinguished English and American men of letters were present.

— A serious railway accident occurred near Milan, a goods train and an express train running in opposite directions coming into collision owing to a fog. Thirteen persons were killed and twenty-two injured.

29. Marshal Martinez Campos, having been appointed to the chief command of the Spanish troops, arrived at Melilla and gave orders for opening an active campaign against the Kabyles.

— A number of the Fellowship Porters, who some weeks previously had been ejected from the offices of the society in Great Tower Street, effected a forcible re-entry of the premises and held a meeting, during which the speakers denounced the action of the governors of the fellowship and of the city corporation.

— The mail and passenger tender *America*, stationed at Queenstown, caught fire, from some unexplained cause, whilst lying at her moorings, and was completely gutted.

— In the Japanese Parliament, which had been opened on the previous day, a want of confidence motion in the President, Hoshi Toru, was after a heated discussion carried by a majority of 47 votes.

30. In the House of Lords the Employers' Liability Bill read a second time, without a division, after a short debate.

— At the anniversary of the Royal Society the gold medals of the year were thus distributed: The Copley Medal to Sir George Gabriel Stokes, F.R.S., for his researches in physical science; royal medals to Professor A. Reicher for spectroscopic inquiries, &c., and to Professor H. Marshall Ward for history of fungi, &c.; and the Davy Medal to Professor J. Van't Hoff and Dr. J. A. Lepel for the theory of asymmetric carbon, &c.

— The Credito Mobiliare Italiano, an important financial institution at Rome, temporarily suspended payment owing to a persistent withdrawal of deposits.

## DECEMBER.

1. M. Casimir-Périer, President of the Chamber of Deputies, finally undertook, and succeeded in, the formation of a Ministry, having previously declined the duty.

— In the Reichstag a bill for the re-admission of the Jesuits into Germany brought in by Count von Homperch agreed to by 176 to 136 votes, the Government taking no part in the debate or division.

— A man arrested in a railway train near Sofia, having been recognised as an outlaw, subsequently confessed that he was on his way to the capital to murder Prince Ferdinand and the Prime Minister, M. Stambouloff.

2. A fire broke out at Dowgate wharf on the Thames in a large building occupied as paper warehouses and completely destroyed the block of buildings.

— A measure introduced into the Hungarian Parliament providing for compulsory civil marriage.

— The Princess Christian opened a free public library in Lower Marsh, Lambeth, the sixth free library opened in Lambeth since the passing of the Act.



3. A number of so-called "Anarchists," notwithstanding the Home Secretary's prohibition, attempted to assemble in Trafalgar Square, but were dispersed by the police before they could make any speeches.

4. A deputation of unemployed workmen waited on Mr. J. Chamberlain M.P., to protest against the continuance of foreign pauper immigration, by which the English labour market was seriously affected.

— The regular session of Congress opened at Washington, when the President's message was delivered, in which he expressed his confidence in the ultimate benefits of the Silver Purchase Law Bill and advocated strenuously an immediate tariff reform.

— Signor Zanardelli, with the promise of support from Signor Crispi, failed after repeated efforts to form a Cabinet in which Radical opinion prevailed, having been unable to find a Finance Minister who would face the situation.

— Captain Wilson and a detachment of thirty-five men after following Lobengula's forces for upwards of a week came up with them beyond the Shangani River, and after a brief fight forced them to retreat in disorder, but ultimately Captain Wilson and a portion of his men, separated from the main body by the swollen river, fell victims to the Matabele.

5. In the French Chamber of Deputies M. Dupuy, who had been Prime Minister at the opening of the session, elected President in succession to M. Casimir-Périer, who had become Prime Minister.

— The old-established banking firm of Dufresne Brothers in Florence suspended payment, and the manager, Signor Emetaz, committed suicide.

— At a congregation held at Oxford a resolution was passed by 110 votes to 70 in favour of the establishment of a Final Honour School of English language and literature.

6. The dissatisfaction of the officers and men of the Metropolitan Fire Brigade found expression at the meeting of the London Council, where it was admitted that for an entire year the men had been kept without great-coats, that the supply of necessary hose to the fire engines was altogether inadequate, and that members of the County Council had repeatedly interfered with the working of the brigade.

— It was reported that the Russian Government had put forward the declaration that it was indispensably necessary to make navigable the Kilia mouth of the Danube, the result of which would be to render the other mouths useless, and to place the whole trade under Russian supervision.

— A fresh outbreak of the influenza epidemic, of a very infectious but not virulent type, extended over the greater part of Western Europe. In the larger cities the cases were counted by thousands.

7. Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt received a deputation from the temperance convention, which had been held in Covent Garden Theatre on the previous day, to urge the pressing forward of the Local Veto Bill. The Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that the Government were resolved at the earliest possible moment to promote this measure.

7. The committee, presided over by Lord Bowen, appointed to inquire into the Featherstone riots, clearly and unequivocally vindicated the action of the troops employed.

— Dr. T. Russell Reynolds, M.D., elected President of the Royal College of Physicians in succession to Sir Andrew Clark.

8. In the House of Lords an amendment by the Earl of Dudley to the "contracting-out" clause of the Employers' Liability Bill carried against the Government by 148 to 28 votes.

— In the New South Wales Legislative Assembly, the Ministry having been defeated, the Attorney-General and Minister of Justice tendered their resignation, but the other members of the Cabinet decided to retain office until the general election.

— A lady named Kate Dungey, who was living alone in Lambridge Farm, near Henley-on-Thames, brutally murdered in the adjoining wood after a long struggle in the house.

9. During the sitting of the French Chamber of Deputies an explosive bomb was thrown from the upper gallery—but, striking against the balustrade, it exploded in the air instead of on the floor of the House. About eighty persons were hurt, including thirty deputies, but none were fatally injured. The President, by his admirable self-possession, preserved order, and the exits from the Chamber having been secured, the thrower of the bomb, named Vaillant, a well-known Anarchist, was arrested amongst those wounded, and subsequently confessed his guilt.

— The Scotch miners at Glasgow, after a long conference, decided to resume work on the employers' terms.

— A great fire broke out in the Hanseatic Warehouses at Antwerp, when property valued at 6,000,000 francs was destroyed.

10. The London Anarchists, notwithstanding the refusal of permission by the Home Office, again attempted to meet in Trafalgar Square, but were promptly dispersed by the police, and pursued by the crowd.

11. In the House of Commons, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, seconded by Mr. A. J. Balfour, the Speaker was directed to send a message of sympathy to the President of the French Chamber of Deputies.

— At a special meeting of the Common Council it was agreed by a small majority to tender evidence on behalf of the City of London to the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the unification of London.

— In the French Chamber special legislature against the Anarchists and an increase of expenditure on the municipal police of Paris voted by large majorities.

12. A severe southerly gale broke upon the English Channel, extending some distance inland. At Portsmouth the roof of the Harbour Railway Platform collapsed owing to the force of the wind, and numerous shipping casualties were reported along the coast.



12. A demonstration of the unemployed, numbering over 2,000, assembled at Tower Hill and was addressed by Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., who subsequently headed a procession and marched to Hyde Park and passed a resolution condemning the indifference of the Government.

— A great meeting of merchants and others, convened by the London Chamber of Commerce, held at the Canon Street Hotel, to consider the state of our naval defences. In the absence of the Lord Mayor, through illness, Sir Albert Rollit, M.P., presided, and was supported by men of all parties.

13. The Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Duke of York, formally opened the "Hugh Myddelton" School erected by the London School Board on the site of the House of Detention, Clerkenwell.

— The representatives of the coal owners and miners held their first conference at Westminster Palace Hotel to form a board of conciliation, and having failed to agree in the election of a chairman, the matter was referred, in accordance with Lord Rosebery's decision, to the Speaker of the House of Commons.

— By an explosion at the Waltham Abbey Government Gunpowder Works six men were killed and five others seriously injured.

— A charge of libel against Mr. Labouchere, M.P., made by Mr. and Mrs. Zierenberg, whom Mr. Labouchere had accused of keeping a "slave laundry," and living upon its proceeds, whilst pretending to be philanthropists. After a trial which lasted over twenty days the jury returned a verdict for the defendant.

14. At a meeting of the prelates of the Church of Ireland in Dublin Rt. Rev. R. S. Gregg, D.D., Bishop of Cork, was elected Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland.

— The Legislative Council of South Australia passed a bill sent up from the Lower House doubling the income tax to meet the deficit in the revenues.

15. After a prolonged delay, Signor Crispi succeeded in forming a Cabinet, of which the list was accepted by the king.

— The large span of a nearly-completed bridge in course of construction over the Ohio River connecting the towns of Jeffersonville and Louisville (Ind.) suddenly collapsed, causing the death of forty workmen.

— The Chinese Government agreed to pay an indemnity of 40,000*l.* to the families of the Swedish missionaries murdered at Sungpu.

— The Greek Prime Minister, M. Tricoupis, introduced bills into the Hellenic Parliament annulling the funds' loan contracted during his previous tenure of office, and reducing the interest on the foreign debt by one half.

16. The trial of the French officers who had been arrested at Kiel harbour as spies concluded at Leipsic, when they were condemned respectively to six and four years' imprisonment in a fortress.

— The Duke and Duchess of York received a deputation from the Principality of Wales, and were presented with a massive centrepiece weighing over 3,000 ounces, composed of gold and silver from Welsh mines.

trial trip of the Manchester Canal made by the directors and others, formed the entire journey of thirty-five and a half miles in five hours.

President Cleveland sent a message to Congress charging the late King of Hawaii with joining in the annexation intrigue and bringing about the queen's overthrow.

The Spanish police succeeded in connecting an Anarchist named with both the recent outrages in that country. He had provided the bomb by Pallas when Marshal Martinez Campos was wounded, and had thrown the one which exploded in the Barcelona Theatre.

Never one of the towers of the ancient church of the Minimes, adapted as a picture gallery, suddenly collapsed without warning.

The House of Commons a resolution, moved by Lord George in favour of considerable additions to the royal navy defeated by 100 votes.

Mr. Wodehouse Currie, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, appointed British Ambassador at Constantinople.

*S. Resolution*, which had left Plymouth for Gibraltar on the previous day, caught in a terrible gale in the Bay of Biscay, and, after running great risk, had to put back to Queenstown, which she reached four days later.

The House of Commons the Lords' amendment of the Employers' Bill permitting "contracting-out," disagreed with by 213 to 151. Mr. W. M'Laren, on whose similar amendment that of the Lords was based, voted in the majority.

The Secretary of the United States Treasury reported that the current financial year would reach about 5,600,000*l*.

A severe gale, accompanied by heavy rainfall, broke upon the north-west and southern counties, causing considerable damage to property.

A fight took place at Fort Agoudat, in Abyssinia, between a force of British and Indian troops estimated at 10,000, and 1,500 Italians. The dervishes were completely into disorder, and their chief leader killed.

Mr. J. Leese (G.L.), who had vacated his seat on the Council of the Recorder of Manchester, re-elected by 5,822 votes against Mr. Herman Hodge (C.).

In the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone announced that the Duke of Edinburgh had relinquished 15,000*l*. per annum of the annuity of 25,000*l*. which had been granted him as Duke of Edinburgh, on his coming of age.

A fire which broke out in a large drapery establishment, and destroyed property to the value of nearly a quarter of a million sterling.



22. Deputations from the Lancashire and Cheshire Miners' Federation and from the Trades Unions and Friendly Societies waited on Lord Salisbury to protest against the views expressed by a minority of their body in favour of the contracting-out.

— Muley-el-Araaf, brother of the Sultan of Morocco, after much negotiation undertook to deliver up to the Spaniards the Kabyles who began the attack on Melilla, to pay an indemnity, and to form a neutral zone between Spanish and Moorish territory.

— After a trial extending over ten days at Edinburgh Mr. Alfred John Monson, army tutor, charged with murdering his pupil, Cecil Hamborough, at Ardlamont, was acquitted on the verdict of "Not Proven."

23. A French expeditionary force acting on the confines of Sierra Leone mistaking an English force for Arabs attacked them, killing three officers and several men of the 1st West India Regiment, and Captain Lendy, inspector of the frontier police, and several of his men. The French commandant was killed, but before his death acknowledged his blunder. The French force was beaten off.

— A serious fire raged for several hours in a block of buildings adjoining Borough Market, and close to a block which had been the scene of an equally destructive fire in the month of July.

— A young man named Rudolph Mrva, a police spy, who, under the name Rigoletto di Toscana, had acted as chief instigator of the Omladina party, found stabbed in Prague under circumstances which left little doubt that he had been murdered by his confederates whom he had betrayed to the police. Mrva had been denounced that day in the Lower House of the Austrian Reichsrath by Dr. Herold, the leader of the young Czech party.

— An extraordinary discovery of bombs and explosives made in a cavern at the bottom of a ravine at some distance from Barcelona.

24. The Mikado summoned his Ministers to communicate to them his displeasure with the majority of the Lower House, especially in regard to their hostility to foreigners. In consequence of the continued opposition to the Government's bills and policy, he dissolved the Diet.

25. The famous African brigand, Areski-el-Bachir, who had long been a terror to the inhabitants of Kabylia, captured, and twenty-one of his band either killed or captured. A month had been spent by the authorities in tracking the bandits to their remote haunts.

— Mr. Cecil Rhodes telegraphed that the Matabele were entirely subdued, that Lobengula had fled without any power or intention of returning, and that the company's troops were being disbanded.

26. Serious riots took place at Leocara and other places in Sicily owing to the arrest of certain popular agitators. The police were attacked with great savagery, and many public and private buildings sacked or set on fire before the military could intervene.

— A serious riot took place at the mines at Witwatersrandt, where 2,000 natives, engaged as miners, fought amongst themselves, doing great damage to the buildings. Nearly 100 men were wounded.

27. The House of Commons reassembled after three days' recess to continue the debate on the Parish Councils Bill.

— The Indian National Congress, attended by about 1,000 delegates, assembled at Lahore and welcomed by Sirdar Dyal Singh, a Sikh nobleman. Mr. Dadabhai Naravoji, M.P., was elected president amid great enthusiasm.

— Two of the leaders of the insurgent Riffs handed over to Marshal Martinez Campos at Melilla by Muley-el-Araaf, the Sultan's brother; the marshal being forthwith appointed special ambassador to Morocco, to treat with the Sultan direct as to terms of peace.

— An examination of the Chicago city treasury revealed a deficit of 500,000*l*.

28. Mr. Gladstone, with the Presidents of the Board of Trade and Local Government Board, received a deputation from the Metropolitan Vestries and District Boards of Central and East London, on the subject of the unemployed.

— Mr. Andrew Carnegie placed at the disposal of the Charity Commissioners of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, a sum of 1,000*l*. per day for the ensuing two months for distribution among the poor, and decided that his mills should be kept running full time for the same period.

29. Mr. Gladstone, on the completion of his eighty-fourth year, received numerous congratulatory telegrams from all quarters, and in the House of Commons he was received by all the Liberals and Irish Nationalists rising on his entrance, Mr. Balfour subsequently, in the name of the Opposition, tendering his congratulations.

— A great outbreak of lawlessness took place in Sicily, where, at Castelvetro, near Trapani, a body of navvies suddenly left their employment and attacked and destroyed several public buildings, breaking open the gaol and releasing the prisoners.

30. According to an estimate issued by the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the Washington House of Representatives, the loss on the customs revenue under the new tariff bill had been upwards of \$75,000,000 as compared with 1892.

— The colony of Victoria, in concert with the other Australasian colonies, despatched a cordial invitation to the Duke and Duchess of York to visit that portion of the empire in the course of the following year.

— A commercial *modus vivendi* between France and Spain issued in Paris, and regarded as evidence of a political *rapprochement* between the two countries.



# RETROSPECT

OF

## LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN 1893.

### LITERATURE.

THE important historical works of the year deal with England as a colonising Power, with her relationship to foreign countries, with the development of her colonies. In **The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, 1793-1812** (Sampson Low), the second part of Captain A. T. Mahan's important work upon "The Influence of Sea Power upon History," the author has displayed a profound grasp of the true meaning of naval power as a determining factor in human affairs. The point of the volumes is contained in the following passage: "Amid all the pomp and circumstance of the war, which for ten years to come desolated the continent, . . . there went on unceasingly that noiseless pressure upon the vitals of France, that compulsion whose silence, when once noted, becomes to the observer the striking and awful mark of the working of sea power." The chapter on the policy of Great Britain in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars is a revelation of this "noiseless pressure," and is treated in a comprehensive and synthetic manner. Captain Mahan shows how England waxed and France waned; what Nassau was to the trade of the Confederate States of America during the civil wars, what St. Eustatia had been to the West Indian trade at an earlier period. For the first time, the story of the "noiseless pressure," which the development of naval strength permitted England to apply for its defence and aggrandisement, has been told with a grasp that entitles the author to justly be ranked as the most eminent living expositor of the philosophy of naval warfare. Sir Alfred Lyall, in his **The Rise of British Dominion in India**, forming one of the series of **University Extension Manuals** (Murray), attributes the final supremacy of the English over the Dutch and French in India mainly to their naval supremacy at the end of the eighteenth century, and shows how the decline of the Mogul Empire during the reign of Aurangzib was also favourable thereto. The author points out how little, thus far, we have succeeded in imposing European civilisation on the Indians, but that, nevertheless, whatsoever may be the outcome of our rule, we shall have conferred upon them great and lasting benefits. The whole book is an original and valuable study upon the rise of English power in India, written by a political thinker, who knows his subject thoroughly.

The life of the celebrated Oriental ruler, **Aurangzib**, by Stanley Lane Poole, forms one of the recent volumes of the **Rulers of India**

**Series** (Clarendon Press). An introductory account is given of the predecessors of the great Moslem Emperor of India, whose fanaticism caused him to live a fakir's life for a time, and induced him to perpetrate cruelties on his brother and others. Although no new material is presented to the reader, this sketch of the greatest of the Mogul emperors is one of great interest. Several other excellent volumes have appeared this year in the same series. Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I., an expert in military matters, gives a vivid picture of **Lord Clive's** brilliant career from the time when he was a "writer" in Madras, until his tragic death. Captain L. G. Trotter describes the rule of **The Earl of Auckland** during the first Afghan War; that of **The Marquis of Wellesley**, told by the Rev. W. H. Hutton, commenced at a critical moment in the history of the East India Company. Wellesley found India the battle ground of the various rulers and races; he realised that the choice lay between practical extinction or definite supremacy, and, abandoning the policy of quietism, he adopted one more high-handed in its stead. **The Marquis of Hastings** was appointed Governor of India in 1815. Major Ross Bladenburg, C.B., who has had access to private papers furnished by Lord Donington, gives a graphic account of this hero's Pindari and Maratha campaigns, of his successful Gurkha War, of his putting the Rajput princes under British power, and of his share in the founding of Singapore. "His administration forms an era in the history of our advance in the East . . . when Great Britain finally assumed undivided responsibility for, and supreme control over, the Empire of Continental India." **The History of India**, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day, has been ably written for the use of students and colleges by A. G. Keene (Allen). The volume evinces great pains and research, and in it the author has been successful in dovetailing the different epochs of Indian history into a coherent and interesting whole.

A considerable amount of detailed information concerning the early days of the East India Company is given in two important publications. **The Register of Letters, &c., of the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies, 1600-1619**, is edited by Sir George Redwood, K.C.I.E., assisted by William Forster (Quaritch). This "first letter book" of the company incorporated by Queen Elizabeth gives, in addition to its primary intent, a life-like picture of the manners, customs, thoughts and ambitions of England in the days of Elizabeth and James I. The introduction deals with the history and vicissitudes of trade between Europe and the East from the earliest days to the present time. The book also contains entries and accounts of the various voyages taken during the nineteen years by Lancaster, Drake, Keeling, and others. The fortunes of the company are further related from 1630-1634 in **The Calendar of State Papers, Colonial** (Eyre & Spottiswoode), published by direction of the Master of the Rolls, and edited by Noel Sainsbury, an expert in all matters connected with the history of American colonies. During the period under consideration the East Indian trade suffered many reverses, partly owing to rivalry with the Dutch and Portuguese settlements, the bright spot being the development of the trade with Persia. The volume is furnished with an admirable index. **The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1648-1649**, edited by W. D. Hamilton, is of importance because, by means of new material, the blank is



filled up that has so long existed in the calendar between the early and later periods of the Stuart kings. This volume brings the whole valuable work to a close. **A Short History of China: being an Account for the General Reader of an Ancient Empire and People**, by D. C. Boulger (Allen), is not an abridgment of the author's larger work, but is intended to have a wider appeal. Supplementary matter, moreover, brings the record down to the latest times. In it is given a vivid idea of the attitude of the Court at Peking towards Europeans; the history of the relations of China with England is shown to be a tale of duplicity and hostility on the one hand, and of patient endurance on the other.

Our African colonies and their prospects have been severally treated. **The Partition of Africa**, by J. Scott Keltie (Stanford), is the statement of the main facts connected with the partition among rival European Powers of the territories of Continental Africa, and also of the relation of that continent to the outer world from early historical times to the present day. The author hopes the volume may enable those interested in Africa to form a "fairly clear conception of a story unprecedented in the case of any other continent." Captain T. D. Lugard describes in two volumes **The Rise of our East African Empire and Early Efforts in Nyassaland and Uganda** (Blackwood). The first volume deals partly with the question of slavery, and the author points out that in adopting the policy of protectorates, the British are practically countenancing domestic slavery. **The History of South Africa**, from the foundation of the European settlement to our own time, 1834-54 (Sonnenschein), is from the pen of George M'Call Theal. The last volume of this important work, dealing with the history of the Boers, was, on its completion, destroyed by fire, with almost the whole of the necessary memoranda. The remaining notes have enabled the author to bring his record of the Cape Colony to 1848, and into it he has incorporated the main matter of his "History of the Boers," now out of print. The points of chief interest are the sixth and seventh Kaffir Wars, terminated under the governorship of Sir Harry Smith in 1848.

Three important contributions to the history of America have recently appeared. Mr. Edward John Payne has published the first volume of his **History of the New World called America** (Clarendon Press). The author proceeds on a new method, his aim being to show the interdependence of the two worlds, their reciprocal action on each other, the connection between the supply of food in the new world, and the progress of its civilisation. He clears the mystery concerning the voyage of Verrazzano. In the latter part of the volume he traces "the changes that have followed the substitution of an artificial for a natural basis of subsistence." **The Discovery of North America**, by Henry Harrisse (Stevens), is, in the words of the sub-title, "a critical, documentary and historical investigation," with a valuable essay on the early cartography of the New World. The work is a monument of research and industry, as the footnotes alone prove. The conclusion contains a chronology of the voyages before and after the discovery down to 1504, to which are added biographies of pilots and cartographers from 1429-1504. **The United States: an Outline of Political History, 1492-1871**, by Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. (Macmillan), is a brilliant and masterly sketch, obviously written for English readers. In it is given a concise and

clear account of the rise and growth of the American Republic, its various phases of dependence on the mother country, the revolt of the growing colonies, and the formation of the Federation of the United States. Mr. Goldwin Smith is an advocate of the complete union of the American races and deplores the continued adherence of Canada to England after the War of Independence. He points out that England was virtually defeated in America by France, who espoused the cause of the colonies out of hatred to England. A forcible sketch is given of the formation of the Federal constitution, and graphic descriptions of the great leaders of the Senate during the present century. The last chapter deals with the history of the slavery question, and its outcome—the civil war. Questions of the future are speculated upon in C. H. Pearson's **National Life and Character, a Forecast** (Macmillan). The author is a pessimist, and has no belief in the continuous development of the white races and their influence. He studied the question deeply in England and in Australia, and he argues from an Australian standpoint. He considers that the white races are limited in their powers of adaptability, therefore of colonisation. He foresees a great pressing forward of the black and yellow races. China will become a dominant nation by conquest and trading capacities. In Africa and Central America the white races will be overborne and assimilated. Europe will in consequence lose its precedence. The development of domestic institutions will probably result in State Socialism, such as is the case in Australia. Mr. Pearson has no dreams of universal peace. As nations increase—when China overflows and the black races dominate—armies will be a still greater necessity than now, even if statesmen be pacific. Nor is the author's forecast concerning intellectual pursuits more cheering. He believes that science has not many more valuable discoveries to make, that the day of the poet is past, that for criticism and history there is yet a future, and that in the grey twilight of the white races journalism will absorb all the best intellectual activities.

The historical works relating directly to England are this year few in number. Mr. T. F. Tout has written a critical study of **Edward I.**, for the **Twelve English Statesmen Series** (Macmillan). Mr. Tout is an authority upon thirteenth century history; in the present work Edward I. is considered as statesman, and his theory of power is discussed in an interesting manner. The especially valuable portions of the book are those touching Edward's dealings with Wales, and his policy towards the great earldoms. Professor Burrows, in his preface to his **Commentaries on the History of England from the Earliest Times to 1865** (Blackwood), explains that his endeavour has been to interpret the history of England in accordance with the latest researches; that the book is a digest and a commentary rather than an abstract or an epitome. Mr. Joseph Jacobs has contributed to the **English History by Contemporary Writers Series** an original and important account of **The Jews of Angevin in England** (Nutt). The materials have been collected and translated, for the first time, from Latin and Hebrew sources, and include "every scrap of evidence relating to Jews in England to the year 1206; and supplemented by extracts from contemporary Rabbinical writings that could throw light on the habit and customs, and the condition of the Jewish community in England." A new volume (iv.) has been published in the new series of **Reports of State Trials**, edited by



John E. P. Wallis, under the direction of the State Trials Committee (Eyre & Spottiswoode). It contains nineteen trials in detail, among others that of Feargus O'Connor, in 1840; of John Frost, for high treason; of Moxon, for publishing Shelley's "Queen Mab," &c. **Scotland before 1700, from Contemporary Documents**, edited by P. Hume Brown (Douglas), is intended as a sequel to his previous volume on "Early Travellers." It is composed of eleven descriptions by native Scots, and fourteen chapters of excerpts from the "Ecclesiæ Scottianæ Statuta," the "Melrose Papers," "The Priory Council Records," &c. An epitome of the chronicles of the Irish race, from the earliest times to 1608, is given in Mr. P. W. Joyce's **Short History of Ireland** (Longmans). Condensed into small shape, it aims at giving, in a popular manner, the most prominent features of Irish national life. It is most useful for whomsoever is desirous of studying the Irish problem. **The Land of Home Rule**, by Spencer Walpole (Longmans), is an essay on the history and constitution of the Isle of Man, wherein Mr. Walpole points out that autonomy has made of the Manx a loyal, orderly, easily governed community. Mention must not be omitted of **The History of the Post Office**, by Herbert Joyce, C.B. (Bentley), which is not merely a chronicle of the English post, but is an addition to the knowledge of social administration prior to the construction of railways; also of **The Army Book for the British Empire**, by W. H. Goodenough, Lieut.-Gen., R.A., and J. C. Dalton, Lieut.-Col., R.A. (Spottiswoode). It is, as the title-page points out, a record of the development and present composition of the land forces, and their duties in peace and war.

A very valuable contribution to the study of classical history has been produced by T. McN. Rushforth (Clarendon Press), entitled **Latin Historical Inscriptions**, illustrating the history of the early empire, dating from 29 B.C. to 79 A.D. These hundred inscriptions have been selected in order to illustrate special points in the history of the Roman empire from the reign of Augustus to that of Vespasian, such as the municipal governments, political institutions, the condition of the standing army, methods of communication, also the influence of Christianity on politics of that day. It is primarily a book for students, whom it introduces direct to the original authorities on a most interesting subject. The question of the growing political influence of Christianity in its early days is treated also by Prof. W. M. Ramsay, in **The Church in the Roman Empire**, before 170 A.D. (Hodder & Stoughton), dating from the reign of Augustus. Prof. Ramsay holds with Neumann that the persecutions were not in accordance with any written law or ideal, but the result of "an unwritten policy" owing to the governors perceiving the growing danger of Christianity to the State, and "that the facts and reasons on which it was founded were stored in the imperial archives." A large portion of the volume is devoted to the discussion of the authorship of the Acts of the Apostles, and to the date of the Epistle of St. Peter.

Col. G. B. Mangleson is an authority on military matters, rather than a historian; and therefore it is that his **Refounding of the German Empire, 1848-71** (Seeley), a chronicle of the events which ended in the ceremony of January 19, 1871, gives no adequate sketch of the importance of the new creation in the politics of Europe, but is an excellent and complete history of the military apparatus and of the military operations of 1870-71. The

author shows little sympathy with the movement towards unification; his sympathies are with Napoleon III. in his defeat, and not with the people who ended their long struggle towards national unity. In the military story of the eventful period ending with the Franco-Prussian War there is a figure that stands out more prominently than that of Count Moltke. In this sense he is a European rather than a German only—than the mere Prussian Junker, which at heart he was. This English version of his **Days, Speeches and Memoirs** (Osgood), therefore, may be looked upon as one of the English books of 1898, for it takes rank as something more than a translation. It is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the man, his methods, influence, and political and military ideals; but the student of history must be on his guard against acceptance of the narrowly prejudiced deductions he will encounter, and still more must beware of actual mis-statements and partial misapprehensions, surprisingly numerous in the writings of so exact, painstaking and conscientious a man as the greatest of modern tacticians and strategists. **Greece under King George** (Bentley), by R. A. H. Bickford-Smith, chronicles the fortunes of another nation whose unification under a monarch dates from the middle of the present century. So much has been written about Greece from the historic, artistic, literary, social and picturesque standpoints that it was a good idea of Mr. Bickford-Smith's to put on record the experiences, his knowledge and shrewd insight of so thoroughly capable and practical an observer as himself. His book is invaluable to all who have need of trustworthy guidance to a knowledge of what Greece is to-day, what her finances, resources and prospects are; what are the national products, industries, drawbacks and aspirations; in a word, it is a *vade mecum* for politicians, investors and statistical students. The facts and figures are well arranged. And any one who wishes to discover the real condition of Greece can do so from Mr. Bickford-Smith's book. There is much else of interest in this useful and suggestive volume, from statistics of the influence of climate on life in Greece to a schedule giving the value, dates and colours of all the Hellenic stamps.

Turning to topography and local history, **St. Andrews**, by Andrew Lang (Longmans), first claims attention. The author states in his preface that the drawings of Mr. Hodge (which now illustrate the volume) suggested the writing of the book. Mr. Lang's endeavour is to present pictures of the half-obliterated past of a university town which has played no mean part in the history of the country. The third and fourth parts of **English Topography** have been published this year in the **Gentleman's Magazine Library**, under the editorship of Mr. G. L. Gomme (Stock). Part iii. deals with Derbyshire, Devonshire, and Dorset. Part iv. is devoted to Durham and Gloucestershire. To the **Historic Towns Series** (Longmans) Canon Raine has contributed a very interesting and able record of **York**, laying stress upon the history of the minster, the outward symbol of the greatness of the city in the days when its inhabitants were estimated at 10,800. The first volume of **A History of Northumberland**, by Edward Baleson (Reid), is issued under the direction of the Northumberland County History Committee, and deals with the history of the Castle of Bamburgh. **London during the Great Rebellion: being a Memoir of Sir Abraham Reynoldson, Lord Mayor of London**, by



Charles M. Clode (Harrison), is a book that gives a very graphic account of the metropolis in the troublous time of the middle of the seventeenth century; of the manners and customs of the citizens; of our financial history in days when there was no funded debt; of the unprotected condition of merchandise in those days; in short, of the conditions which contributed to make the great Civil War a possibility. The portion relating to Sir Abraham Reynoldson is especially of interest, for he presented the singular spectacle of a royalist Lord Mayor on the civic throne during the reign of the Long Parliament. He refused to proclaim to the city the Act abolishing kingship, wherefor he was afterwards fined two thousand pounds and imprisoned in the Tower for two months. No entry of his election exists in the Corporation Records, though the election sermon preached by the prominent preacher, Obadiah Sedgwick, is still extant.

Occasion may here be taken to notify the publication of the papers and transactions of **The International Folk-lore Congress, 1891** (Nutt), edited by Joseph Jacobs and Alfred Nutt. The main question under discussion is the relation of folk-lore to anthropology. Among the papers are Mr. Leland's valuable collected traditions of the Romagna Toscana; Mr. Gomme's "Institutions and Customs in Relation to Village Community," &c., &c.

Biographies, memoirs, and autobiographies are numerous this year, and may easily be classified into groups. The most noteworthy among historical biographies is **Mary Stuart**, by John Skelton, C.B., LL.D. (Boussod Valadon). For many years Mr. Skelton has been known as the paramount champion of that fair Queen of Scots, the romance of whose life has appealed to every generation and about whose name has gathered an immense library of writings. This superb volume is not only his crowning achievement as a Marian historian, "Mary Stuart" is the most notable publication of 1893 in point of the richness and exquisiteness of its illustrations, its print, paper, Japanese paper interleaves, and binding; and as a treasure of the library, contents and setting considered together, it is doubtful if any equal to it has appeared for some years or is likely to appear for many years to come. There is no question but that here one may realise the story of Queen Mary, her life in France and Scotland, and her closing days in England, the lives and influence of those among whom her life was cast, and the social, religious, and general condition of her northern realm, with an ease, thoroughness, and fascinating pleasure which no other work on the subject can permit one to do to anything like the same extent. With this volume may be classed **The Memoirs of James, Marquess of Montrose, 1639-1650** (Longmans), by the Rev. George Wishart, D.D., and translated from the original Latin by the Rev. Alex. D. Murdoch and H. F. Morland Simpson. The fascination that clings about the name of the Great Montrose helps to make this translation of Wishart's famous memoir, in its new and every way winsome setting, a book which the historical student will prize and many less ambitious readers delight in. The memoirs and the translators' supplementary evidence show conclusively the true greatness of the heroic marquess. The life of another eminent Scot—of latter day celebrity—is sympathetically told in **The Prime Ministers of Queen Victoria Series**. Sir Arthur Gordon's study of the career of his father, **The Earl of Aberdeen**, contains documents of solid historical importance. If the earl were not a great party leader his written judgments, in Mr. Gladstone's opinion

possess a penetrating force and comprehensive scope which cause him to rank as a political philosopher of weight. Among other important trusts confided to him he was sent to Vienna in 1813, to secure the co-operation of the imperial court against Napoleon. He also was instrumental in gaining an independent sovereignty for Greece; and in the narrative of the Crimean War the biographer shifts responsibility of the enormous waste of life and treasure from Lord Aberdeen to Lord John Russell. Another interesting glimpse is given of the social and political condition of Europe during the Napoleonic wars in **The Letters of Lady Burghersh, 1813-1814**, edited by her daughter, Lady Rose Weigall (Murray). These letters were written during the campaign, from Germany and from France. Being a niece of the Duke of Wellington she came into close quarters with all the leaders of the allied armies. She describes in lively and vivid terms the state of mind that prevailed among the leaders at headquarters, and depicts the aristocratic society of the day in England, France and Germany. Further light is thrown on the social condition of England at the end of last century and beginning of this, in **The Story of Two Noble Lives**, the memorials of Charlotte, Countess Canning, and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, edited by Augustus Hare (Allen); in **A Sketch of the Life of Georgiana, Lady de Ros**, by her daughter, Mrs. J. R. Swinton (Murray); and in **The Letters and Memoirs of the Twelfth Duke of Somerset**, edited and arranged by F. H. Mallock and Lady Gwendolen Ramsden (Bentley).

By far the most important group of biographies of the year are those that relate to the leaders and workers in the Oxford movement. Foremost among these must rank **The Life of E. B. Pusey, D.D.**, by H. P. Liddon, D.D., and edited by the Rev. J. O. Johnston, M.A., and the Rev. R. J. Wilson, D.D. (Longmans). This extensive work, of which the two first volumes are now published, is in reality the history of the whole Oxford movement considered from its several standpoints, but especially from that of the Anglican Church, whose early developments must be ascribed to Pusey. These two volumes review the great theologian's childhood, and its surrounding influences; his schoolboy life; his theological studies in Germany; his professorship at Oxford, and his marriage; his writing the famous tract on Baptism, and his suspension after his sermon on the Eucharist. Canon Liddon has bestowed great care on this work, and has made scrupulous reference to contemporary documents. The important points are the light thrown on the relative positions of Pusey and Newman as leaders of the movement, their immediate influence on their disciples, the account of the condition of thought in Oxford at the time. The new information is the enumeration of the tractarians in Oxford before the existence of tractarianism. Mr. Walter Lock tells the story of **John Keble** (Methuen), who was one of the pre-tractarians. He was older than the actual leaders in the Oxford movement—Froude, Newman, Pusey, Ward—who all looked up to him, and he was virtually the spiritual father to Froude. In this presentment of Keble in the **English Leaders of Religion Series**, he is depicted mainly as the saint, the reformer, not so much the man in his private relationships. Fuller material than hitherto obtainable is given in the story of the struggle of the Anglo-Catholic party after Newman's secession. Not the least valuable portion of the book is the selection of Keble's letters to private correspondents.



The same interesting subject is treated from the Catholic standpoint in **William Ward and the Catholic Revival**, by Wilfrid Ward (Macmillan) wherein is vividly stretched a strong personality, at once logician, metaphysician and Catholic thinker. The text is a discussion of the fundamental problems of religious philosophy, illustrated by Ward's share in the Catholic revival. W. G. Ward joined the Church of Rome in 1845; from 1851-58 he taught dogmatic theology to candidates for priesthood; for five years he was editor of the *Dublin Review*, defending ultramontane views against liberal Catholicism, and from 1870-82 he elaborated his proofs of theism against the school of philosophy based exclusively on experience. Another convert to Catholicism was **Mr. Sergeant Bellasis**, whose **Memorials** are written by his son, Edward Bellasis (Burns & Oates). Yet another influence during the aftergrowth of the Oxford movement is pointed out in the **Life and Correspondence of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D.** (Murray). This biography was primarily undertaken by Mr. Walrond, then by Dean Bradley, who afterwards deputed it to Mr. Rowland E. Prothero. Stanley gained his Balliol scholarship the year after Keble's famous sermon on "National Apostasy." He was imbued with Dr. Arnold's views. And while impressed by the dignity of the Anglican views, he considered that the Church "should be necessarily latitudinarian, neither high nor low, but broad"; and throughout his life he was a staunch upholder of the Broad Church party. The story of his brilliant and eminently serviceable career is well told. He was appointed successively Canon of Canterbury, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, and finally Dean of Westminster. Mr. Prothero sums up his influence thus: "In his own person he bridged over gulfs which divide nations, classes, and Churches. His simplicity had resisted the dangerous influences of success." The second instalment of the autobiography of Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrews, does not bring **The Annals of My Life** to a conclusion. The bishop found it advisable to treat of his connection with Trinity College, Glenalmond (1847-1856), in a separate volume, which was finished only a few weeks before the author's death. It is edited by Mr. W. Earl Hodgson, and the remaining volume will be prepared by the Bishop of Salisbury, from papers left by his uncle, Dr. Wordsworth.

Turning to another department of biography, we have to welcome several volumes concerned with the story of eminent men of letters. Foremost, in point of date, stands that of **Jonathan Swift: A Biographical and Critical Study**, by John Churton Collins (Chatto & Windus). Though Swift had no Boswell he has had more biographical attention than any writer of his epoch. The most acute and, in the main, most satisfactory study of the great dean which has been written is unquestionably this volume by Mr. Collins, expanded from the two admirably perspicacious articles which he contributed to the *Quarterly Review*. If he has added nothing new of material importance to our knowledge of Swift's character, life, and work, he has greatly simplified the ways to arrive at an adequate apprehension of all essential facts and side-lights. Into the difficult question of the dean's domestic and social relationships Mr. Collins enters with a skill and sympathy controlled by clear-sighted sanity of judgment. The whole story of a strange and wayward life is here set forth in utmost practicable detail; and Swift the ecclesiastic, Swift the politician, Swift the man of letters, Swift "the Timon and the

istophanes" of his age, Swift the terrible, the repellent, and even the disgusting, and Swift the generous and sincere, and even noble, Swift as lover and friend, and Swift as bitter hater and unscrupulous foe; Swift, in a word, man, author, and influence, is portrayed for us more fully and adequately by Mr. Collins than by any of his predecessors who have written directly or indirectly upon the same fascinating subject. Mr. Moriarty has also dealt with the life and works of this interesting theologian and man of letters in *Dean Swift and his Writings* (Seeley). It has been a matter of surprise to the reading public that any fresh material should have been published concerning the "Wizard of the North." Yet the *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott* (Douglas), edited by Mr. Douglas from documents placed at his disposal by the Hon. Mrs. Maxwell Scott, is, in fact, a welcome addition to our knowledge of the private and public character of the genial author. The letters range over a period extending from shortly before his marriage 1797 to 1822, when the tide of his prosperity was about to turn. They, with the "Journal," are important and fascinating supplements to Lockhart's "Life" of Sir Walter, since both works contain material which, for obvious reasons, could not be printed immediately after Sir Walter's death, and which form one of the most interesting and valuable of self-revelations in literature. It is unusual to write a biography in the lifetime of the subject; yet there has appeared this year *The Life and Work of John Ruskin*, written by his one-time secretary W. C. Collingwood (Methuen). Mr. Ruskin has told much about himself in "Præterita"; the gaps in his narrative are now filled in by his present biographer, who has been allowed to draw freely upon material at Brantwood, made use of by him with skill and enthusiasm. The first volume deals with Ruskin's childhood and education, his early writings and the history of modern painters. Volume ii. commences with a sketch of Mr. Ruskin's home at Herne Hill, and his study of early Christian art. Mr. Collingwood divides his hero's career into two parts, that of the writer on art, and that of the writer on ethics. It is to this later period and to an appreciation of Ruskin's comprehensive altruism that the second volume is devoted. Mention may be conveniently made of the publication of *The Poetry of Architecture*, by John Ruskin (Allen), consisting of papers contributed in 1887 to *Louise's Architectural Magazine*, and collected with the explanatory sub-title, "The Architecture of the nations of Europe considered in its association with national scenery and national character." Mr. J. B. Flagg has written the *Life of Washington Allston* (Bentley), the painter of the portrait of Coleridge, now in the National Portrait Gallery, of which Fordsworth said: "It is the only likeness that ever gave me pleasure." A biography of a very different nature is from the pen of Lady Burton, who relates the career of her husband with devoted enthusiasm in *The Life of Captain Sir Richard Burton, K.C.M.G., F.R.G.S.* (Chapman & Hall). Lady Burton intends to bring out a memorial edition of her husband's works, of which two volumes have already appeared. To this edition the "Biography" may be considered the introduction. In it she describes the remarkably varied career of Burton—scholar, linguist, explorer, swordsman, translator, man of letters, politician. The main portion of the first volume is autobiographical, and of chief interest, as it relates to his days of daring adventure in Arabia and his explorations of the Nile, &c. Lady



Burton considers her husband to have been undervalued and neglected by the English Government and, her endeavour is to present to the public an adequate estimate of him as she knew him. If her estimate of him be biassed by an unquestioning enthusiasm, it is therefore none the less interesting. A sympathetic biography has been written by Mr. G. S. Layard in **Life and Letters of Charles Samuel Keene** (Sampson Low), who was for so long associated with *Punch*. Mr. Layard has obtained assistance from several of the artist's friends, and many of his sketches have been carefully reproduced in the volume.

One or two biographies, and memoirs, have appeared this year, dealing with eminent members of Parliament, notably, the **Life and Letters of the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke**, by A. Patchett Martin (Longmans). In addition to the material furnished by the biographer, the volumes contain an autobiographical account, dating from Lowe's arrival in Australia; also interesting sketches by his friends, the late Master of Balliol, Sir John Simon, Mr. Lionel Tollemache, and Mrs. Chaworth-Musters. The autobiography describes the writer's school life, Oxford career, his seven years of private tutorship at Oxford, his call to the bar, and, finally, his voyage to Australia, where he was recommended to work out of doors for the benefit of his defective eyesight, to which defect he attributes most of his misfortunes in life. He made his mark in the Colonial Legislative Council of New South Wales. After his return to England, he held the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer for four years, and, finally, held that of Keeper of the Seals of the Home Office. Mr. Martin gives a careful picture of Robert Lowe's character, his temperamental isolation, his humour, satire, and true kind-heartedness. Next in importance ranks **The Life and Times of the Right Hon. W. H. Smith, M.P.**, by Sir Herbert Maxwell, M.P. (Blackwood). It is the record of a very remarkable man, whose energies conducted and developed a prosperous firm, originally founded by his father, in which the son eventually held the practical monopoly of the distribution of the *Times* outside of London throughout the kingdom. His career as a man of business, together with his domestic and political occupations as member of Parliament, as Cabinet Minister, and head of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, is graphically detailed by Sir Herbert Maxwell. An excellent picture is given of his generous nature. A portion of the volume is devoted to the consideration of Mr. Smith's political colleagues, and of the political history in which he took an active part. **Twenty Years in Parliament** is written by W. McCullagh Torrens (Bentley), who was member for Finsbury from 1865, until the old borough was split up into seven divisions by the Redistribution Act. His share of work in the House of Commons during a score of years is very considerable. We owe to him the Artisan and Labourers' Dwelling Act, known as Torrens' Act; he initiated the Lodger Franchise; he took an important part in the discussion of Mr. Forster's Education Bill of 1870, and claims with reason to be the author of the London School Board, although one of his main proposals was rejected that the maximum rate should not exceed three-pence in the pound. These and many other services Mr. Torrens reports, laying stress upon the general history of the time only in as far as it elucidates his own career in Parliament; and the interest of the narrative is heightened by many spirited, and at times sarcastic, anecdotes of his

ates in the House. He records a few witty sayings of B. Osborne, of ter as Chief Secretary; he repeats characteristic remarks of Bright, many epigrams and stories of Disraeli, of whom he was at once a onal acquaintance and political opponent. The book is an excellent d of the important legislation achieved or attempted between the years and 1884. Sir Richard Temple takes up the story of **Life in Parlia-** t (Murray), from 1836-1892, giving his experiences as Conservative ber during that date. Other important autobiographies and memoirs remain to be noticed are: **Reminiscences of Lord Augustus Loftus** ell); **Frederick Hill: An Autobiography of Fifty Years in the s of Reform** (Bentley), edited by his daughter, Constance Hill. Mr. was early associated with his brother, Sir Roland Hill, in various philan- ic and reform movements, such as the Society for the Promotion of al Knowledge, the Catholic Emancipation, &c., and in later life in matters urning the post office. For many years he held the post of Inspector isons in Scotland, and afterwards in North Wales, during which time istributed to and organised many improvements in the prison system. **Hances back through Seventy Years** (Kegan Paul & Co.), auto- aphical and other reminiscences, the late Mr. Henry Vizetelly tells with ness, verve, and considerable literary skill, the story of a long life, ein he saw at first hand a good deal of what we distinguish as "history," net and made the friendship or acquaintanceship of many famous indi- als and a host of persons of repute. The most interesting new *personalie* hose concerning Thackeray, George Cruikshank, Harrison Ainsworth, Leech, Marryat, and Gustave Doré. Perhaps even a greater number of rs will be interested in his narrative of his experiences in Paris during oubles of 1870-71, when Mr. Vizetelly acted as war correspondent for *Illustrated London News*. **Seventy Years of Irish Life** is from the of W. R. Le Fanu (Edward Arnold), who must not be confused with brother, the late Sheridan Le Fanu the novelist. These "Reminis- es" are the most humorous, the most engaging, and the most gene- delightful of any published in 1893, and would be hard to beat by any ished during the later Victorian period. Full of fun, wit, and observa- they are also replete with interest for the folk-lorist, the social econo- , and the general student of Irish life, Irish affairs, and Irish prospects. **Morell Mackenzie, Physician and Operator, a Memoir**, is compiled edited by the Rev. H. R. Haweis (Allen). **The Literary Recollections Sketches**, by Francis Espinasse (Hodder & Stoughton), are of value ly on account of his recollections of the Chelsea household of Thomas yle, which may be considered as a slight corrective to Mr. Froude's ate thereof. In **Annie Besant: an Autobiography** (Fisher Unwin) Besant tells in vivid terms the story of the varied and valuable life- of a courageous woman, and of her recent adherence to the teachings eosophy. One more volume of **Memoirs** (Heinemann) remains to be ed, written by an American, who has resided for many years in England, Charles Godfrey Leland. His name is familiar, not only under the donym of "Hans Breitmann" but also on account of his scholarly trans- n of the works of Heinrich Heine. He tells us that his "Memoirs" are y the life of a mere literary man, and quiet humble scholar, and such ences are seldom very dramatic." Nevertheless, Mr. Leland has lived



in many lands, has had many striking adventures, and has formed many valuable friendships, whose story he tells in a very fascinating manner. **The Dictionary of National Biography** (Smith, Elder & Co.) continues its valuable work under the editorship of Mr. Sydney Lee. Volumes xxxi.-xxxv. have been issued from the letters Lambe—Maltby. Among the best articles are "Walter Savage Landor" and "Macaulay" by Mr. Leslie Stephen, "Sir Edwin Landseer" by Mr. Cosmo Monkhouse, "Robert Lowe" by Mr. Courtney, "Sir Frederick Madden" and the second "Lord Lytton" by Dr. Garnett, &c., &c. Further instalments have also appeared of the **New Dictionary on Historical Principles**, edited by T. A. H. Murray, LL.D. (Clarendon Press), that is to say parts vi. and vii. from letters Clo—Cronching. To Mr. Gladstone we owe the new words "correctional" and "contradictionist," and to Mr. Thomas Hardy the adverb "correctingly."

The theology of the year is ushered in by the publication of the **Hibbert Lectures** of 1892, being **Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion**, as illustrated by the religion of the Ancient Hebrews, by C. G. Montefiore (Williams & Norgate), who holds that there is no "indisputably authentic and homogeneous writings older than the eighth century B.C." Prior to that there are three periods, the pre-historic or patriarchal, the Mosaic to which belongs the rise of monolatry and of history, and the pre-prophetic. The religion of the prophets Mr. Montefiore terms "Universalism" as being the immediate step between monolatry and monotheism. **Aspects of Theism** (Macmillan) is the title of a volume by Wm. Knight, LL.D., in which the Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews points out the desirability that a simple devout theism should supersede all other forms of religion. He sketches the attempts made by different systems to prove the objective existence of Deity. In his chapter on "The Evidence of Intuition" he endeavours to show that "God is known, not by any direct effort of the scientific or metaphysical intellect in rising upward, but by a direct disclosure of the infinite to the finite consciousness." In his **Scientific Study of Theology** (Skeffington) Mr. W. L. Paige Cox pleads that theology should be studied as other sciences are studied. In his critical inquiry into the essential subjects of religion, he seeks to justify a vital, simple, yet coherent form of Christianity, as distinct from elaborate dogma, as an antidote to the modern spirit of negation which leads so many minds to agnosticism. **The Gospel of Life**, by B. F. Westcott (Macmillan), as a volume is the outcome of twenty years of lecturing to divinity students at Cambridge. Its intention is to encourage patient reflection, to suggest lines of inquiry and to urge students "frankly to face the riddles of life in a world that is neither clear nor intelligible." The book is divided into two parts, philosophical theory and historical inquiry. Among the many valuable and suggestive theological and devotional books that have been published this year mention must be made of Canon Liddon's **Explanatory Analysis of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans** (Longmans); a series of Lent lectures by Canon Body, entitled **Life of Love** (Longmans). In this place may also conveniently be notified Sir Edwin Arnold's **Book of Good Counsels** (Allen). The volume contains intercalated verses and proverbs from the Sanscrit of the "Hitopadesa," the most ancient of extant story books. **Inspiration** (Longmans) is the subject of the Bampton Lectures for 1893 delivered at St. Mary's, Oxford, by Dr. Sanday, Dean Ireland's Professor of Biblical Exegesis. Amongst the subjects

rescribed for these lectures by Canon Bampton's will was "the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures." Dr. Sanday has dealt with this question from the point of view of modern criticism, which he thinks will in the near future be more conservative than it has been recently. Perhaps nothing better marks the progress of religious thought and criticism than these Bampton Lectures; they reflect very accurately the attitude of some churchmen in succeeding generations, and Dr. Sanday's remarks on the genesis and parts of the two Testaments as sacred books are full of ripe scholarship and thoughtful criticism. As a help to waverers and as a bridle to the over-zealous this volume will be found of more than ordinary value.

**The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome**, by F. W. Puller, of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, with a preface by Edward, Lord Bishop of Lincoln (Longmans), is a purely controversial work, and the author deals with his subject with keen critical ability. He draws a vivid picture of Christianity in the early days of the Church of Rome, and gives a lamentable description of the moral condition of the world in the fourth century.

**The Evolution of Religion**, by Edward Caird, LL.D. (MacLehose), is the title of the two volumes wherein the new Master of Balliol has reprinted the important Gifford Lectures which he delivered before the University of St. Andrews in 1890-1 and 1891-2. Professor Caird is so well known a student of philosophy that any ambitious literary work of his must command attention. In "The Evolution of Religion" he makes a strong philosophical case for Christianity being the paramount, indeed the unique, religion: the central luminary in a universe of beliefs, so to say. While believers in revealed religion will find themselves constantly at issue with Professor Caird's inductions and arguments and even his data, these will to a great extent be unacceptable also to students whose attitude is that of strictly scientific agnosticism. Nevertheless, the dissertation is one that no student should fail to read and ponder over. Broadly speaking, Professor Caird's aim in this book may be said to be the application of the idea of evolution to the proof that Christianity is "the absolute religion." Two other volumes dealing with the philosophy of religions have appeared, both being also reprints of Gifford Lectures. The first, **Theosophy or Psychological Religion**, by Max Müller (Longmans), is the summing up as well as the continued exposition of the historico-religious addresses already given under the same endorsement by Professor Max Müller; the author's aim is so united to his theme as a whole that "Psychological Religion" can hardly be considered apart from its predecessors. Professor Max Müller's object in these three consecutive courses of lectures on physical, anthropological, and psychological religion is to prove that what he put forward in his first volume as a preliminary definition of religion in its widest sense, namely, the perception of the infinite, can be shown by historical evidence to have been the element shared in common by all religions. Unquestionably these lectures, which have been the most popular of the Gifford addresses, are likely to have a long enduring value and a still more enduring, though deeper, and less tangible influence. The second book referred to is **Philosophy and Theology**, by James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D. (T. & T. Clark). As the author of "The Secret of Hegel" should have been asked to deliver the Gifford Lectures on philosophy and theology was natural: and natural



also that readers should expect from the same acute specialist something freshly and vigorously set forth. Certainly in substance we have nothing new in Dr. Stirling's book. His aim in its setting-forth has been to give a critical history of the speculations of those philosophical writers who have gone over the ground before him, *i.e.*, the study of the problem of natural theology, the attempt to infer the divine from the natural. Broadly, Dr. Stirling divides these earlier students into those who affirm and those who deny. His own sympathies are with the upholders of the theory of a divine influence in nature. Perhaps the most generally interesting section of his learned and conscientious book is that wherein he examines the testimony of such potent sceptics as Hume, Kant and Darwin. But by far the most important philosophical work of the year is **The Principles of Ethics**, by Herbert Spencer (Williams & Norgate). This great thinker has always looked upon his "Principles of Ethics" as his *chef d'œuvre* as the coronal of his philosophical system; and his successful completion of his long and laborious task has been received by students of ethics with extreme interest and gratification. The first part of this monumental philosophical treatise appeared in 1879, under the title "The Data of Ethics," which was followed by "Justice" in 1891. These two parts constitute half of his first volume, the other half comprising "Inductions of Ethics" and "Ethics of Individual Life." The second volume is occupied with the two divisions of the "Ethics of Social Life," respectively called "Negative Beneficence" and "Positive Beneficence." One of Mr. Spencer's ablest critics has said that the best name for his system of ethics as a whole is "naturalistic." This affirmation will be found to be borne out in the vast and important philosophical undertaking which the author of "The Principles of Ethics" has bequeathed to us. To the student and "the general reader" alike the most interesting admission is that to the effect that Mr. Spencer has not found the doctrine of evolution furnish guidance to the extent he had hoped. The most important problem of universal interest here mooted and discussed is that of State action, of which, according to Mr. Spencer, only two are permissible: defence against external enemies, and maintenance of justice within each society. It is now commonly admitted concerning this great work, that, generally, there is no contemporary system of ethics which is of greater or indeed of even approximate importance. **Evolution and Ethics**, by Thos. H. Huxley (Macmillan), is the title of the reprint of Professor Huxley's Romanes Lecture for 1893. The treatise is distinguished by the biologist's happiest vein, and will assuredly take rank as not only a profoundly thoughtful and scientific exposition of the problems in the application of the principle of evolution to the domain of ethics but also as a masterly effort in literature. To students and thinkers of a pronounced bias in favour of the belief in "grace from without" there is the highly interesting and suggestive conclusion to which Professor Huxley comes—a conclusion in favour of grace as something opposed to nature—namely, "that the practice of that which is ethically best—what we call goodness in virtue—involves a course of conduct which in all respects, is opposed to that which leads to success in the cosmic struggle for existence."

In the domain of actual science the book that claims first attention is **Old and New Astronomy**, by the late R. A. Proctor, completed by A. C.

Ranyard (Longmans). It was intended to be Proctor's *magnum opus* and to embody the chief results which had been attained, giving special prominence to those to which his own investigations had led him. The greater portion was in MS. at the time of his death in 1888. In it he surveys the observations of the ancients; he comments on the astronomical value of the Great Pyramid, upon the motions of the sun, moon and planets, upon the mechanism of the solar system, the transit of Venus, and the discovery of Neptune; he then passes in review the most important points in the new astronomy. The chapters on the universe of stars, the Milky Way and the planets have been furnished and prepared by Mr. Ranyard. Mr. T. E. Thorpe's important work on chemical technology concludes with the present issue of the third volume of his **Dictionary of Applied Chemistry** (Longmans), to which no fewer than forty-four chemists have contributed special articles. **The Chemical Basis of the Animal Body** (Macmillan), by A. Sheridan Lea, is a welcome addition to the literature of biological chemistry prepared with great care and judgment. Entomology is enriched by two important books: **The Fauna of British India**, including Ceylon and Burmah (Taylor), by G. F. Hampson. This first volume is devoted to moths and contains a digest of work already done in this branch of science and a new and clearer method of classification. **An Account of British Flies (Diptera)**, by Fred. V. Theobald, F.E.S. (Stock), contains a *résumé* of entomological literature dating from Aristotle and follows up the inquiry to the present day. No treatise had hitherto been published on this order of insect. The late Charles Darwin suffered from the lack of a published enumeration of all botanical names of flowering plants and left a sum of money for the publication of such an index. The result is the **Index Kewensis**, from 1785-1885. The magnitude of the work can be imagined by the fact that "Fasculus 1," which has just appeared, and reaches only as far as the letter *Den*, has taken eleven years to prepare. A new edition of **Chambers's Encyclopedia: a Dictionary of Universal Knowledge** has been recently published in 10 vols. by Messrs. W. & R. Chambers. Among the most notable contributors to this valuable work of reference are Messrs. Gladstone, Hisholm, J. S. Cotton, Hindes Groome, Patrick Geddes, P. G. Hamerton, Levens, Austin Dobson; also Professors Dowden, Caird, Caldwell, &c., &c. Two valuable and scholarly books have appeared on Logic. One is **The Process of Argument, a Contribution to Logic**, by Alfred Sidgwick (Black), written with the succinctness and clearness which characterise all Professor Sidgwick's writings; the other, **Logic, Inductive and Deductive** (Murray), is the last work which came from the pen of Professor W. Minto, whose varied knowledge rendered him well fitted to expound the Logic of the Sciences.

There are three books to be noticed that treat of economic subjects. **The Unseen Foundations of Society: an Examination of the Fallacies and Failures of Economic Science due to Neglected Elements**, by the Duke of Argyll (Murray), deals with some of the most vital problems which have beset mankind in their attempt to organise society. It is a prolegomena to economic science, which the author claims to be the highest branch of all politics. He postulates that the foundations on which economic science ultimately rests are certain definitions, and points out "that a true and complete analysis of abstract words used in economic science would go a



long way towards solving its difficulties, by reminding us of numerous elements which have been out of mind because out of sight." In the chapters attacking the Ricardian theory of rent the duke comes forward as the vindicator of landlordism, of the sacredness of contract and property. He seeks to revive the idea of natural law; he claims that secure possession is one of the conditions on which wealth depends, and maintains that possession is not synonymous with monopoly. He believes in the necessity of war, and holds that "it is a great fundamental truth of economic science that in the freedom of men to pursue their individual interests lies the richest fountain of national welfare." **A Perplexed Philosopher**, or otherwise, Mr. Henry George, in a volume bearing the above title published by Messrs. Kegan Paul, practically therein attacks Mr. Herbert Spencer as "A Lost Leader." The sub-title is, "Being an Examination of Mr. Herbert Spencer's various utterances on the Land Question, with some incidental references to his Synthetic Philosophy." Mr. George poses as a defender of the right of private property by his denial of the right of taxation, which he considers a violation of the right of property by the taking of that which belongs to the individual. Since Dr. Böhn Bawerk's "History of the Doctrine of Interest on Capital" and Dr. Zuckerkandl's "Theory of Prices" (both, however, German works as yet untranslated) **A History of the Theories of Production and Distribution in English Political Economy from 1776 to 1848**, by Edwin Cannan (Rivington & Percival), is the most useful contribution to the history of economic theories we have had. Mr. Cannan treats of wealth production, with the highly important problem "The Third Requisite of Production—Land"; he discusses the genesis of the theory of diminishing returns, and, in the three latest of his nine chapters, the question of distribution severally, wages, profit, and rent. A "General Review: Politics and Economics" concludes a work of exceptional value in its kind.

A large number of fascinating volumes of travels has appeared this year; several are of very considerable scientific value, owing to the amount of keen and careful observations they contain on points of interest to naturalists, geologists and colonists, &c. To go no farther afield than Spain, Messrs. Abel Chapman and Walter J. Buck relate their experiences of over twenty years' study of Spain and its inhabitants from the point of view of sportsman and naturalist in their **Wild Spain: Records of Sport with Rifle, Rod and Gun, Natural History and Exploration** (Gurney & Jackson). The record commences with Andalusia and the western districts of the Peninsula. The two sportsmen have pursued the ibex in the snows of Sierra Nevada; have driven the great bustard in the south in July and August; have studied the ways of the flamingo and sketched the bird on its nest, and have settled the disputed point as to the bird's method of incubation. They describe the wild camel of the Marisma and the breeding of bulls for the ring. There are interesting chapters on the black vulture, and the habits of the ibex in different localities. **The Voyage of the Nyanza, R.N.Y.C.**, by T. Cumming Dewar (Blackwood), is the record of a three years' cruise in a schooner yacht in the Atlantic and Pacific and of her subsequent shipwreck. The author is no ordinary traveller, but a conscientious observer; the book is full of valuable information concerning the little visited islands in the Pacific, such as the descrip-

of the Welsh Colony of Chupat, the Falkland Islands, the Marquesas, the Hebrides, &c. The chief book on African travel is **Travel and Adventure in South-east Africa**, by F. C. Selous (Rowland Ward). The expedition was undertaken at the instigation of the authorities of the Natural History Museum. But the book is much more than a naturalist's record of sport. It contains an account, historical and political, of Mashuanaland, of its dead cities, its races, its capabilities and prospects for British colonisation. The story of the pioneer march, with Mr. Cecil Rhodes and Dr. Jameson, to cut the road through charts through unexplored land on the outskirts of Lobengula's country, is full of varied and thrilling interest, as is also the account of the "nighty hunter's" hairbreadth escape from the hands of the chief Mwenga.

**Man and Camera in South Africa**, by H. Anderson Bryden (Stanford) relates a year of travel and observation in Bechuanaland, the Kalahari Desert, and the Orange River Country. The author describes this region from the point of view of naturalist and sportsman, and gives a series of interesting notes on the natives, the colony and its prospects. In his **The Sacred Cities of the Ethiopians** (Longmans) Mr. J. Theodore Bent gives the record of a year's travel for purposes of research in Abyssinia in 1893. The book relates the experiences of Mr. and Mrs. Bent on their journey to and from Axum, and gives much valuable information concerning the manners and customs of the people, and their primitive form of Christianity. A portion of the record is devoted to the past history of the Sacred City, and to the rude stone monuments and the altars used in the worship of the gods. Chapter xiii. is written by Prof. H. D. Müller of Vienna on the inscriptions from Yeha and Axum ranging from the Sabian tablets of the ninth century B.C. to the monuments of the Axumite kings four centuries after Christ. An appendix on the morphological character of the Abyssinians contributed by Dr. T. G. Garson. Records of recent travel in Asia are numerous; chief among them may be mentioned **Persia and the Persian Question**, by the Hon. G. N. Curzon, M.P., 2 vols. (Longmans). This scrupulously conscientious and in every way trustworthy description of the Persia of to-day is at once the most recent, the most comprehensive and the most thorough account of the Shah, his rule, his nation and Persia as it now is and as it may become in the near future, which is available here in English, German, or French. **Where Three Empires Meet**, by E. F. Knight (Longmans), is a narrative of travel in Kashmir, Western Tibet, Gilgit and the adjoining countries. Interesting as it is with its tale of adventures, its observations on the manners and religious observances of the tribes and peoples, the chief value of the book is the flood of new light it throws on many questions concerning our Imperial Administration in India, and the account therein given of the Hunya-Nagar campaign, in which Europeans and Ghurkas outvied each other in valour and strategy. A portion of the same ground was traversed by the Earl of Dunmore in his year's expedition on horse and on foot through Kashmir, Western Tibet, Chinese Tartary and Russian Central Asia. Although in his two volumes entitled **The Pamirs** (Murray) the author has contributed little in the way of new geographical knowledge or political conclusions, he gives much useful advice concerning the practical questions of sport and of travelling in Central Asia, much valuable ethnographical information concerning the Kirghiz race. Lord Dunmore's



primary object was to shoot *ovis poli*, the large mountain sheep of the Pamirs, and in this he was successful. Mr. John Whitehead has accomplished the **Exploration of Mount Kina Borneo** (Gurney & Jackson) in order to investigate the zoology of the highest mountain in Borneo. Mr. Whitehead styles himself a "field naturalist," and ornithology is the branch of zoology which has greatest attractions for him. His volume contains valuable illustrations of the natural history of the Eastern Archipelago. The very ancient hirsute race of the Ainus has been studied in Asia and Japan respectively by two recent travellers. In **Life with the Trans-Siberian Savages** (Longmans), Mr. B. Douglas Howard gives a graphic account of the Ainus of Sakhalin "the most ancient, distant and least known of the savages surviving in Asia." He describes his difficult journey and his dwelling among the Ainus; the village life, customs and superstitions; the hirsute appearance of both women and men. He states that these primitive people have no written language but communicate by means of what may be called "rune staves." Mr. A. H. Savage Landor's experiences **Alone with the Hairy Ainu**; or, 3,800 miles on a pack saddle in Yezo and a cruise in the Kurile Islands (Murray), are concerned with the Japanese branch of this strange hairy race, which the author regards as being closely allied to the anthropoid apes; and he points out that they inhabit the same geographical strata, the tertiary and volcanic districts. Mr. Landor's descriptions are accompanied by several interesting sketches. Mrs. Josephine Diebitsch Peary spent the winter of 1891-2 on the shores of M'Cormick Bay, midway between the Arctic Circle and the North Pole. In **My Arctic Journal: A Year among Ice Fields and Eskimos** (Longmans), Mrs. Peary recounts her experiences and describes the manners and habits of the natives. The volume also contains an "Account of the Great White Journey across Greenland," by Robert E. Peary (Mrs. Peary's husband), during which expedition Mr. Peary and his wife and five companions made among other results the discovery of the existence of ice-free land-masses to the northward of Greenland.

Two interesting books have appeared dealing with sports. The first is **The Diary of Colonel Peter Hawker, 1802-1853**, with an introduction by Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey (Longmans). It is the diary, full of amusing anecdote and information, of a man who was the leading sportsman and best shot of the first half of the century. The other book forms one of the excellent Badminton Library on **Swimming** (Longmans). This very complete and reliable treatise—which will undoubtedly rank as a standard work on the subject—is written by Archibald Sinclair and William Henry, the honorary secretaries of the Life Saving Society. The book is capitally illustrated.

In reviewing the general literature of 1898 it may be appropriate to notify, by way of introduction to the poetry of the year, a new volume of **The Poets of the Century**, edited by Alfred Miles (Hutchinson). The publication of this voluminous, painstaking, and, on the whole, very representative collection of critical estimates and extracts from the writings of our younger poets, "Robert Bridges and contemporary poets," practically concludes the really admirable series of volumes dealing with the poets and with the poetry of the century which Mr. Alfred Miles began a year or two ago and has carried through with so much conscientious industry and dis-

mination. His scheme actually embraces at least two more volumes; but these are not integral parts of the whole—merely of the nature of interesting appendices. In some respects this volume, which deals with our younger poets, is the most interesting of all; and its large sale has confirmed many people in the growing conviction that the present time, far from being a period generally indifferent to poetry, is one wherein the love and critical appreciation of fine verse is distinctly on the increase. Among these younger writers appreciative welcome has been given to **Fleet Street Eclogues**, by John Davidson (Matthew & Lane), one of the freshest and most individual volumes of verse of the year. A group of penmen talk with frankness of things that concern their work and its value and meaning. From time to time one or other breaks in with an allusion to hill, dale or wayside flower, and Fleet Street is transfigured. The volume ends with the most remarkable ballad the author has yet written. In addition to **Stephanie, a Dialogue** (Matthew & Lane)—a drama dealing with the story of Stephanie, wife of Crescentius the consul, whose death she plans to revenge by the ruin body and soul of the Emperor Otho—Michael Field has also produced a volume of exquisite lyrics, **Underneath the Bough** (Bell & Sons). The characteristic note of these songs by this modern descendant of the Elizabethans is the fine, calm attitude in the contemplation of death, remarkable in poems such as "Solitary Death," "Death for all thy Grasping Stealth," &c. The book is full of intellectual thought expressed in melodious rhythm and the metre. **Orchard Songs** (Matthew & Lane), by Norman Gale, are natural spontaneous lyrics. He renders certain aspects of nature with an old-world charm that is picturesque and winsome. Lyrics full of exquisite nature pictures are also to be found in **Sursum Corda** (Unwin), by W. F. Bourdillon, and in **My Book of Songs and Sonnets**, by Maude Egerton King (Cercival). By writers of established reputation there are several volumes of verse to be noticed. The first place must be given to a volume entitled **Poems**, by Christina G. Rossetti (S.P.C.K.). It is composed of short lyrics and poems, mostly devotional, that have previously appeared interspersed with prose comments in the poet's "Called to be Saints," "Time Flies," and "The Face of the Deep." Miss Rossetti, one of the greatest of living poets, is essentially a religious writer, and in these exquisite lyrics and fragments gives expression to her deeply devotional individuality. The workmanship of the poems is as exquisite as the spirit that informs them. **Poems**, by Richard Garnett, LL.D. (Matthew & Lane), is partly a reprint from "In Egypt," but also includes a series of short lyrics, forceful in expression, touched with melancholy. Among the most striking poems are those in the humorous section, evincing a humour similar to that which characterises the author's volume of remarkable stories, "The Twilight of the Gods." Among our younger women-writers there is none better known than Mine. Armstrong, more familiar to us under her maiden name of A. Mary F. Robinson. In this little volume of the pleasant *Cameo Series*, entitled, **Prospect and Other Poems** (Unwin), she displays her usual skill of craft, delicacy of touch and refined sensitiveness. A somewhat sad tone prevails; but the sadness is rather the melancholy of vague regret and vague yearning than of native or even relative despondency. Mrs. Alice Meynell's **Poems** (Matthew & Lane) is mainly a reprint of the author's "Preludes" published in 1875 and long out of print. A small number of new poems have been



added to this very welcome volume of verse, that is refined and delicate in thought and workmanship and ranks among the best poetry written by women at that date. **Mediaeval Records and Sonnets**, by Aubrey de Vere (Macmillan), are fragments of the poet's design to "add to that earlier series (*Legends and Records of Church and Empire*) a second part illustrating the Middle Ages." Lord de Tabley's **Poems, Dramatic and Lyrical** (Matthew & Lane) have received a wide welcome. The strong point of the lyrics is the real knowledge of nature they disclose, while the form is essentially that of modern lyric. The dramatic monologues are imbued with the classic feeling and flexible in form. The volume opens with a finely wrought and original "Hymn to Astarte." Sir Edwin Arnold has busied himself with Japanese subjects and has produced a play in four acts entitled **Adzuma; or the Japanese Wife** (Longmans), a true story of old Japan in a western garb, and is a great tragedy approached in the idyllic spirit. Several shorter poems dealing with Japanese subjects are included in a volume entitled **Potiphar's Wife and other Poems** (Longmans), the story of the titular poem being founded on the versions of the Koran and the poet Jami. Mr. William Watson has added nothing to his reputation by the "Caprice," as he sub-titles his latest volume, **The Eloping Angels** (Matthew & Lane). The book attracts and still holds attention solely by virtue of the author's repute. The story might be described as a fairy tale in a conventional Byronic setting. **The Prince's Quest** (Matthew & Lane), on the other hand, though immature, has far more of genuine poetic talent. It is, however, a reprint of a book that appeared some fourteen years ago. Full of promise as it is, it failed to attract attention when it was first published, in part, no doubt, because of its too pronounced mannerisms in the style of Mr. William Morris. There are many readers, even now, who much prefer "The Prince's Quest" to anything Mr. Watson has since done: certainly it has a grace and suavity of music, a breath of romance, for which one looks in vain in the poems by which he has made his reputation. The same publishers have recently brought out a volume of very remarkable verse by a new writer. **Poems**, by Francis Thomson, is the work of a visionary, in diction the descendant of Crashaw, and reminiscent of Shelley and Mr. Coventry Patmore. The writer is lyrical and highly imaginative and original, and treats fine themes in a fine manner, even though at times he is a little inchoate. Another remarkable book is **Seen in Three Days**, by Edwin J. Ellis (Quaritch). The volume is written, drawn and tinted by the author; in this, as in other and more essential respects, a follower—it would be fairer to say a young comrade—of William Blake, of whom he is one of the two chroniclers (*vide* "Blake," by W. B. Yeats and Edwin J. Ellis). The poetry, however, is that of a mystic *par excellence*, which more than accounts for the fact that this really noteworthy writer has found an audience, fit, no doubt, but certainly very small. Two recent publications are devoted to Scottish literature. Professor Walker gives two volumes to the study and critical estimation of **Three Centuries of Scottish Literature** (MacLehose). The early literature is passed in review; the influence of the Reformation is discussed; Sir David Lindsay and the Wedderburns are taken as examples of the motive force which gave a new direction to Scottish literature before the Union, and Sir Walter Scott is held to be the last distinctively Scottish writer. The author illustrates in an incisive manner the idea that the writers

in Scottish of the eighteenth century were only developing and revising the mass of traditional native poetry. **Contemporary Scottish Verse**, a volume of **The Canterbury Series** (Scott), is edited by Sir George Douglas, who has for his purpose chosen selections from the works of R. L. Stevenson, Andrew Lang, John Nichol, W. C. Smith, J. Logie Robertson, William Sharp, Alexander Anderson, John Davidson, &c.

Possibly only confirmed De Quinceyites hunger for more volumes by their favourite author than those comprised in the bulky set of books published during the great writer's lifetime. But for whosoever has enough enthusiasm to make them value every essay, fragmentary critique, or imaginative piece, there is more than ordinary pleasure to be obtained from **The Posthumous Works of Thomas de Quincey** (Heinemann), so carefully edited by Dr. Japp from the author's MSS. Dr. Japp's introduction and notes are models of what such elucidatory writings should be. Of the two volumes the first is much the more interesting. Another, and monumental piece of editing, has been concluded this year in **The Poetical Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge**, with a biographical introduction, by James Dykes Campbell (Macmillan). It is by far the most thorough and complete edition of Coleridge that has yet appeared, and it also contains some hitherto unpublished poems. Chief amongst these are the first two parts of "The Three Graves," familiar to students in their prose form. The edition is prefaced by a monograph on the poet, so compact, exhaustive and accurate that it will undoubtedly take precedence of all previous biographies of Coleridge. This year has brought forth a rich harvest in the field of critical literature. One of the most notable products is **The Works of William Blake, Poetic, Symbolic and Critical** (Quaritch), edited with lithographs, of the prophetic books, and a memoir and interpretation by E. J. Ellis and W. B. Yeats. To students of our poetic literature it is unquestionably of paramount value. In it he is revealed to us more fully, more convincingly, more authentically than before: the mystical works are analysed, reduced to coherence and interrelation, and lucidly expounded; and the common charge of madness is at last definitively disproved. Blake is now seen to stand forth as a prince among mystics, with the austere patience and intensity of vision of a Dante, and the pride and lofty spiritual insight of a Milton. In the 1,500 pages which constitute the three volumes of this magnificent editorial achievement the student of William Blake will not only find every known fact concerning the life and work of the famous poet-painter, the disproof or explanation of every misstatement concerning either the man or his writings, and a systematic and ordered narrative, which supersedes all previous accounts, but also a complete analytical and chronological consideration of all his writings and designs, both before and after his mystical passion became a paramount part of his life. In the third volume we have the text of Blake's complete works, for the most part reduced in facsimile, and with lithographs of his illustrated designs. Each volume is prefaced by a portrait of William Blake (who, we now learn, was not an Englishman in the strict sense of the term, but both by blood and birth an Irishman), one of them a likeness hitherto unpublished. Of the several writers of distinction who have been more or less strongly affected by the genius of Walt Whitman there is none who could so adequately, so satisfyingly, discharge the duties of both



critic and biographer (in the essential sense of estimation) as has been in this book entitled **Walt Whitman: A Study**, by the late John Addington Symonds (Nimmo). It is in all respects the most admirable, as it is most sympathetic, critical, and helpful of the many books and studies of the American "poet of freedom" which have appeared either in this country or in America. It is a work of genuine importance, and, owing to its (and dual) personal interest, one likely to have a wide influence both in the new generation in literature and that far wider outside public to which its cheering and bracing and ennobling thoughts percolate surely if slowly. An added value is given to the *personalia* by the fact that Mr. Symonds and Walt Whitman enjoyed a close intimacy through correspondence. There remain other works from the pen of Mr. Addington Symonds to be noticed: **In the Key of Blue and other Prose Essays** (Matthew & Lane) and **The Life of Michael Angelo Buonarrotti** (Nimmo). In "The Key of Blue" Mr. Symonds' endeavour has been to make the essays representative of different kinds of work on which he had been engaged. The titular comments on the limitations of language with regard to colour terms; an essay on "Culture, its Meaning and Uses," is perhaps the most important in the collection. He asserts that culture is a means, not an end in itself; in this essay the author "deals a blow at all arrogant superiority of intellect," and lays greater value on character, personality, energy and independence. The review of Zola's "*La Bête Humaine*" contains a theoretical idealism in literature; and the remaining essays are on "The Dantean and Platonic ideals of Love" and on various literary subjects, Greek and Renaissance literature, translations, criticisms, descriptions of places in original verse. Mr. Symonds has based his life of the great Italian artist on studies in the archives of the Buonarrotti family in Florence. He presents at present the figure of Michael Angelo under the different aspects of poet and artist, without any special reference to the religious, political or intellectual history of the time. The first volume opens with a survey of the artist's family and education. In his very interesting estimate of the great Florentine's work Mr. Symonds omits mention of the influence of Japoco della Quercia on the young sculptor. Mr. Symonds gives a masterly definition of antique art and of the art of the Renaissance, also an extensive estimate of the artist's work and influence. Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is the criticism of Michael Angelo's literary work, in which Mr. Symonds was so peculiarly fitted. In discussing the sonnets Mr. Symonds refutes Gnasti's interpretation and annihilates Gott's hypothesis that the letters addressed to Cavalieri were intended for Vittoria Colonna. Mr. Walter Pater has written a valuable contribution to the study of Greek philosophy in his **Plato and Platonism** (Macmillan), a series of lectures, with for primary aim the indicating of the influence which went to mould Plato the philosopher and Plato the literary artist. The first five lectures describe Plato's life during the forty years before he was taught; which schools of patient early thinkers influenced his mind. Mr. Pater discourses on Heraclitus, Parmenides, Pythagoras, Socrates and the Sophists as introductory to the study of Platonism; he describes Plato's recoil from the Heraclitus' doctrine of perpetual change and flux in favour of Parmenides' doctrine of the immutability of One Absolute Being. The sixth lecture is devoted to the fully developed genius of Plato, the sev-

in his doctrine, and points out the combination of refined æstheticism in Plato, together with his "sensuous love of the unseen," that he selected Reality as the one central and divine idea we possess, the clearest vision on earth. The remaining lectures deal with Lacedæmon and its beautiful, austere "day dream," with Athens, and finally with Plato's æsthetics. Greek literature has occupied also the attention of Mr. Andrew Lang, whose **Homer and the Epic** (Longmans) is a thorough and able defence of the unity of Homer. He controverts the theories of the Separatists with a courtesy that is at once earnest and humorous. Mr. Lang's position is a belief in the "single great genius, who may conceivably have been able to write, or who, in the strength of a potent memory, may have composed the poems without writing and may have taught them to successors." He argues "if we are right on the whole we rescue the divine first poet and master of Greece, and we secure an almost unbroken picture of a single age." Mr. Edmund Gosse is always an entertaining cicerone through the highways and byways of literature. It is no drawback to the contents of **Questions at Issue** (Heinemann) that all had a previous magazine existence. Much the most memorable is the delightful "An Election at the English Academy," a *jeu d'esprit* whose authorship, on its anonymous appearance in the *Fortnightly Review*, was attributed to almost every distinguished man of letters. After this the most noticeable papers are "The Influence of Democracy" (with its admirable "Appreciation" of Robert Browning), "Has America produced a Poet?" "What is a Great Poet?" "Making a name in Literature," "Is Verse in Danger?" "Shelley in 1892" (the address at the Shelley centenary), and, among the shorter critical appreciations, an admirable examination of the work of Mr. Rudyard Kipling.

Mr. Coventry Patmore the poet is known to the exclusion of Mr. Coventry Patmore the prose essayist. Yet there are many people who take greater pleasure in his admirable essays—so concise and lucid, and written with so much verve—than in his verse; and this little volume of papers, collected from the *Fortnightly Review* and elsewhere, will certainly haunt the library shelves of book-lovers for a long time to come. The essays are distinct, though the author's strong if narrow personality gives a sense of continuity, or at any rate interrelation, which makes **Religio Poetæ** (Bell & Sons) so really "a book." The religious standpoint is clear throughout, and the purview is always from the Roman Catholic position. One of the best of the critical studies is that on Mrs. Alice Meynell; though the most significant, and certainly the most widely discussed, is the remarkable essay on "The Weaker Vessel." The volume of prose in question, by Mrs. Alice Meynell, is entitled **Rhythm of Life and other Essays** (Matthew & Lane), and contains twenty short essays, in which the author gives expression to opinions upon and aspirations after beauty and refinement in language that is concentrated and epigrammatic. The subjects are not new; the charm lies in the treatment. Mrs. Meynell affects the latinity of Johnson's prose; she considers that for the expression of "the intimate trouble of the soul an aloofness of language is needed," a tranquillity as compared with "the stimulated and close emotion, the interior trouble of those writers who have entered as disciples in the school of the more Teutonic English." It is doubtful if there was any book in 1893 heralded with so much acclaim and received with so much disputatious comment as **The Religion of a Literary**



**Man**, by Richard Le Gallienne (Elkin Mathews), as yet the most important prose-work of the young poet who has recently achieved so wide a repute. The effort of Mr. Le Gallienne is to express succinctly and lucidly the essential and guiding Ethic which he and those who think with him deduce from "the things that are," apart from dogma and conventional acceptance of disputable "realities." While "The Religion of a Literary Man" is no contribution to the literature of philosophy and ethics it affords an excellent and stimulating introduction thereto for those who have little familiarity with the results or even the language of philosophical speculation. Mr. Le Gallienne's "Religion" consists of a frank acceptance of the doctrine that life is worth living, that it is worth living well, and that all else is of secondary importance. In **An Agnostic's Apology and other Essays** (Smith & Elder) Mr. Leslie Stephen discusses religion from a different point of view. His volume is a forcible presentment of the case for agnosticism; the general apology is therein based primarily on what Mr. Stephen considers to be the contradictory utterance of those who profess to have solved the profoundest mysteries. The titular essay is followed by "The Scepticism of the Believer" and "Dreams and Realities." The author attacks his opponents more closely in his account and criticism of "Newman's Theory of Belief," while he presents therewith a fine testimony to Newman's wonderful gifts; "Poisonous Opinions" is an analysis of various views of toleration, to those of J. S. Mill in particular, and in the "Religion of all Sensible Men" the point under discussion is the practical question as to how far it is wise and even justifiable for a man to be reticent about his own opinions. The Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour has also proffered his opinions upon a similar subject in his **Essays and Addresses** (Douglas). The book is remarkable for the large range of subjects with which it deals. "The Religion of Humanity" is a comparative study of the advantages offered respectively by Christianity and Positivism, and it sums up in favour of the former. The first essays are literary criticisms on "The Pleasures of Reading," on "Handel," and "Berkeley," the latter being treated biographically and not from the philosophical standpoint. The three remaining, brilliant, epigrammatic and somewhat polemical in treatment, are on "Cobden and the Manchester School," "Politics and Political Economy," and "A Fragment on Progress."

A most important book to students of literary history has recently appeared under the title of **Silva Gadelica**, being a collection of Irish tales in Irish, translated from MSS., and edited by Standish Hayes O'Grady (Williams & Norgate). A complete printed literature has never existed in Ireland; it has circulated by means of MSS., which date from the end of the tenth century to 1847. It is to these MSS. that Mr. O'Grady has had resort. One of his volumes contains the tales in their original language, and in the second they are translated into literary English, together with an appendix of illustrative passages from other manuscripts, with translations. Among other tales included are "The Colloquy of the Ancients," "The Death of Eochaid" (1100), "The Manner of King Cormac's Birth" (1400), "The Death of King Dermot" (1517), &c. "Silva Gadelica" is the most valuable addition to Irish learning that has appeared for many years.

Introductory to the enumeration of the chief books that have been published this year on the fine arts, mention must be made of **The Philosophy**

[**the Beautiful**, by William Knight (Murray), a contribution to the theory of the beautiful, and to a discussion of the arts. Professor Knight has made study of nearly all the fine arts, and his work is of value to students of aesthetics. The chapters on "Suggestions towards a more complete theory of Beauty" and on "Poetry" are valuable additions to English philosophy. In the application of his theory of beauty to poetry, the professor agrees with Vinet that "Poetry—being the outcome and expression of our yearning for perfection—would not exist in a perfect world. With absolute harmony in life and nature the poet's vocation would cease." **The Fine Arts**, by E. Baldwin Brown (Murray), forms one of the **University Extension Manuals**, and is at once practical and philosophical. In it Professor Brown traces the beginnings of art back to the "play impulses," that exist to a marked extent among animals; he follows the development of art step by step to the present day, and discusses modern speculations with unbiassed judgment. The merit of the book is its combination of book-lore and personal thought, which makes it an excellent guide, not only to the genesis of art, but also the art movement of the moment. A volume of extremely careful and suggestive **Studies in Modern Music** is written by W. H. Hadow, M.A. (Seeley). It opens with chapters on music and musical criticism, written in a scholarly manner, with sympathy and catholicity of taste. In them he reviews the history of English music, its period of decadence, which he asserts to be at an end, and he examines the present dawn of a hopeful musical future for us. The volume contains admirable studies on Berlioz, Schumann and Wagner. In connection with music Mrs. Watts Hughes describes in a volume entitled **Voice Figures** (Hazell & Co.) the results of experiments made by her on an instrument called the Eidophon, with which sand or liquid strewn on a sensitive disc is formed into the most exquisite geometrical and floral figures when the disc is set into vibration, by the sound of the human voice. These "Voice Figures" are the result of experiments that have grown out of and carry farther the efforts (known as the "Chladni Lines") of the Italian scientist Chladni, and of the subsequent experiment of Professor Sedley Taylor. The results obtained by the Eidophon, as shown in the illustrations, when a most perfect physical control over aerial movement is realised, are very beautiful and artistic to the highest degree. Two books have been published recently that commend themselves strongly to art students and art lovers. The first is Mr. George Moore's **Modern Painting** (Scott), a series of essays on the phases and tendencies of modern art, analysed and described with earnestness, justice and an intimate knowledge of the subject. Contemporary painters—Whistler, Puvis de Chavanne, Manet, Corot, Monet, Degas, &c.—are passed in critical review—and their influence on younger men estimated. Other chapters are devoted to such subjects as "Picture Dealers," "Academical Training," "National Art," which is virtually a strong plea for an English art that shall carry on the traditions of the eighteenth century painters, instead of so much of English work being merely an adaptation of French methods. The interest of the volume is enhanced by the charm of the style in which it is written. The other volume alluded to above is **Etching and Mezzotint Engraving**, by H. Herkomer (Macmillan), and is a series of lectures delivered at Oxford, wherein Prof. Herkomer defines the laws and limits of the technique of etching, in which, despite purists, he includes drypoint. He enters thoroughly



into the question of manipulation, of the relative and commercial value of steel and copper plates.

Since 1881 Mr. Henry Irving has given publicly four addresses, and the time were widely commented upon. These have been reprinted in a volume entitled **The Drama: Addresses by Henry Irving** (Heinemann). They deal with the stage as it is, the life-story of four great actors, "The Art of Acting." The outcome of a long, varied, and extensive experience is concentrated in these "Addresses." They are of practical interest and value for all young aspirants to the dramatic life, and of general interest for that glowing public which delights in the drama, apprehends it and its functions aright. Slight as the volume is, and in condensation and ordered sequence, it is not of an ephemeral nature, so should be placed among "books to be kept."

## ART, DRAMA, AND MUSIC.

## I. THE FINE ARTS.

**The National Gallery.**—Sir F. Burton in his last report to the trustees is able to show that the whole of the money voted by Parliament (5,000*l.*) has been expended by him to good advantage, and for the enrichment of the national collection. Two pictures by Willem Cornelisz Duyster, "Soldiers unravelling" and "Players at Tric-Trac," were purchased from Mr. Romer Williams for 1,250*l.* A very fine specimen of Ruysdael, "Scheveningen beach," which had originally been in the Orleans Collection, was purchased at the Bingham-Mildmay sale at Christie's for 3,045*l.*, the highest price ever paid for a work of this master, and a picture by Gainsborough, "Portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Lindon," was bought in London for 785*l.* The picture was bequeathed by Mrs. Lindon to her brother, Mr. Thomas Rawlinson, in whom it passed to his grand-daughter, Miss Bevan, of Plumpton House, Bury St. Edmunds. Out of the Clarke Bequest, which is applied to the purchase of pictures by English masters, the following purchases were made: "Beatrix Knighting Esmonde," by Augustus L. Egg, R.A., formerly belonging to Sir Thomas Fairbairn, 105*l.*; "The Cast Shoe," by G. H. Mason, R.A., 682*l.* 10*s.* (Stewart Hodgson sale); and "Chilston Lane, Torquay," by Geo. Birrell Willcock, 50*l.* (Messrs. Graves).

The most important picture presented to the Gallery was that by Mr. J. M. Agnew, "The Harbour of Refuge," by Frederick Walker, A.R.A., one of the finest works by this artist, cut off before his prime. The picture was exhibited at the Royal Academy, and was purchased by Mr. Wm. Agnew. The other gifts to the Gallery included, "Cardinal Bouchier and the Widow of Edward IV.," by John Zephaniah Bell, presented by his son; "A Mediterranean Seaport," by Claude Joseph Vernet, presented by Mrs. Tarrott; and "Christ Washing St. Peter's Feet," by Ford Madox Brown, presented by a body of subscribers. In addition to these, "A View of Hampshire," by Patrick Nasmyth, was bequeathed by Colonel Alex. Read, and a portrait of Mrs. Bellendon Ker, by Sir Charles Eastlake, was bequeathed by her husband.

**The National Portrait Gallery.**—Although the external structure of the new gallery was almost completed at the close of the year, much remained to be done to the interior, and several months would have to elapse before any attempt could be made to rehang the National Portraits, which, therefore, remained at Bethnal Green. It was found very soon after the building was commenced that Mr. Alexander's original offer of 60,000*l.* would prove insufficient to carry out the plans of the architect, Mr. Christian. Mr. Alexander thereupon offered to increase his gift to 80,000*l.*, and the Government undertook to ask Parliament for 16,000*l.* in order to complete the work. This vote was obtained during the session without demur,



although doubts were expressed whether the vacant space to be subsequently available on the removal of the Wellington Barracks to Millbank would prove sufficient for the requirements of the two new adjoining galleries—the National and National Portrait—which would both seek to extend in the same direction.

With the small sum placed at his disposal (750*l.*) the director, Mr. George Scharf, C.B., purchased portraits of Abp. Bancroft (30*l.*), General Sir Lowry Cole (120*l.*), Frederick, King of Bohemia (20*l.*), and of Sir Peter Lely by himself (4*l.*). Unfortunately the rule by which the National Gallery had been authorised to carry on from one year to the succeeding any unexpended balance of the grant for purchases was not extended to the National Portrait Gallery. The amount therefore saved by the director was practically lost to the Gallery.

**The British Museum.**—The total amount voted for the expenses of the British Museum and the Natural History Museum at South Kensington was in round numbers 116,000*l.* for the former and 44,000*l.* for the latter, of which in each case at least one half was absorbed in the charges of management. At the British Museum the most important work of the year was the rearrangement of a large portion of the Greek marbles, and the completion of the rooms in which those of Asia Minor (Syria, &c.) were disposed in chronological order. In the print rooms open to the public an attractive display was made of the progress of the art of reproduction by etchings, prints and engravings during 300 years.

Very large additions were made during the year. Collections of Egyptian antiquities, including papyri, were obtained from the numerous excavations going on in various parts of that country. On the former 1,300*l.* was paid to Mr. R. J. Moss, including an interesting collection of lime-stone figures from the valley of the Nile. The Greek papyri, including a fragment of Homer, cost 480*l.*, and 100*l.* was paid to the Rev. C. Murch for Greek and Roman papyri, 420*l.* to Herr Graf for Coptic and other MSS., and 100*l.* for four painted plaster heads, and 150*l.* to Dr. Triard for a collection of Arabic MSS. A collection of objects from Northern China, chiefly religious figures, was obtained through our consul in Berlin, Herr von Bleichroder, for 163*l.*, and a fine collection of silver Roman vessels was purchased in Paris from M. Duseigneur for 500*l.* Egina antiquities from Mr. Cresswell for 120*l.*; the terra-cotta figures found at Myrina by Mr. Dennis for 120*l.*; a number of antique terra-cotta vases from the Brantingham Collection for 123*l.*, and some archaic (Roman) terra-cotta figures from Sgr. Innocenti, Rome, for 140*l.*; a collection of objects found at Erctea and elsewhere for 420*l.*; and some mediæval remains from Chiari and Orvieto were bought for 100*l.*

Amongst the British and mediæval antiquities the most interesting addition was the boss of a Roman shield found in the Tyne, and purchased for 300*l.* from Rev. W. Greenwell, and the objects obtained for 300*l.* at the Bateman Sale. Upwards of 800*l.* was expended in the purchase of coins, chiefly Greek, one of which was bought from a Greek dealer for 125*l.*; and nearly 700*l.* was devoted to the acquisition of prints, of which two drawings (Rubens and Mantegna) at the Holford Sale were obtained for 250 guineas. The Manuscripts and Printed Book Departments were enriched by the collection of the Auckland Papers, purchased from the family for 600*l.*; by Lord de Ramsay's Abbey Deeds and other papers, 100*l.*; and by the papers bought at Sir J. O. Phillipp's Sale, 575*l.*

Natural History Museum was enriched by a collection of rare insects valued for 2,500*l*.

**South Kensington Museum.**—Although the cost of the maintenance of the Museum represented a very small fraction of the State aid given to action, yet it offered to most observers the most tangible proof of public interest in that domain. The aim of the Department of Science is to bring together objects illustrative of the progress of the art of the Renaissance, especially of those which have relation to design and ornament. For many years the collection of objects purchased had far exceeded the limits of space to be found in the galleries, some of which are only temporary. A completion of the museum, in accordance with designs obtained from Mr. Aston Webb, had been promised for several years beyond an expenditure of 5,000*l*. on the foundations and erecting of sheds, no steps have been taken to carry out the buildings. The cost of 400,000*l*., which would be spread over ten years, deterred the Government from making an appeal to the Treasury, which had already granted for a number of other important public works. The subject was debated at length (May 18) in the House of Commons, and no reply could be obtained from the Government as to the resumption of the works.

A new departure was made in the administration of the Department by the appointment of Professor J. H. Middleton to the post of Director of the South Kensington Museum Cast Department, whilst the duties of the Department were assigned to Major-General Festing, the Director Mr. T. Armstrong being thus relieved of the personal superintendence of the Museum. The wisdom of the plan was much challenged at the time, it having been found that during the interval between the retirement of Sir John Lubbock and the appointment of Professor Middleton, the interests of the Museum had been duly cared for.

The sum provided by Parliament for purchases during the year was on a liberal scale, *viz.*: works of Art, 10,000*l*.; reproductions, 1,200*l*.; photography, &c., 1,200*l*. (an increase of 200*l*. on the preceding year); a collection of oil and water-colour paintings, 1,000*l*.; Art Library, 500*l*.

The acquisitions of the year included a collection of Italian sculpture, including several well-heads and plinths, removed from Branksen Island, purchased from the Right Hon. A. F. Cavendish-Bentinck, for 1,000*l*.; a collection of old English furniture, including the panel of St. George, purchased of Mr. C. H. Marshall of Retford, 500*l*.; purchases at the Spitzer collection including a remarkable specimen of binding (the Gospels), 1,900*l*.; a number of knives, spoons, girdles, &c., purchased at the Bazaar Sale, 610*l*.; a collection of objects in iron work purchased of Dr. Schmitt at Aix-la-Chapelle, 650*l*.; a panel of Burgundian tapestry (by the late M. Masson), 315*l*.; a collection of Hispano Moorsque ware, 800*l*.; purchased in Madrid; and two collections of Damascus and Rhodian ware, purchased in Paris; the Stoke Prior Treasure Trove, four silver cups and salts, 175*l*.; armour at the De Cosson Sale, 280*l*.; a pair of unique shoes at the Field Sale, 500*l*.; the Holy Carpet from the mosque at Jerusalem, 1,750*l*.; and thirty-seven pieces of Aragonese and other vessels,



Amongst the most important reproductions were those of the Sala del Cambio at Perugia, 1,000*l.* Three copies of Donatello's group of Judith and Holofernes, 400*l.*, executed at Boston, U.S.A.; one copy for South Kensington, another for Edinburgh, and the third for Dublin. Reproductions of Italian medals, 240*l.* The principal additions to the water-colour collection were "Life in the Harem," J. F. Lewis, R.A., 270*l.*; "Old Chelsea," by James Miller, 25*l.*

**The Royal Academy.**—The winter exhibition at Burlington House of the works of old and deceased British masters included some fine portraits by Rembrandt and Van Dyck, and a number of hitherto unexhibited portraits by Reynolds, Romney and Hoppner. The novel feature of the exhibition was the attempt to show side by side the works of two of the members of the "League of Poetry and Sentiment," Edward Calvert and Samuel Palmer, both of whom had sat in the "House of the Interpreter," William Blake. Of the last named a number of his illustrations to Dante were also exhibited, but they belonged to the period when his mind and health were almost, if not wholly, broken down, and conveyed no adequate conception of Blake's fancy or power.

The summer exhibition, the 125th, contained 1,829 works, of which 948 were oil paintings and 897 water colours and miniatures, showing a high average of merit—technical skill being strongly marked in all sorts of work. The president's most important work was "Rizpah watching over the dead Bodies of her Children," a powerful but somewhat painful composition. The most remarkable portraits were those by Mr. J. S. Sargent, of Lady Agnes, regarded on all sides as the gem of the exhibition; Mr. Dicksee was represented by the "Funeral of a Viking," a large and impressive scene; Sir John Millais's portrait of Mr. John Hare; Mr. Solomon Solomon's "Your Health," lamp-light portraits of a number of persons seated round a dinner table; Mr. Pettie's portrait of Mr. Alderman Wright; Mr. Alma Tadema's of Professor Joachim; Mr. Herkomer's of the Duke of Devonshire. Amongst the more imaginative works, Mr. Hacker's "Circe," and Mr. Waterhouse's "Hamadryad," were the most conspicuous, and amongst the landscapes, Mr. Ridley Corbet's "Spring in the Severn Valley" and Mr. Summerscales's sea-piece were the most generally admired.

No purchases were made by the Trustees of the Chantry Fund on the ground that in the previous year the actual interest of the bequest had been exceeded, and this added to the general depression was a further blow to the hopes of the younger artists.

At the anniversary meeting of the Royal Academy, held in December, the President's biennial address was devoted to the spread of Gothic architecture in Europe, which he traced from its earlier stages found at Aix-la-Chapelle until its final development into the flamboyant styles of Western France. The gold medals and studentships of the year were awarded to Mr. Harold Edward Speed (Historical Painting), Mr. David McGill (Sculpture), and Mr. James S. Stewart (Architecture). The Turner Gold Medal and the Creswick Prize were both carried off by Mr. Harold Waite.

Mr. Edward Burne-Jones resigned his associateship in the course of the year, and was subsequently created a baronet. Messrs. J. Pettie, Vicat Cole and C. B. Birch, Academicians, died during the year, and Mr. T. Faed retired.

Messrs. Woods, McWhirter and H. Moore, Associates, were elected Academicians, and Mr. T. W. North as Associate.

**The New Gallery.**—The winter exhibition at the New Gallery was devoted solely to the works of Sir (then Mr.) E. Burne-Jones, of whom Mr. Ruskin had once said: "His work is simply the only art work produced in England which will be received by the future as classic of its kind—the best that has been or could be." The collection of Mr. Burne-Jones' works brought together extended over thirty years of his life as a painter; starting at the moment that Pre-Raphaelitism was on the wane. It included all his principal works, from the "Merciful Knight," painted in 1863, down to his latest productions. Amongst those which found especial favour were the "Chant d'Amour," "Venus' Mirror," "King Cophetua and the Beggar Maiden," "The Golden Stairs," and the "Beguiling of Merlin." The result of the exhibition was to establish still more in public favour the artist who had until the opening of the Grosvenor Gallery—the precursor of the New Gallery—been practically unknown to the public, but whose works were highly prized by those who had become acquainted with them.

At the summer exhibition Mr. E. Burne-Jones was represented by two pictures inspired by the "Romance of the Rose"; Mr. Watts by an allegorical picture, "The Open Door," and a fanciful treatment of "Neptune's Waves," a study of treating waves; Mr. J. S. Sargent by two vivid portraits, Mrs. Hugh Hammersly in peach-coloured velvet, and Mrs. George Lewis in black silk. Mr. David Murray, A.R.A.; Mr. Herkomer, R.A.; Mr. Waterhouse, A.R.A.; Mr. Brangwyn and Mr. Matthew Hale were also strongly represented.

The exhibition of the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours, of the Royal Institute, of the Institute of Painters in Oils, of the Society of British Artists, were as strongly supported as ever. The new English Art Club showed a very distinct advance in public favour, and some of its leaders held "one-man" exhibitions, which attracted a considerable number of visitors.

**The Art Sales of the year** bore abundant witness to the financial depression which weighed so heavily upon all classes of the community whose income was due to either land rents or business profits. The sales were probably more numerous than ever, but the prices obtained, except in a few rare instances, were considerably lower than in previous years. Only twenty-six pictures sold publicly passed the limit of 1,400 guineas, as compared with thirty-seven in 1891 and fifty-eight in 1892. The most important picture sales of the year were those of the Bingham-Mildmay (43,024*l.*), Stewart Hodgson (9,180*l.*), Revelstoke (14,108*l.*), Murrietta (21,306*l.*), Francis Baring collections (25,031*l.*), Brocklebank (11,348*l.*), G. Field (24,557*l.*), and portions of the collections of the Earls of Onslow (7,720*l.*) and Essex (6,948*l.*). The Holford collection of etchings and engravings realised 28,000*l.*

The honours of the highest price paid in the course of the year for a single picture were shared between Gainsborough's portrait of Mrs. Drummond, and Rembrandt's portrait of a lady (1644), each of which realised 7,000 guineas; the former being from Lord Revelstoke's and the latter from Lord Clifden's collections. Another Rembrandt, "portrait of a man," from the latter source obtained 5,775*l.* Three fine specimens of J. M. W. Turner, belonging to the Earl of Essex, realised: "A Trout Stream," 5,040*l.*;



"Walton Bridge," 4,305*l.*; "The Nore" (1808), 4,305*l.* The only higher price obtained was for a landscape, by Hobbema, from the Field collection, 4,725*l.* Three works by Velasquez in the Clifden collection sold: "Mariana of Austria," 4,305*l.*; "Isabell de Bourbon," 2,625*l.*; and "Infanta Teresa," 1,260*l.* Sir F. Leighton's "Daphnephoria" (Baring) realised 3,937*l.*; Sir J. Reynolds' "Lady Caroline Price" (Price), 3,885*l.*; Watteau's "Le Bal Champêtre" (Mildmay), 3,527*l.*; Ruysdael's "Scheveningen Beach" (Mildmay), 3,045*l.*, purchased by the National Gallery, and its companion picture, 1,785*l.*; Greuze, "Head of a Girl" (Field), 3,045*l.*; P. de Hoogh, "Interior" (Mildmay), 2,940*l.*; Constable, "Hampstead Heath" (1830) (Baring), 2,677*l.*; J. F. Lewis, "Commentator of the Koran" (Bowman), 2,677*l.*; Rembrandt, "The Artist's Wife" (Mildmay), 2,677*l.*; Gainsborough, "Lady Rodney" (Revelstoke), 2,415*l.*; Sir David Wilkie, "The Letter of Introduction" (Brocklebank), 2,152*l.*

Two small miniatures of Mme. de Montespan and Mme. de Maintenon, by Petitot, were sold for 320*l.*, and eleven miniatures of Queen Charlotte and her children, by Cosway, obtained prices varying from 100 to 250 guineas each. Of the etchings in the Holford collection those by Rembrandt which fetched the highest prices were: "Rembrandt Leaning on a Sword" (from the Aylesford collection), first state, 2,000*l.*; "Ephraim Bonus," first state with the black ring, 1,955*l.*; "Christ Healing the Sick," first state, on Japan paper, 1,750*l.*; "The Coppenol," Wilson's second state, 1,350*l.*; "Christ before Pilate," first state, Japan paper, 1,250*l.* The highest price obtained for a drawing in silver point, by Albrecht Dürer, "The Two Heads," was 635*l.*, and a pen drawing worked by Paul Potter, dated 1650, "A Farmyard," realised 270*l.* To the foregoing sales should be added those of the Furniture and Porcelain of the Earl of Essex, 22,000*l.*; Furniture and Art objects of G. Field, 25,735*l.*; Do. of Lord Revelstoke, 35,153*l.*; of H. Bingham-Mildmay, 10,056*l.*; of the Earl of Onslow, 9,289*l.*; and the armour of Baron de Cosson, 8,458*l.*

Of the book sales the most important were those of the Bateman Heirlooms (three portions), 12,600*l.*; of Rev. W. E. Buckley (first portion), 4,669*l.*; of Sir Thomas Phillipps (portion of the MSS. and Autograph Library), 2,474*l.*; Library of Edwin Walker of Huddersfield, 3,427*l.*; of Sir R. Comyn, 2,544*l.*; of Bishop Stortford School (part), 3,158*l.*; and the Auchinlech Library (portion), 2,535*l.* The cabinet of coins belonging to Viscount Halifax realised 1,400*l.*, that of Mr. A. Briggs, 2,375*l.*, and Dr. Weher's Roman coins, 1,000*l.*

## II. DRAMA.

The year, though not at all prosperous so far as financial results of theatrical enterprise are concerned, will be remembered beyond the average as regards the quality of its dramatic products. Mr. Pinero, who was content all through last year with the laurels previously won, mainly in the field of comedy, now entered on a new path. "The Second Mrs. Tanqueray," a play in four acts, which appeared at the St. James's on May 27, was a social tragedy, depressing but infinitely pathetic. The main subject, the attempt at rehabilitation by a comfortable marriage of a fallen woman and its disastrous failure, was one that in the hands of a less skilful dramatist might well have resulted in the addition of one more to the already long list of morbid and unconvincing plays dealing with problems of modern sociology.

Mr. Pinero's work, however, was not of the class which so often acquires a momentary vogue merely from curiosity as to its subject; it enlisted the sympathy and, as its long run proved, touched the heart of the public. The acting was worthy of one of the most striking of recent plays, Mrs. Patrick Campbell's embodiment of the title rôle being a most impressive creation. Mr. Alexander, as the philanthropic husband who has married the notorious courtesan "to give her a chance," was provided with a part which added materially to his growing reputation, and a minor character was very competently portrayed by Mr. Cyril Maude.

Mr. H. A. Jones' four-act comedy, "The Bauble Shop," produced at the Criterion on January 29, was at once a telling play, ranking with the author's best work, and a scathing satire on the *soi-disant* "social purity movement," suggested, no doubt, by some recent Parliamentary developments of that movement. As with Mr. Pinero, however, the skill of the playwright availed to redeem his work from the reproach of didacticism. Humorous writing and clever depiction of character sufficed to rivet the attention of the audience on the drama as a drama; though it must be confessed that the indications of popular sympathy were not as a rule on the side of the official representative of "social purity." The piece afforded the actors capital opportunities, which were fully taken advantage of by a cast comprising Misses Mary Moore, Enson and Jeffreys, and Messrs. Somerset, Blakeley, Aynesworth, Valentine and Wyndham. To particularise, it may be said that Mr. Wyndham showed the versatility of his gifts in a part calling for greater intensity than those with which he is usually associated. Mr. Oscar Wilde's new play, "A Woman of no Importance," was well received at the Haymarket on April 19. It contained some exceedingly strong scenes to which full effect was imparted by the admirable acting of Mrs. Bernard Beere, Miss Julia Neilson, and Messrs. Tree and Fred Terry. "The Tempter," Mr. H. A. Jones' new version of "Mephistopheles," was a four-act tragedy of the grimmest type. It was written in blank verse, often attaining a high level, which was strikingly delivered by Mr. Tree as the Tempter. The remaining parts were filled in a way that left nothing to be desired by Mrs. Tree, Miss Julia Neilson and Mr. Fred Terry; and the play was mounted in very beautiful and artistic style, the scene being laid in the fourteenth century. The new management at the Comedy Theatre opened auspiciously at the end of September, when Mr. Sydney Grundy's four-act play, "Sowing the Wind," entered on its long run. The success of this piece was largely due to the efforts of the cast, which comprised Miss Winifred Emery, Miss Rose Leclercq and Miss A. Hughes, and Messrs. S. Brough, Brandon Thomas and Cyril Maude, and to the effect of one very strong and sympathetic scene, which more than atoned for incongruities that did not escape the eyes of the critics. The late poet laureate was represented by two plays, of which but one secured any measure of success. "Becket," produced at the Lyceum on February 6, had the merit of providing Mr. Irving with one of his finest parts—that of the titular character—and also enjoyed the advantage of his judgment in the matter of revision for stage purposes. The most pedantic would agree to condone a process which secured to the English stage a work of splendid poetic quality from the pen of a great English writer dealing with a prominent episode in the national history, even if the revision had been less scrupulous than it actually was.



The result in any case was wholly satisfactory, *viz.*, an important addition to the somewhat meagre list of high-class literary plays of recent production likely to keep the stage. The interpretation at the Lyceum was worthy of the subject. Miss Terry as Rosamund and Miss Genevieve Ward as the Queen were admirable, the impersonation of the King by Mr. Terriss was one of his best achievements, and the cast throughout was competent. It was remarked that Mr. Irving here added the portrayal of a third great ecclesiastic to his famous embodiments of Richelieu and Wolsey. The "Foresters," the other work of the laureate, was a poetical drama in four acts founded on the story of Robin Hood, and was brought out at the new Daly's Theatre in Cranbourne Street on October 3. Its merits were poetical rather than dramatic, and although it had the advantages of incidental music by Sir A. Sullivan and a faultless representative of Maid Marian in Miss Ada Rehan, it was a failure as an acting play. "Bartonmere Towers" (Savoy, Feb. 1) showed Mr. Rutland Barrington to far greater advantage as actor than as playwright.

Two very successful specimens of spectacular melodrama issued from the pen of the late Mr. Henry Pettitt. The first, "A Woman's Revenge," produced at the Adelphi on July 1, was the work of the deceased dramatist alone; the second, "A Life of Pleasure" (Drury Lane, Sept. 22), in collaboration with Sir Augustus Harris. Both plays followed the strictly conventional lines of previous efforts, appealing to the sympathies of the audience by sharp contrasts of character and motive, and by sensational *spectacle*. They formed the final links in an unbroken chain of successes, and bore striking testimony to Mr. Pettitt's knowledge of the public for which he always wrote; both running throughout the year. Messrs. Sims and Buchanan were less successful with their melodrama in five acts, "The Black Domino" (Adelphi, April 1), probably through failing to make their hero sufficiently heroic, since in point of *mise-en-scene* the piece left nothing to be required.

In the matter of plays of a lighter kind, it has hitherto been the habit of English dramatists to draw very largely on the French stage; the pieces borrowed generally losing much of their piquancy in the process of adaptation. It is a satisfactory feature, therefore, in the history of the past year that a considerable number of the humorous plays which achieved success were drawn from original sources. The career of "Charley's Aunt," by Mr. Brandon Thomas, which came out quite at the close of 1892, was nothing short of phenomenal, and its hold on the public is still maintained. Mr. Pinero's "Amazons" (Court, March 7) bristled with amusing dialogue, which was cleverly treated by Misses Terriss, Hanbury and Browne, and by Messrs. Weedon Grossmith, F. Kerr, and others, and fulfilled its intention in thoroughly diverting the audience.

"Gudgeons," a three-act comedy verging on the farcical, by Messrs. Parker and "Thornton Clark," which came out at Terry's Theatre on November 10, was an effective piece, and afforded Miss Janette Steer and Mr. Waring the means of materially enhancing their respective reputations. More extravagant, but equally taking, were Mr. Mark Melford's "A Screw Loose" (Vaudeville, Nov. 4), and Mrs. R. Pacheco's "Tom, Dick and Harry" (Trafalgar Square, Nov. 2); though a large proportion of the warm reception of the last-named was due to the acting of Mr. Hawtrey.

Burlesque no longer holds the place it did in popular favour, whether

from falling off in the quality of the productions or from change in the public taste it is not easy to say. Mr. J. T. Tanner's "Don Juan" (Gaiety, Oct. 28) was a good medium for the peculiar talents of Mr. Arthur Roberts and Miss Cissy Loftus, and for the excellent dancing of Miss Sylvia Grey, but it hardly fulfilled the requirements of satisfactory burlesque as generally understood. "Little Christopher Columbus," a three-act burlesque by Messrs. Sims and Cecil Raleigh, with music by Ivan Caryll (Lyric, Oct. 10), received a good deal of unfavourable criticism, and with some changes achieved a large measure of success.

The year has been rather barren, too, on the whole, as regards the production of comic opera, although the return to collaboration of Mr. Gilbert and Sir A. Sullivan in "Utopia, Limited" at the Savoy was an event which gave great and general satisfaction. Beginning on October 7, the operetta entered on the new year with every prospect of rivalling its predecessors in length of run. The mounting was equal, if not superior, to that of previous seasons at Mr. D'Oyly Carte's theatre, and the cast, though weakened by the loss of two of the most prominent exponents of the Gilbert-Sullivan musical drama in Miss Jessie Bond and Mr. Grossmith, was highly efficient, comprising Misses Nancy Mackintosh and Rosina Brandram, and Messrs. Charles Cunningham, Rutland Barrington, J. Le Hay and W. H. Denny. "Morocco Bound," by Mr. Arthur Branscombe, with lyrics by Adrian Ross and music by F. O. Carr (Shaftesbury, April 13); "The Magic Opal," by A. Law, with music by Señor Albeniz, produced at the Lyric in January and transferred to the Prince of Wales' in April under the altered title of "The Magic Ring"; "Jane Annie," by Messrs. J. M. Barrie and Conan Doyle, with music by Ernest Ford (Savoy, May 13), and "A Gaiety Girl," by Owen Hall, lyrics by Harry Greenbank and music by Sydney Jones (Prince of Wales', Oct. 14), must be chronicled among more or less successful efforts in this particular field.

Concurrently with the growth in production of original plays, there has been a marked falling off in the number of adaptations of literary work. G. S. Ogilvie's dramatisation of Charles Kingsley's novel, "Hypatia," which appeared at the Haymarket on January 2, constitutes the only prominent exception to this rule. This play, which was a genuine success, had the advantage of some appropriate and intrinsically beautiful incidental music by Dr. Hubert Parry, and also owed a great deal as regards *mise-en-scène* to the artistic aid of Mr. Alma Tadema; while from the dramatic point of view it gained by furnishing Mr. Tree with a striking rôle. The persistent efforts of the admirers of Henrik Ibsen to establish his works on the English stage have not received much encouragement. No one has hitherto been able to furnish a clue to the meaning, if any, of "The Master Builder," a translation by Messrs. Archer and Edmund Gosse which was produced at the Trafalgar Theatre on February 20, and transferred to the Vaudeville in March. The admirable acting of Miss Robins and Mr. Herbert Waring, while furnishing an exhilarating spectacle of good artists struggling against difficulties, failed to render the purpose of the play intelligible to the audience or to save it from ridicule at the hands of the critics. Among lighter adaptations of foreign work which achieved a measure of success may be mentioned Mr. Stocq's version of Feydeau's "Monsieur Chasse" under the name of "The Sportsman" (Comedy, Jan. 21), and Mr. Fred. Horner's farce, "The Other



Fellow," a rendering of Feydeau and Desvallières' "Champignol malgré lui," which was favourably greeted at the Court on September 9 and afterwards at the Strand.

The year has witnessed nothing remarkable in the presentment of the Shakespearian drama. The revivals at the Lyceum included "Much Ado about Nothing," "The Merchant of Venice," and "King Henry the Eighth," with which Mr. Irving had already made the public familiar. "The Taming of the Shrew" was chosen for the opening of the new Daly's Theatre on June 27, when the establishment of the American company in a permanent London home was welcomed by a large and enthusiastic audience. The excisions which the American conception of propriety induced Mr. Daly to make in his version of "The School for Scandal," produced at this theatre on November 13, provoked a good deal of astonishment not unminged with amusement; but the representation as a whole was highly commendable, Miss Rehan being charming as Lady Teazle, while the Sir Peter of Mr. W. Farren was an almost faultless impersonation. Mr. Pinero's adaptation of "Le Maître de Forges" ("The Ironmaster"), when revived in March at the Avenue, with Mr. and Mrs. Kendal in the leading parts, seemed to have lost some of its former attractive power. The reappearance of Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft in the revival of "Diplomacy" at the Garrick in February, with Misses Kate Rorke and Olga Nethersole, and Messrs. Hare and Forbes Robertson, was a veritable triumph for all the artists concerned, who fully justified the warmth of their reception by the brilliancy of the performance. Among lighter pieces which attained the honour of revival were "A Pantomime Rehearsal" and "The Burglar and the Judge" at the Court Theatre, "The Churchwarden" at Terry's, and "Forbidden Fruit" and "The Guv'nor" at the Vaudeville; while the comparatively weak position of new comic opera served to bring to the front such old favourites as Lecocq's "Fille de Madame Angot" and Offenbach's "Madame Favart" at the Criterion, and Andran's "La Mascotte" at the Gaiety and Criterion.

The performances at the Lyric Theatre, in May and June, of plays in Italian by a company of which the central figure was Signora Eleonora Duse, necessarily appealed to a limited audience; but they established the claim of the Italian actress to a very high position in her art.

The inclusion in the *repertoire* of the Italian versions of "La Dame aux Camélias" and "Fédora" naturally led to a comparison with the well-known embodiments of the parts by Mme. Sarah Bernhardt, the general verdict being that where pathos and tenderness were demanded Signora Duse stood the test, but that she was not capable of rising to the passionate intensity of the French actress.

Another great opportunity to the cultured few was afforded at Drury Lane in June and July, by the visit of the company of the Comédie Française. The great majority of the plays presented were already known to the London playgoer, and relied simply on the perfection of *ensemble* which has always been the leading quality of this unrivalled troupe. The five-act drama, "Par le Glaive," by Jean Richepin, and M. Alexander Parodie's "La Reine Juana," both written in verse, were, however, novelties on an English stage.

## III. MUSIC.

The musical year has been by no means uneventful, especially in the domain of dramatic music. A preliminary season of mixed English and Italian opera was started at Drury Lane, at Easter, under Sir Augustus Harris, with a company including many well-known artists of both nationalities. The repertoire consisted mainly of works which have been of recent years constantly before the public, and there is little to chronicle beyond a revival of Halévy's beautiful but much-neglected masterpiece, "La Juive." With the exception of one English version, produced in the provinces some years back by the Carl Rosa Company, this opera has been laid on the shelf since the year 1856, when the old Covent Garden Opera House was destroyed by fire. It was revived this year in Italian, with adequate *mise-en-scène*, and a satisfactory cast, comprising Mlle. Gherlsen as Rachel, Mlle. Dagmar as the Princess, M. Castelmarty as the Cardinal, M. Guetary as Leopold, and Signor Giannini as Eleazar. The last-named artist greatly enhanced his reputation by a singularly powerful rendering.

On May 18 the regular season opened at Covent Garden with "Lohengrin," in which the principal parts fell to Mme. Melba and Signor Vignas. The repertoire displayed more novelty than usual, five new operas being produced in the course of the eleven weeks' duration of the season; but, as three of these were performed on one occasion only, it remains to be seen to what extent they will attain permanent popularity. In the case of Leoncavallo's short opera, "Pagliacci," no such doubt exists, and as it was produced in May the management may be assumed to have been from the outset confident of a run. The libretto, which is the work of the composer, is constructed with masterly skill, and the music at once melodious and dramatic charmed the public ear. The performance at Covent Garden was in every respect worthy of the occasion. Mme. Melba sang to perfection the music allotted to Nedda, and Signor de Lucia gave a striking impersonation of the injured husband—dramatically, the most exacting rôle in the opera. The remaining parts were well filled by Signor Ancona as Tonio, Mr. Richard Green as Silvio the lover, and M. Bonnard as the harlequin Peppe. This opera kept the stage throughout the season, and was more frequently performed than any other work. Bizet's one-act opera, "Djamileh," which made its first appearance at the Theatre Lyrique in Paris in 1872, three years before "Carmen," was ill-suited to the dimensions of Covent Garden, and suffered, moreover, in the process of adaptation to the exigencies of grand opera. In spite of its many beauties, the permanency of its tenure in London remained doubtful. Mascagni's "I Rantzau" was more happy in its reception by the critics than by the public. It was given once only, under the *bâton* of the composer, and supported by an excellent cast, comprising Mme. Melba, Signor de Lucia, and Signor Ancona; and though it did not actually "catch on," left the impression that its time would come. The production of M. Isidore de Lara's "Amy Robsart," and Mr. Villiers Stanford's "Veiled Prophet," at the close of the season, is remarkable from the fact of two English composers securing a footing at the Royal Italian Opera. The first-named, even in the hands of Mme. Calvé, Mme. Armand, and MM. Lassalle and Alvary, secured no more than a *succès d'estime*. Mr. Stanford's work is more important. It was written in 1877 to a well-constructed libretto by Mr.



Barclay Squire, founded on Moore's poem, and was produced at Hanover in 1881. Between then and its production at Covent Garden, it underwent some minor modifications, and the version now presented was in Italian by Signor Mazzucato. The chief parts were entrusted to Mme. Nordica, Miss Lucile Hill, Signor Vignas, and Signor Ancona, and its reception by critics and public pointed to a permanent place in the *repertoire*.

Although there was no concurrent series of German opera at Drury Lane as in the year 1892, several of Wagner's works were given in German at Covent Garden, in which two new soprani, Frau Moran-Olden and Frau Reuss-Belce, and a new mezzo, Fraülein Olitzka, appeared with success. Mme. Armand, mentioned above, was also a new-comer of marked ability. A highly interesting feature of the season was the assumption for the first time by Mme. Calvé of the part of Carmen, of which she gave a singularly original and powerful rendering. No autumn season of opera took place in London, the performances of Italian opera being transferred to the provinces, where they met with a cordial welcome.

The Carl Rosa company also carried on provincial performances, bringing out at Liverpool, in February, "The Golden Web," a posthumous comic opera by Mr. Goring Thomas. Though of lighter calibre than the works by which the composer is best known, it showed much of his habitual charm. It was subsequently mounted for a time at the Lyric Theatre in London. Mr. Haydn Parry's "Miami," produced at the Princess' in the autumn, may be chronicled as a contribution to this branch of the art from native sources.

In connection with the operatic history of the year at home, mention should also be made of a recital at the Covent Garden Promenade Concerts of the music of Saint Saëns' important work, "Samson et Dalila," although circumstances combined to make the presentment somewhat unsatisfactory. Performances of Lortzing's "Czar und Zimmermann" by the students of the Royal Academy, and, for the first time in England, of Schumann's "Genoveva" by the Royal College of Music, must be recorded.

Meanwhile, events of great importance were taking place on the continent, foremost among them being the production of Verdi's "Falstaff," at the Scala, in Milan, in February. This latest work of the aged Italian master is at present unknown to the majority of Englishmen, except through the medium of some interesting lectures given on it by Dr. Mackenzie; but it was regarded by all who had the good fortune to hear it as a remarkable achievement. At the Dal Verme theatre in Milan, Leoncavallo's "I Medici" was brought out by the enterprising publisher, Signor Sonzogno, simultaneously with Mr. Cowen's "Signa"; but the satisfaction generally felt at the production of an English opera at a prominent Italian house was marred by a serious quarrel that arose over the relative qualities of the respective works. The question was debated with much warmth on both sides, but its merits have not up to the present been made clear to the general public. The performance at Carlsruhe of a cycle of Berlioz's operas, in November, is of artistic significance taken in conjunction with the growing interest in the French master's work in this country.

At the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts several new orchestral works were added to the *repertoire*, including two violoncello concertos written and played by Herr Julius Klengel, the one No. 2 in D Op. 20 (March 25), the other No. 3 in A (Nov. 25). Both works, as well as Grieg's suite, "Peer

lynt," No. 2, were now played for the first time in England. On February 5 Dvorák's fine symphony, No. 4 in G Op. 88, which was first produced under the composer's *bâton* at the Philharmonic Concerts in 1890, and was chosen as the representative work on the occasion of the honorary degree of Doctor of Music being conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge in 1891, was brought to a first hearing at Sydenham; while Mr. German's new symphony, No. 2 in A minor, written for the Norwich Festival in October, was introduced here on December 16, and met with a most cordial reception. Further novelties included in the programmes of the year were a ballad for orchestra by Mr. Godfrey Pringle entitled "Durand," an orchestral prelude to the *Eumenides* of *Æschylus* by Mr. W. Wallace, a cradle song for orchestra by Mr. C. H. Couldery, and concert overtures by Dr. Miles ("Youth") and Mr. Marshall Hall. The small but efficient chorus was heard to advantage on March 11 in the first performance of a mass by Dvorák, and later on in Mr. Cowen's new cantata, "The Water Lily." It also took part with Mme. Valda and Messrs. Edward Lloyd and Andrew Mack in a concert on December 2, when the programme consisted solely of Wagner's works, the third act of "Tannhäuser" being given in its entirety. The eighty-first season of the Philharmonic Society opened on March 9, Dr. A. C. Mackenzie replacing Mr. Cowen in the conductor's chair. This old society seems to have taken a new lease of vitality, the programmes containing more new matter than has been the case for some years past, while the financial position is also understood to have considerably improved. Dr. Hubert Parry's clever incidental music to "Hypatia," written for the performance at the Haymarket Theatre, rather gained than lost by being moulded into an orchestral suite at the first concert of the series. Mr. A. Somervell's new orchestral ballad, "Helen of Kirkconnel," a pleasing specimen of "programme music," met with a very favourable reception at the second concert. Less successful novelties were Mr. Erskine Allon's setting of "Annie of Lochroyan," albeit a work of promise, Rheinberger's overture, "Demetrius," and a pianoforte concerto by Herr Huber, though the brilliant playing of Otto Hegner secured for the last-named a very cordial reception. The concert of June 1 was rendered memorable by the fact of M. Tchaikowsky conducting the first performance in London of his impressive symphony in F. minor No. 4, as well as by the presence at the piano of M. Saint Saëns. The season came to a brilliant close on June 15, when Max Bruch conducted his first violin concerto in G minor, the solo part being played by M. Gorski, and M. Paderewski played his own concerto in A minor Op. 17.

The "London Symphony Concerts" under Mr. Henschel had a fairly prosperous career. Profiting, no doubt, by criticisms which had been freely offered in the press, a new departure was made in the formation of an auxiliary choir. The programmes were generally interesting, and the chorus, although of modest dimensions, showed freshness and precision, tackling the difficulties of Beethoven's Choral Symphony at the final concert in a highly creditable manner.

The Richter Concerts, which began on June 5, were not distinguished by the production of much new work; but the virile force of the orchestra, and the attention to light and shade which their great conductor always imparts, contributed to a highly satisfactory and successful result. The chief item of novelty of the series was Smetana's Symphonic Poem, "Vlatava," an



interesting work which met with very sympathetic criticism. Sir Charles Hallé's orchestra fully maintained its fine form; but its operations were almost entirely confined to Manchester. The solitary concert given in London in February was rendered memorable by a magnificent performance of Brahms's double concerto for violin and 'cello by Lady Hallé and Herr Julius Klengel. Orchestral concerts were again given by the famous Spanish violinist Senor Sarasate, the orchestra being led by Sir W. Cusins. Lalo's *Fantaisie Norvegienne* in A, and Emile Bernard's second suite, were performed for the first time in London during the series. A new symphony in E minor by Emanuel Moor created a very good impression at a concert given by the eminent pianist Herr Schönberger on May 30; the success being due in a large measure to the excellent interpretation of the work by the orchestra under the direction of Herr Henschel. At a series of promenade concerts given at the Covent Garden Theatre in the autumn, under the auspices of Mr. Farley Sinkins, a successful attempt was made to restore these entertainments to the position they occupied in the days of Jullien and Alfred Mellon. An orchestra drawn from the best sources and led by Mr. Cowen and Mr. Betjemann gave excellent renderings on one night in each week of classical works, while the popular character of the programmes was maintained by the engagement of well-known artists, vocal and instrumental, as soloists. The record of the orchestral work for the year would be incomplete without mention of the good work done by amateur societies. The Strolling Players, under Mr. Norfolk Megone, entered on their twelfth season; Mr. George Kitchin and Mr. George Mount obtained results from the Stock Exchange Society and the Royal Amateur Orchestral Society respectively which would not have been believed possible a few years back; and the Westminster Orchestral Society, under Mr. Stewart Macpherson, supplemented its excellent performances by the introduction of novelties in the shape of Dr. Mackenzie's "Highland Ballad" for violin and a "Concert Stück" in A by the conductor.

Choral societies, which in the last few years have somewhat fallen into the background as regards Central London, have this year been reinforced by the Middlesex Choral Union. An enterprising spirit was shown by the inclusion in the first season of Dr. Hubert Parry's "Job," and as the choir includes some excellent voices, and has a large area from which to recruit, a satisfactory future may be looked for. The new Laistner Choir, so named after its conductor, which gave its first public concert in May, will also be watched with interest as a promising addition to the ranks. The Royal Choral Society, under Sir Joseph Barnby, at the Albert Hall, is still the sheet-anchor of seekers after purely choral work. The only danger for this society is its undisputed pre-eminence. The programmes consisted chiefly of well-known works; exceptions being a "Solemn Mass in D," by Miss E. M. Smyth, a work of promise, which had the advantage of attracting the attention of the Queen and the Empress Eugenie, and Professor Villiers Stanford's "Chicago Ode," a setting of Mr. Swinburne's lines, "East to West." Handel's rarely heard oratorio, "Jephtha," was given in December. Mr. Manns, the new conductor of the Handel Society, has infused new life into that body, and the best results may be looked for. The Bach Choir had a successful season, the concert of March 10, when the programme was drawn exclusively from Bach's works, being specially well

attended. Among many interesting items, the most taking was an "Orchestral Suite in D," the parts of which were only recently published. The attempt to re-introduce the original instrumentation led, however, to much discussion. The long treble trumpets were severely criticised as crowning the other parts, and the incident evoked expressions of opinion from eminent authorities, in the columns of the *Athenæum* and elsewhere, on the subject of Bach's writing for the trumpet. The concluding concert took place in Prince's Hall in May, the programme being composed of unaccompanied part music. The most interesting feature on this occasion was Palestrina's mass, "O Admirabile commercium," edited by Mr. W. S. Rockstro.

In the field of chamber music, the popular concerts at St. James' Hall, which resumed on January 7, included more than the usual proportion of new material. On January 30, a selection from two new sets of piano pieces by Brahms (Op. 116 and 117) was given with her usual neatness by Miss Fanny Davies, and five new vocal quartettes on Russian national poems by Herr Henschel were admirably rendered by Mrs. Henschel, Miss Janson, and Messrs. Shakespeare and Henschel. A new quartette for piano and strings, by Dvorák, in E flat, Op. 87 (Feb. 27), proved worthy of its author, though showing less national colour than usual with the Bohemian composer. The thirty-sixth season opened on October 16, when the position of normal leader was assumed by Mlle. Wietrowetz. Between then and Christmas a piano quartette by a previously unknown composer, Robert Mahn (Oct. 21), a quartette in G by Antonio Bazzini, formerly known as a great violinist, and at one time a professor at the Milan Conservatoire (Dec. 4), and six songs by M. Paderewski, sung by Mr. Edward Lloyd, and accompanied by the composer, constituted the most prominent features.

Chamber music written for wind instruments again met with highly competent interpretations at the concerts given by Mr. Clinton as well as by the original Wind Instrument Society; and the hall of Barnard's Inn was appropriately chosen by Mr. Dolmetsch for the reproduction of extremely interesting specimens of the music of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, written for lute, viols, spinets and harpsichord. "Recitals," too numerous to mention, were given by *virtuosi* in the several branches of musical art, and served a useful purpose in bringing to the test of public criticism the capabilities of artists hitherto unknown in London. Among such, M. Siloti, a pianist of exquisite delicacy, Raoul Koczalski, an infant pianist with remarkable gifts, and Mlle. Scotta, a promising violinist, should be specially mentioned.

The triennial festival at Norwich was the most successful held in this city for many years past. Great pains had been bestowed upon the selection of the choir, with the result that the choruses were rendered with a force and precision contrasting very favourably with previous occasions in recent years. The programme was on the whole judicious, comprising three new choral works, of which the chief was Mr. Cowen's cantata, "The Water Lily," founded on Wordsworth's "Egyptian Maid," the libretto by Mr. Joseph Bennett. The other two, *viz.*, Mr. Gaul's "Una" and Mr. J. F. Barnett's "The Wishing Bell," were of slighter character and less suitable to the occasion, though pleasing and melodious. Mr. E. German's "Symphony in A Minor," No. 2, which was written for the festival, proved a highly



interesting addition to the orchestral productions of the year, showing a considerable advance on the composer's earlier effort. The executive committee were well advised in securing the services of the greatest artists of the day. The list of vocalists included Mme. Albani and Mr. Edward Lloyd; Señor Sarasate attracted a great audience, and M. Paderewski, who possesses at present a greater "drawing" power than any other artist, was present to introduce his fiery and effective "Polish Fantasia." The result of the festival was understood to be as successful financially as it was artistically. The festival of the Three Choirs took place this year at Worcester, the chief item of interest being a new overture by Dr. Hubert Parry, "On an Unwritten Tragedy." Festival performances of local interest only were held at Bristol, Cheltenham and Hanley. The idea, at one time in contemplation, of a three days' Mendelssohn Festival at the Crystal Palace, on the scale of the renowned triennial Handel Festivals, was abandoned in favour of a single monster performance of Sir A. Sullivan's "Golden Legend," which attracted a great audience in the summer.

A notable gathering of foreign masters took place at Cambridge in June, on the occasion of the bestowal of the honorary diploma. Böito, Max Bruch, Saint Saëns, and the late Peter Tchaikowsky were present, while Verdi and Grieg were prevented, the one by old age and the other by sickness, from attending. The opening of the new Queen's Hall in Langham Place, which took place in December, should be chronicled, as it cannot fail to influence the fortunes of metropolitan music to a material extent.

The obituary of the year includes the world-renowned name of Charles Gounod; Tchaikowsky, whose wild genius is only now beginning to be felt in England; Sir William Cusins, Sir George Elvey, the Windsor organist; Mr. Thos. Wingham, Mr. Sidney Naylor, Mr. Carl Jung, and Herr Wachtel, a *tenore robusto* famous some five and twenty years ago.

## SCIENCE OF THE YEAR.

THE loss of the *Victoria* off the coast of Tripoli on June 22 will long be remembered as an example of the consequences entailed by a single error in the management of so complex a machine as a modern warship. In spite of all precautions and of all known safety appliances a miscalculation of two cables' length has sufficed to send to the bottom one of our largest ships with some 400 of her crew. The investigation of this special disaster is a matter for experts in naval construction, but a general lesson may be drawn from this particular case that as the power and complexity of a machine increases so the consequences of its failure are proportionately more serious. A few serious accidents in the streets have also served to show that the distribution of electric currents for lighting or for motive power is not unattended with new and unforeseen dangers. Attention must also be directed to the ill effects on life, especially on child life, exerted by the huge blocks of model dwellings built only a few years ago as a healthy substitute for insanitary or over-crowded areas. To general surprise it is being found that the death-rate in such blocks is largely in excess of the average, and often surpasses that of the most unhealthy and uncared-for areas of the metropolis. Thus in hygiene as in engineering, to guard against known dangers is often to offer points of attack for new ones, which must in their turn be investigated and overcome.

Several gigantic engineering works have been completed, or brought within the verge of completion, during the year. The Manchester Ship Canal was completed for traffic; the Tower Bridge has been all but finished; and the important electrical installation on the banks of the Niagara will soon be in actual operation. This enterprise will furnish power in an abundance never before attempted. Twenty enormous dynamos, each of 5,000 horse power, will not only supply the wants of the new industrial town, but will send currents to light the streets of Buffalo twenty-one miles away. The falls are the source of this enormous store of power, turbines sunk in vertical shafts sixty feet deep being driven by the force of the water.

The past year will, however, be remarkable mainly for the unusual character of the early months of the year of which some details have been given under the heading of Meteorology.

## ASTRONOMY.

The eclipse of the sun on April 15 was observed under unusually favourable conditions at three separate positions on the line of totality. An American expedition undertook observations in Chili; another party, under the direction of Mr. A. Taylor, took up their post on the coast of Brazil, while a joint body of English and French observers were stationed on the west coast of Africa, in the French territory of Senegambia. The weather at each place was fine, and the sky sufficiently free from cloud to enable



work to be carried on during the whole time of eclipse. A large number of photographs have been obtained, the object being to study the nature and structure of the corona. The photographs show a condition of great solar activity, but the extension of the corona is unusually well developed round the sun's polar regions instead of round the equator. It would appear from the spectroscopic series of photographs that the coronal spectrum is a continuous one, and that the bright lines noticed in it are due to the solar prominences. Photometric observations of the intensity of the light of the corona were made, supplementing those obtained by Professor Thorpe in 1886, as the sun was then not so near a condition of maximum activity as on the present occasion. During the year there has been little apparent decrease in this activity. The sun-spot area has remained unusually large, and though no single spot has attained the dimensions of that observed early in 1892, yet in the beginning of August the total area of the spots was greater than on any previous occasion since records by means of daily solar photographs have been taken at Greenwich. This large development of sun-spots has been accompanied, as might be expected, with unusual violence of eruptions or solar storms, with their attendant phenomena of variations of terrestrial magnetism. The movements of the magnetic recording instruments have shown that the present maximum period has produced a greater daily range, and has affected the magnets more strongly than was the case during the last maximum. The relative proportions of heat radiated by the sun-spots and by the general solar surface—equal areas being taken in each case—have been studied by Professor Rambaut and Mr. Wilson. This comparatively new branch of solar physics has already led to some interesting results.

The vexed question of the existence or non-existence of a lunar atmosphere has been again raised by Professor W. H. Pickering. From observations of the occultation of Jupiter by the moon, Professor Pickering is satisfied that a certain definite though small flattening of the planet's limb is observable. The flattening is about  $1''$  in amount, and would point to the existence of an atmosphere on the moon's surface which would probably amount from  $\frac{1}{1000}$  or  $\frac{1}{2000}$  of that of the earth. Such an atmosphere would also explain the faint twilight noticed round the cusps of the crescent moon by some observers.

The great red spot in Jupiter which has been visible since 1878 has now faded away. The time of rotation of the fifth satellite of this great planet has been re-determined by its discoverer as 11 h. 57 m. 23 s. The usual addition to the number of asteroids has been made during the past year by the photographic method, to which allusion was made in the volume for last year. The total number of these bodies now known is rapidly approaching 400. Of these, nearly 150 have been discovered during the past decade. The asteroids have been suggested by Mr. Parkhurst as a test for comparisons of the sun's brightness at different times, on the ground that their small size and probable complete absence of any sources of internal disturbance render them better fitted for the purpose than the larger planets. Dr. Müller, from observations made at Potsdam, finds that the variation of the brightness of the planets does not agree with theory, being brighter than expected when in opposition. Mr. Parkhurst finds, on the other hand, that when properly corrected for position and distance the brightness of the

teroids is remarkably uniform, showing during the ten years of his observations a variation of less than 1 per cent.

The comet discovered by Mr. Holmes on November 6, 1892, varied considerably in brightness. It was on discovery visible to the naked eye, and was rapidly receding from the earth. As it was in a good position for observation, and must have been before that date much more favourably placed for notice, being nearer the earth, it appears somewhat surprising that no earlier observations were recorded. As it receded, its apparent diameter enlarged, and it became fainter and fainter, till by the end of December it was invisible. About the middle of January it was re-discovered

Dr. Palisa, when it showed a nucleus of the brightness of an eighth magnitude star, and a nebulous covering 20" in diameter. The orbit of this comet was found to lie between those of Mars and Jupiter, with an eccentricity resembling in degree some of the minor planets. Its period of revolution was very nearly seven years. Another short-period comet, that discovered by Mr. Finlay in 1886, was re-observed at the Cape on May 17 by its discoverer. It was then of about the eleventh magnitude, circular in form, and very diffuse. A comet, visible by the naked eye, was discovered almost simultaneously in Europe by M. Quenisset on July 9 at Juvisy, and in America by Mr. Rordame on July 8 at Utah. An English observer, Mr. Elmer, of Faversham, also independently discovered it a few hours after it had been observed by M. Quenisset. This comet had a tail estimated as 5° long. Two other telescopic comets have been also discovered during the year.

The spectrum of Nova Aurigæ has been studied by Dr. and Mrs. Huggins, who have made the interesting discovery that the two bright bands which occupy the position of the two chief nebular lines are not single lines such as would be found in a nebula, but consist of groups of numbers of separate lines, so that it is very improbable that the structure of the star is nebular. Dr. Huggins prefers the opinion that the Nova really consists of two stars, and that their close approach to each other has resulted in mutual enormous disturbances, to which was due the sudden outburst of brilliancy which characterised its discovery. Mr. Newall agrees with Dr. Huggins in the stellar nature of the Nova, while the Lick observers are equally satisfied that its spectrum is that of a nebula. In some respects a similarity may be traced between the Nova and  $\beta$  Lyræ, the spectrum of which has been studied by Professor Keeler and by Dr. Belopolsky at Pultowa. In both spectra bright and dark lines lying side by side were shifted relatively by rapid motion in the line of sight, pointing to the probability of orbital motion. Comparison of observations made on  $\beta$  Lyræ with those made on Nova Aurigæ will, no doubt, result in increased knowledge of the nature of this interesting and almost unique phenomenon. The photographic survey of the heavens has made steady progress during the year. In addition to the international scheme of stellar survey, maps of the Milky Way from eye observations have been published by Dr. Boeddicker and by M. E. Easton. Photographs by Professor Barnard, of the same tract, exhibit very clearly the various dark spots and rifts and cloud masses which make up this magnificent stellar region. Star catalogues and surveys have been published by Dr. Gill, of the Cape Observatory, who has carried out single-handed a survey of the southern heavens, and by M. Thorne, of the Argentine Obser-



vatory at Cordoba. M. Thorne's catalogue gives the place and brightness of every star between the 22nd and 32nd degrees of south latitude down to the tenth magnitude. This volume contains particulars of nearly 180,000 stars, and, in addition, the places of 340,000 stars have been noted down to the 42nd degree. These observations give an average of 56.2 stars per square degree, being nearly four times as many as noted by Argelander.

The Greenwich Observatory has been fitted with a new refracting telescope of 28 inches by Sir Howard Grubb, being the third largest refractor in the world. A permanent observatory station has been opened at Arequipa, in Peru at a spot 8,000 feet above sea level. On Mount Blanc M. Janssen has been able to observe that certain bands in the solar spectrum (A, B and C) are due to the earth's atmosphere.

An important contribution to the vexed question of the variation of latitude has been made by Mr. Chandler, who finds that this variation has a period of 427 days. This, if correct, will necessitate serious corrections in astronomical constants such as aberration, and will explain certain cases of abnormally large or of negative parallax. Mr. Chandler has recalculated the parallax for the pole star from the observation made at Pulkowa, and applying formulæ obtained from his 427 day period finds a value of '055". The variation in latitude is due to a want of absolute coincidence between the axis of rotation of the earth and its mathematical axis.

#### METEOROLOGY.

The past year will long be remembered for the long continued period of fine, bright, dry weather during the months of early summer. The Greenwich observations show that for five consecutive months (March to July) the temperature was above and the rainfall below the normal average. This does not, however, fully express the unusual character of the year. The total rainfall at Greenwich, from March 1 to June 30, was only 1.9 inches less than has ever been recorded for four consecutive months. The amount of sunshine has also been larger than at any time since sunshine recorders have been in use. In April there were 231 out of 415 possible hours sunshine, and on the 20th a temperature of 84° F. was registered at Cambridge.

An earthquake was observed in Monmouthshire at a little distance from the Severn on Jan. 3 by Mr. E. J. Lowe, and on the last day of the same month Zante was almost ruined by a succession of severe shocks which were again renewed on April 17 and 18. On March 4 a serious landslip at Sandgate did an immense amount of damage, but this slip was probably due to the accumulation of water in a porous soil resting on a sloping bed of clay. New York was visited by a sharp earthquake four days later. Early in April many villages in Servia were wrecked by a similar agency, and on May 24 the town of Thebes met with the same fate. Earthquake shocks were noticed in the British Isles on May 5 in the Isle of Man, and on November 2 in South Wales and Cornwall. In Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, a large volcano which had been dormant since 1821 renewed its activity at the end of 1892, and early in the year the entire summit of the mountain was blown off, and lava streams more than a mile in length poured out into the valley below. Stromboli and Etna have also been in a state of violent eruption, so that the past year has been noticeable for a general increase in earth disturbances.

Attempts have been made to extend the meteorological record by series of observations for the last seven years on the top of the Sönnblich in Austria at an elevation of 10,150 feet. The results of these seven years have now been published. They show that at this altitude the mean annual temperature is the same as that at the south of Spitzbergen, and that for only two months of the year does the mean value rise above the freezing point. Small balloons have been used to determine air temperatures at great heights by M. Hermite and by M. de Fonvielle. Some of these balloons appear to have reached an altitude of more than ten miles, and at that height the recording instruments showed a temperature of  $-60^{\circ}$  F., or a fall of  $1^{\circ}$  F. for approximately 400 feet of elevation.

#### CHEMISTRY.

The border regions of Chemistry and Physics offer such attractive fields for investigations on the constitution of matter that it is not surprising to find that both chemists and physicists have been busy in approaching, each from their own sides, a little further into the unknown region of molecular structure. On the physical side Lord Kelvin has been considering mathematically the forces which determine definite crystalline structure, and on the chemical side Mr. S. U. Pickering has continued his study of the phenomena of solution. Among other unexpected results he finds that a mobile liquid (in the case in question an amine) becomes in some cases viscous by the addition of water, although to a similar liquid the same quantity of water at the same temperature is without effect. Mr. Pickering has also succeeded in isolating two new hydrates of nitric acid, the existence of which he was led to conjecture from the alteration of the curve showing the heat produced by the solution of the acid in water in varying proportions. Professor Ramsay and Mr. J. Shields have shown that the molecular complexity of liquids varies within certain definite degrees. For many substances the molecule is of the same complexity in the liquid as it is in the gaseous state. In other substances two or more gaseous molecules seem to combine in the liquid molecule. M. Philippe Guye has propounded the theory that the degree of rotation of a ray of polarised light by a solution of an organic body is dependent upon the want of symmetry between the groups of molecules which are arranged round the central carbon atom, which is assumed to be the cause of the action on the polarised ray. The amount of this asymmetry is measured by the molecular weights of the various masses, and the greater the want of symmetry the greater the rotatory power. But this ingenious theory has been shown by Dr. P. Frankland to be inconsistent with facts. Thus in a series of homologous glyceric ethereal salts the optical activity increases from the formic to butyric, and then decreases in the hexylic and nonylic compounds. Again, the rotatory power of methyl diacetyl glycerate should be practically nil on M. Guye's theory, whereas it is much greater than in methyl glycerate, where the groups attached to the asymmetric carbon atom are of very unequal mass. It is obvious that the rotation of a ray of polarised light depends not only upon the molecular weight of the compound or of its constituent groups, but upon the arrangement and chemical characteristics. The increase of rotatory power in the glyceric and tartaric acid series rises



from methyl to propyl by regular increments of 6.69 or 6.33 respectively. In this connection may be mentioned the resolution by Messrs. Purdie and Marshall, of the optically inactive methoxy-succinic acid into its two active constituents, by conversion of the acid into a cinchonine salt, when the dextrorotatory compound is found to be less soluble than the levorotatory one. This method did not, however, succeed with another member of the same series, which was finally resolved by the action of the mould *Penicillium glaucum*, which consumed the levorotatory member. Mr. Tate has shown by experiments on dextrose and allied bodies that the products of bacterial decomposition, when the same organism is employed, depend upon the constitution of the molecule, and that groups of molecules are thus attacked rather than single molecules.

The researches of Messrs. Dunstan and Carr have shown that the alkaloid aconitine is readily converted into, and almost indistinguishable from, an isomer isaconitine, which is much less active physiologically, a matter of great importance in medicine. The first of these observers in conjunction with Mr. Shepherd has also proved that the physiological differences noticed between the action of the alkaloid (theine and caffeine) in tea and coffee respectively are due to impurities, the pure alkaloids themselves being identical. As an example of the varying action of alkaloids, it may be mentioned that M. L. Guinard has shown that goats resist the action of morphine about 1,000 times better than man. The progress of organic chemistry, so far as it affects the public, consists largely in the production of new dye-stuffs, and it would appear that by increasing the number of substituted nitrogen atoms in these compounds the permanency of colour and dyeing qualities of these bodies may be improved. For much of this work we are indebted to the German chemists into whose hands the greater part of the manufacture of artificial dyes has now fallen. Of considerable theoretic interest is the observation by Dr. F. S. Kipping, that, even when the conditions of reaction are the same for two similarly constituted bodies, the products of the reaction are sometimes different, and also the conversion by Dr. Collie of a paraffin derivative (dehydracetic acid) into a member of the benzene group (orceinol). Similar conversions have been previously effected by Perkin. In inorganic chemistry Mr. Tutton has shown that there is a definite relation in certain sulphates between the axial angles of the crystals, the angle varying proportionately with the variation in atomic weight of the metal. Messrs. Kriess and Schmidt have continued their researches on nickel, in which they think they have detected a new metal of a higher atomic weight, but which, like nickel, is volatilised in a current of carbonic oxide. Remmler has also come to the conclusion that cobalt also contains an unknown constituent, but none of these observers have succeeded in isolating the new body. The artificial production of diamonds has been referred to in former years. The process of M. Moissan required the crystallisation of carbon under enormous pressure by cooling a solution of carbon in molten cast iron, but by the method employed by M. G. Rousseau, diamonds and graphite are produced at ordinary atmospheric pressure. M. Rousseau acts on carbide of calcium in a lime crucible heated in an electric furnace by moist coal gas, when tiny crystals of diamond and flakes of graphite are found adhering to the crucible. It is, perhaps, needless to say that the process is of no commercial value; but the manufacture of carborundum,

which is only slightly less hard than diamond, is now successfully carried on. Carborundum is a compound of carbon and silicon. Mr. M. C. Lea has observed that silver chloride can be decomposed by the mere action of a mechanical force. Grinding the pure white chloride in a mortar for fifteen minutes causes a darkening of the mass due to slight decomposition. In analytical chemistry new methods are being continually proposed, but one more than usual interest is that adopted by Dr. Macnair for the separation of iodine from bromine and chlorine by the action of sulphuric acid and chromate of potash.

A large number of interesting observations have been made in physiological chemistry. Among them may be noted the researches carried on by Trautman, von Norden, and others on the food value of alcohol. With a wholly nitrogenous food, alcohol given as a substitute for corresponding quantities of fat and carbohydrate led to an assimilation of nitrogen. Small doses of alcohol given to animals did not appear in the milk, and as much as 90 per cent. of alcohol was frequently used as food within the organism. The assimilation of free nitrogen gas by the Leguminosæ and Graminæ has been further studied with results which must profoundly alter the earlier teachings of agricultural chemistry. The investigation of questions of animal and vegetable chemistry is of great difficulty owing to the changes in chemical constitution which occur on the death of the plant or animal, and to the small quantity which may be present of the body which it is particularly desired to study. As an example of brilliant research carried out in face of these drawbacks, mention must be made of the work of Messrs. Brown and Morris on the chemistry and physiology of foliage leaves. They find that in *Tropæolum* cane sugar is the first sugar formed by the assimilatory powers of the leaf. This sugar, when it exceeds a certain amount, is converted into starch which serves as a reserve material. Both the cane sugar and starch are transformed into other carbohydrates, such as dextrose, levulose, and maltose, during their passage from the leaf into the stem.

The action of light in the prevention of putrefaction in certain organic liquids has been shown by Mr. A. Richardson to be due to the production of hydrogen dioxide by the actinic effect of the sun's rays, and the oxidation by this dioxide of the organisms which produce decomposition. The value of salts of iron as a remedy for chlorosis has been investigated by C. T. Möerner, and independently by R. Stockman. The iron is more active when given in inorganic than in organic compounds, and its effects are due to the oxidation of ferrous compounds into ferric, and not, as has often been considered, to the formation in the body of sulphide of iron. Finally, the attention of metallurgists has been directed to the valuable work done by Professor Roberts Austen, on the alteration in metals produced by the presence of mere traces of impurity; to the inquiry by Mr. T. K. Rose on the volatilisation of gold; and to the circumstances attending the solution of gold by cyanide of potassium, by Mr. R. C. MacLaurin, of New Zealand.

#### PHYSICS.

Physicists have long been led to believe that there is a certain minimum degree of cold or absolute zero of temperature. This absolute zero ( $-273^{\circ}\text{C}$ ) is a point at which all gases would become liquids owing to the reduction of



the mutual repulsion and rapid motion of their molecules to which the gaseous state is due. It has now been found by Professor Fleming, as a result of experiments made to determine the electric resistance at various temperatures, that a metal becomes almost a perfect conductor at  $-200^{\circ}\text{C}$ , so that at absolute zero it is probable that the resistance offered to the passage of an electric current entirely disappears. This is not the only curious result. As temperature falls a point is reached at which chemical action ceases, thus at  $-150^{\circ}\text{M}$ . Raoul Pictet finds that sulphuric acid and potash do not combine, nor will the acid redden blue litmus paper. In the case of sulphuric acid and potash, the initial temperature of re-action appears to be  $-80^{\circ}$ , and that of the acid with litmus  $-110^{\circ}$ . Professor Dewar has shown that metallic potassium, which instantly oxidises in air will float unaltered on liquid oxygen at a temperature of  $-200^{\circ}$ . Though almost all chemical action ceases at this temperature, yet silver salts are still acted on by light. By his ingenious appliances for keeping liquids at low temperatures, Professor Dewar has been enabled to experiment with liquid gases in quantities never previously obtainable. He has thus been able to demonstrate the marked magnetic character of oxygen, and to determine its boiling point ( $-182^{\circ}\text{C}$ ) and specific gravity with considerable accuracy.

The experiments made by M. Tesla, showing that a carbon filament in vacuo became incandescent in an intense electric field, have been extended to frictional electricity by Mr. E. C. Rimington, who finds that a vacuum tube becomes luminous when revolved in the space between two plates charged with electricity, and M. d'Arsonval has shown that a similar phenomenon is noticed when a lamp is enclosed in a coil through which a powerful current is passing. It has been observed by Mr. F. I. Smith that if a coin or metal is placed on a sensitised photographic plate, and an intermittent current sent through them, an image of the coin can be developed on the plate. An ingenious method for the detection of the approach of torpedo boats or other vessels has been devised by Captain McEvoy. The apparatus consists of a bell-shaped vessel, which can be let down to a depth at which surface disturbance ceases. This bell contains a delicate electric contact, which is set into action by the sound waves generated by the approaching vessel, and transmitted through the water. A somewhat similar arrangement of bells or drums has also been employed to signal between ships and the shore.

The ingenious methods for producing colour photographs, worked out by M. Lippman, have been modified by M. Lumiere, who has applied the process to gelatine plates, and has enabled the time of exposure to be reduced from half an hour to about four minutes. The colours, too, are more fixed than those previously obtained. In photographing coloured objects, M. Lumiere cuts off the ultra violet rays of the spectrum, and most of the violet and blue rays, by the interposition of a cell filled with some yellow coloured solution, such as primuline. M. Lumiere has also found that the salts of the metal cerium can be used for photographic purposes, as light will decompose ceric salts into cerous when in contact with organic matter, such as gelatine. The density of the earth has been re-calculated by M. Bergot by means of the variation the length of a column of hydrogen confined over mercury undergoes when the earth's attraction on

the mercury varies. By this instrument, called the "gravimeter," the density of the earth has been determined as 5.4, a number which agrees very fairly with that obtained by other methods.

The industrial appreciations of electricity extend with each succeeding year. Mention has been made of the use of the electric furnace for the preparation of diamond of carborundum and for the reduction of the difficultly reducible oxides of metals, such as uranium, chromium, calcium, and aluminium. The electrolysis of brine is rising in importance as a method of manufacturing bleaching powder and soda without the use of sulphuric acid.

#### BIOLOGY.

The functions of the various glandular organs in the body have been invested with renewed interest by the researches made by Swiss physicians on the connection between the excision or wasting of the thyroid gland and the obscure disease, Myxœdema, with the good results obtained in the treatment of this disease by the administration of the thyroid of the sheep prepared in such a manner as to leave its specific glandular power as much unaltered as possible. It is therefore obvious that a gland has not merely an excretory action, but exerts also some important change on the blood current which passes through it; a change which is necessary to the proper nutrition of the body. Thus the connection between the thyroid gland and a particular disease which was noticed some twenty years ago by Sir W. Gull, has been proved to be causal and not merely concurrent. It has been shown by Thomasini that the absorptive power of the intestine is not confined to the mere passage of fluid contents through its walls, but that there is an actual taking up of insoluble substance and transformation of the products of digestion by the agency of the cells lining its walls. The specific gravity of the blood has been redetermined with great care by Messrs. Sherrington and Copeman under varying conditions, such as would be produced by the addition of varying amounts of the saline and watery constituents of the blood. As the constitution of the blood varies to a certain degree during cholera, such a research may prove to be of great value in the treatment of this disease. The rate at which the blood circulates through different organs has been studied by Mr. Stewart of Cambridge by an ingenious method depending upon the conductivity of the blood stream varying with any variations of its saline constituents. The resistance of the walls of a vein and its enclosed blood stream to the passage of an electric current was determined, and then a small injection of a suitable salt made into an artery corresponding to the selected vein. As soon as the salt reached the vein the resistance fell, and the time of transit through an organ was thus accurately determinable. The study of the nervous system has also yielded results of great importance, and in this the skill of the microscopist has been almost as important as that of the physiologist. By means of a mixture of alcohol and benzene, Dr. Paladino has been able to dissolve off the sheath of the medullated nerve fibres and so lay bare the axis cylinders of the nerves, while ingenious methods of staining the delicate tips of the nerve branches have enabled their wonderfully complicated structure to be studied under much more favourable conditions. Messrs. Gotch and Horsley



have shown that the sensory nerves as well as the motor nerves decussate in the medulla, and not as Brown Séquard has supposed in the spinal cord. They find, too, that there are differences in relative position in the sensory nerves of different animals. In the cat, for example, sensory impulses travel along the posterior column of the cord, and in the monkey (and presumably in man) along the lateral columns. In the monkey and man the lateral columns are relatively larger than in the cat, where the posterior column is more largely developed. The sciatic nerve has been studied by Hasterlik and Biedl, who have succeeded in separating the two sets of fibres which control the size of the blood capillaries and in tracing them to their origin in the spinal cord. The study of the various pathogenic bacteria has been prosecuted with unceasing ardour as the recognition of their function in disease becomes more general. It has been found that in cancerous growths at a certain stage of their development, parasitic protozoa, similar to the *gregarinae*, are of constant occurrence. No inoculation or feeding experiments with human cancer growths have resulted in attacks of cancer in other animals, but canceroid growths in the rat have been shown by Professor Hanau of Zurich to be transmissible by inoculation from rat to rat. The action of the blood serum on the muscles has received some further elucidation from experiments made with a frog's heart. A purely inorganic fluid containing salts in the same proportion as blood serum will keep a frog's heart beating for thirty hours, and hence the salts probably act as a muscle stimulus. On the other hand, solutions of serum albumen or of proteid material have no effect in prolonging the beating. A curious fact has also been discovered in regard to the physiological results of starvation. During prolonged abstinence from food the daily excretion of nitrogen from the kidneys varies very little. The output of phosphates also is nearly constant, while that of chlorides shows a falling off, while the respiration also remains almost normal. The important work of Messrs. Brown and Morris on the phenomena of plant nutrition has been already noticed.

Dr. A. B. Griffiths has published his results on certain respiratory globulins, which not only act as carriers of oxygen, but also retain some or all of their acquired store of this gas till they undergo metabolism in the tissues; and the part played by phosphorus in the nucleo-albumins has been studied by Lilienfeld, who finds that the quantity of this element determines in some degree the power a cell possesses of performing its specific functions.

#### GEOLOGY.

An interesting discovery has been made in strata of Miocene age at Kelina, in the Balkan Peninsula, of two molar teeth belonging to a genus previously only known from beds of tertiary age in North America. The occurrence of these fossils is strong evidence of the former land connection, probably by Behring Straits, of Europe and America. One of the doubtful points in the anatomy of the trilobite has been set at rest by the finding of specimens in the Hudson River shales which showed distinct traces of antennae, thus strengthening the arachnid-like character of these well-known and widely spread genera. A new fossil fish from the Caithness flagstones has been described by Dr. R. H. Traquair, under the name of *palæospondylus*. This fish appears to have been an ancestor of the marsipobranchiate fishes, of

which the lamprey is a living example. So far, only one stratum in one quarry has yielded examples of this fossil—a striking illustration of the imitations under which palæontological work is carried on. On the south-west coast of Madagascar, Mr. J. T. Last has found the skull of an extinct genus of lemurs of unusual size. This skull was found in company with remains of crocodiles, and the gigantic Madagascar birds *epyornis*. It is three times as large as that of an existing lemur, and presents certain features intermediate between the fossil and living members of this order. The name *Megaladapis* has been given to this new discovery. The generally discredited fossil character of the *cozoon canadense* has been previously alluded to, but it is of interest to note that Dr. Johnston Lavis has found examples of structure in some metamorphic blocks of limestone thrown up during an eruption from Monte Somma, which perfectly resemble the *cozoon* in appearance and arrangement.

Dr. T. W. Gregory has shown that it is evident from a study of fossil bryozoa that in early eocene times the sea areas of the north and south of Europe were separated by a land barrier. North of this barrier the bryozoa are comparatively few, both in variety of species and in individuals, and have a dwarfed and stunted appearance, such as would be produced by currents of cold water from polar regions. South of the barrier, on the other hand, the bryozoa flourish, and are remarkably abundant. Dr. A. Dunlop has found in the Island of Jersey evidence that in recent geological times the island was sunk some 120 feet below its present level. Raised beaches have been discovered at that elevation in South Hill, near St. Helen's, and at other places at somewhat less heights. These raised beaches often contain flint pebbles, pointing to drift from the French mainland, as there is no chalk in Jersey. Mr. E. Wethered has investigated the occurrence of the organism *girvanella* in the Wenlock limestone, and inclines to the opinion that it was a vegetable somewhat allied to the algae. It often varies specifically in quarries only a short distance apart in the same formation. Mr. Wethered finds also, contrary to the general opinion, that crinoid remains are very frequent in the Wenlock limestone. Professor Judd, by his work in the composite dykes of the Isle of Arran, has shown that rock material of widely differing composition may be ejected from the same central lava mass. Thus, sometimes a highly basic rock like augite andesite was ejected first, succeeded by an acidic rock, such as quartz-felsite, at other times the acid rock would precede the ejection of the basic one, though both would be drawn from the same central source. Colonel C. A. McMahon has suggested an interesting explanation for the pseudo-bedded structure presented in many places by the Dartmoor granite. This bedding he finds is in most instances roughly parallel to the general slope of the ground, and he considers it to be a result of the alternate action of sun and frost splitting up the rock in a manner similar to that which is practised in India of quarrying stones by lighting a fire on the surface and then letting it cool. A rough sketch of a little-known geological district has been given by Dr. J. W. Evans, who has travelled for some time in the Matto Grosso (Brazil). Much of this state is merely alluvial, but Dr. Evans has been enabled to classify most of the main rock formations, and to trace certain analogies between the geological condition of Southern Asia and South America.



## GEOGRAPHY.

The interest attaching to exploratory work in Africa has been mainly transferred to political complications. The question of the retention or non-retention of Uganda was made dependent upon an expedition under Sir Gerald Portal, which, though not sent out with any idea of discovery, has added to our knowledge by its return to the coast through previously unexplored country along the Tana River. The Matabele difficulty has also resulted in the opening out of that country, and a better understanding of the territory lying immediately south of the Zambesi. Similarly the delimitation of frontiers between British and Portuguese possessions in South-east Africa, between France and Britain in the Gulf of Guinea, and between Germany and Britain in the regions lying between Darfur and Lake Tchad have all been the cause of more accurate surveys. Numerous German and French expeditions have penetrated into the unknown countries lying at the back of their respective spheres of influence. Among them may be mentioned the journey successfully carried out by M. Maistre from the basin of the Congo to that of the Shari. It would appear that there can be no longer any doubt that Emin Pasha was killed by Manyema slavers, as a box of his journals has been obtained by Lieutenant Dhanis. These records show that Emin left Kavalli in March 1892, and after travelling with the Manyema towards the Congo, met his death when three days' march from that river at or near the town of Muomena. Good exploring work has been done by Lieutenant Sclater in Nyassaland, and by Vice-Consul Sharp in the little-known region round Lake Miveru. A model example of careful work performed under difficult circumstances is that done by Mr. J. W. Gregory. Mr. Gregory had started with an exploring expedition organised by Lieutenant Villiers. That officer, however, left the expedition, and joined that under Sir Gerald Portal. Mr. Gregory accordingly determined not to return without some result, and paid a visit to Mount Kenia. He succeeded in ascending the mountain to a height of 17,000 feet, when further progress was stopped by glaciers. He also mapped the general outlines of the district, and made valuable collections. The district lying between Mount Kenia and the Tana has been the scene of the travels of Mr. Chanler and Lieutenant von Höhnel. Here they met with a tribe which had not previously been visited, of which they obtained some interesting details. This tribe is known as the Rendilé, and appears to have some affinity to the Somali of the east coast. Lieutenant von Höhnel has had to return to Europe owing to an accident, but Mr. Chanler has continued his journey, and pushed on across the unknown district lying between the Rendilé and Berbera. From Berbera an Italian expedition, under Captains Bottego and Grixoni, went south across the Webi Shebeli till they struck one of the northern tributaries of the Jub. There they parted; Captain Grixoni went southward till he arrived at Bardera on the Jub, and then followed that river to the coast, thus crossing the eastern corner of Africa by a new route west of that previously explored by Robecchi. Captain Bottego, on the other hand, went westward, so as to work out the relations between the sources of the Jub, and the little-known region round Lake Rudolf. Further north, Captain H. G. Swayne has made two excursions into Harrar and Ine. On

the other side of the Red Sea Dr. Weiss has visited Hadramaut in Southern Arabia, but owing to the fanatical opposition of the natives was unable to make the observations he intended. Other attempts to explore the interior of Arabia have been made in the north by Baron de Nolde, and in the south by Mr. and Mrs. Bent. In Central Asia the region of the Pamirs is gradually becoming well known. Full accounts have now been published of the journeys by Mr. Conway, Mr. Littledale, and Mr. Rockhill, respectively, of which a short notice was given last year. Many corrections in the courses of rivers and the position of mountains have resulted from these journeys. Attempts have been made again without success to reach Lhasa. A missionary, Miss Annie Taylor, entered Thibet from China, and penetrated to within a few days of the sacred city, when she was turned back by the Thibetan authorities. Mr. H. M. Becher, who had undertaken surveying work in Perak, was unfortunately drowned, owing to a sudden rise of a river, after having penetrated inland till within sight of the Mountain Gunung Tahan, which had never previously been seen by any European.

The ruins of Zimbabwe, described by Mr. Bent, have been shown by Sir John Willoughby and Mr. Swan to be only one among similar places, which were the fortified towns of a gold-mining race, possibly Phœnician in type.

The gallant attempt of Dr. Nansen to reach the Pole has, so far, begun under auspicious circumstances. The *Fram* started on June 24 from Christiania, and reached Yugor Straits, at the entrance of the Kara Sea, on August 3. Here he took on board his dog-teams, and after a little delay, owing to the ice, he sailed on the 20th for the New Siberian Islands. The Kara Sea appears to have been unusually open, as no difficulty was experienced a little later by some Russian trading vessels in reaching the mouth of the Yenesei. The favourable state of the ice may also be surmised from the circumstance that Dr. Nansen has not called at Ust Olensk, near the mouth of the Lena, as he had originally proposed to do. On the opposite side of the Arctic Circle, Lieutenant Peary is continuing his exploration of Greenland, having started in August for Bowdoin Bay with the object of completing his mapping of the north coast of Greenland. On the same island, Lieutenant Garde has made a journey inland from Fredrikshaab, and succeeded in reaching a point about half-way across the mainland, and an elevation of 7,000 feet. Dr. Drygalski has returned after spending two winters on the north-west coast of Greenland, where he has made a series of observations on the giant glaciers of that region. The wreck of the *Ripple*, the schooner in which a small Swedish exploring party set out in 1892, has been discovered on the Carey Islands by a Dundee whaling boat, the *Aurora*. The greatest novelty in Arctic voyages is the success of an American whaler, the *Newport*, which is stated to have north latitude 84° off the mouth of the Mackenzie River, some miles further north than any previous explorer. In the Antarctic Ocean, a few minor geographical discoveries have been made by the Dundee whaler, *Active*, and a useful collection of the flora and fauna of Joinville Island was made by the surgeon on board, Dr. Donald. Icebergs were reported to be very numerous. Large numbers of seals were obtained, but the expedition was not successful in finding the black whale, which was one of the principal objects of the voyage. A Norwegian vessel started in September with the object of penetrating as far southwards as possible in the direction taken by Ross in 1843.



# OBITUARY

OF

EMINENT PERSONS DECEASED IN 1893.

## JANUARY.

**Professor Westwood.**—John Obadiah Westwood was born at Sheffield, on December 22, 1805, and was educated first at Sheffield in a Friends' school, where he early evinced a strong taste for natural history and a remarkable native gift for drawing, in which he trained himself, without lessons. Subsequently his family moved to Lichfield, where they resided in Parchment Cottage, a house formerly lived in by Dr. Johnson. From Lichfield he went to London and was articled to a solicitor, but though he ultimately became a partner in the firm, he never gave himself to practice, but was more and more drawn off in the direction of science and literature. The subjects in which he achieved a world-wide reputation appear at first sight divergent—entomology and the palæography of art. He soon became what he remained for many years, one of the first of living entomologists. He was an original member of the Entomological Society, of which he was made a life president, and later he was elected to succeed Humboldt as member of the Entomological Society of Paris. In 1858 the late Mr. Hope presented his entomological collection to the University of Oxford, purchasing and adding to it Westwood's own, a very valuable one, and made Professor Westwood first keeper and then, in 1861, Hope Professor. The University made him an M.A., and Dr. Daubeny introduced him to Magdalen College, of which he was, in 1880, elected honorary fellow. He was the author of numerous works on entomology, and was, moreover, a specialist in the archaeology and palæography of art, including the "Palæographia Sacra Pictoria" and "The Facsimiles of the Miniatures and Or-

naments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish MSS.," extraordinary monuments of his combination of knowledge, industry, perception, and skill. He was the editor also of the "Book of Kells" and of the "Lapidarium Walliae." Allied to this was his knowledge of ivories and of inscribed stones, which caused him to be employed to make the catalogue of the ivories at South Kensington. In the prosecution of his studies he was indefatigable, travelling through Germany or Russia to copy MSS., and keeping up a correspondence with all parts of the globe on points of entomology. He was fond of relating that when he first came to Oxford some question was raised as to his religious opinion, but all was set at rest by a happy *mot* of the then public orator—that he was not a "sectarian," but an "insectarian." He received one of the Royal Society's gold medals for his entomological researches, and was a Fellow of the Linnean Society and the Society of Antiquaries, and honorary and corresponding member of innumerable learned bodies. He married, in 1839, Miss Richardson, who died some few years before him. He continued to reside at Oxford, and died there on January 3, the oldest and one of the most distinguished professors in the university.

**General Benjamin F. Butler.**—General Benjamin Franklin Butler, who died on January 10 at Washington, the son of Captain John Butler, who served with credit under Jackson at New Orleans, was born at Deerfield, New Hampshire, on November 5, 1818, and had therefore, at the time of his death, entered upon his seventy-fifth year. After graduating from Waterville College in the

0, he was admitted to the bar, and began practice in the town of Lowell, Massachusetts, where he held the position of leading criminal lawyer of the State, but in doing so he incurred, by what was considered harsh practices, many scandals, which did damage to his reputation. In later years, he had won a position in the councils of his State. In 1853 he was elected by the voters to the Massachusetts Legislature and remained a member of that body until 1860. During the latter part of his term he attended, as the head of the Massachusetts Delegation, the Presidential Convention, held at Worcester. The question of secession and the withdrawal of a portion of the Union Army led by General Butler. This convention was reassembled in Baltimore, and taking an active part in the proceedings for a day, General Butler withdrew on the ground "that he would not participate in proceedings which would sanction the African slave trade, which was prohibited by the laws of the country, and was indignantly advocated." Returning to Massachusetts he ran on the Democratic ticket for governor, but was defeated.

At the time President Lincoln issued his first call for troops, General Butler received a commission as brigadier-general in the United States Army, and on April 17, 1861, he was sent to Annapolis, Maryland, to take command of the Massachusetts Regiment, and upon his arrival was given command of a regiment which included in its limits the city of Baltimore. A month later he was commissioned a major-general, and given command of Fort Monroe in the department of East Virginia. He was in command of this department of slaves, who had escaped from the Union army, were being sold by their owners. General Butler, however, declined to return to the ground that they were "not fit for war." General Butler was placed in command of an expedition against the city of New Orleans, and his administration of affairs there was very harsh in the extreme. He forced the citizens to contribute to the support of the army of idle and dissipated classes thronging the city; he ordered one of them for hauling the American flag on the Mint. He at last grew his orders and that Jefferson Davies issued a proclamation declaring him an outlaw, and the Government at Washington forced to order a change of command.

His seizure of 160,000*l.*, which was deposited in the office of the consul, led at last to his recall.

In a few months he received the command of the army of the James River, but his failure to capture Fort Fisher so disgusted General Grant that he suspended him at once, and Butler, once more a private citizen, returned to Massachusetts and turned his attention to politics. In 1866 he was elected to Congress, remaining a disturbing element in that body, with the exception of one term, for thirteen years. After three unsuccessful attempts he was elected governor of the State in 1882 by a combination of labour, Irish, and slum voters. His administration of this office was in keeping with his past record, and so offended the taste of all good citizens that Harvard University refused to confer upon him the degree which for years had always been conferred upon the chief executive officer. In 1883 he was renominated for governor, but defeated; and after his retirement from political life contributed articles to various periodicals.

**Ex-President Hayes.** — Rutherford Bircham Hayes was born in Ohio, October 4, 1822, three months after his father's death, who five years previously had left the New England States, where his family, originally from Scotland, had settled in 1682. In 1842 he graduated from Kenyon College, Ohio, passing the next two years as a student in the law school of Harvard University. In 1845 he was admitted to the bar, and he soon won a leading position in his profession. Up to the time of the organisation of the Republican Party, in 1856, Mr. Hayes took little part or interest in politics, but, possessing strong anti-slavery views, he identified himself with the new party, and worked for the election of General Fremont. In 1859 he was elected city solicitor of Cincinnati, Ohio, holding office for two years. When President Lincoln issued his call for troops in 1861 Mr. Hayes was appointed major of the 23rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry. He at once organised a company out of the members of his own literary society, and during the war he was constantly in active service. He was wounded severely four times and had five horses shot under him. His personal bravery in action won for him the confidence of his men, the approval of his superior officers, and brought about his rapid promotion. In March 1865 he was raised to the rank of brevet major-general "for gallant and distinguished conduct," and in December of the same year he took his seat in the House of Congress. In 1867 he was



elected Governor of Ohio, being re-elected in 1869. His administration of State affairs gave general satisfaction, although his views in favour of granting citizenship and the suffrage to ex-slaves were in advance of popular sentiment. In 1875 a craze for inflation of the currency or the issue of irredeemable paper money spread all over the land. Mr. Hayes had persistently refused to be a candidate for office, wishing to enjoy a few years of well-earned rest; but upon the Republican leader pointing out that it was a national rather than State question, he consented to run as the "Honest money" candidate for governor; and, after an exciting contest, he was elected. When the Convention met at Cincinnati in June 1876, to nominate a candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Blaine was at first a strong favourite; but his delegates transferred their allegiance to General Hayes, and so brought about his nomination. An exciting canvass followed, and in the end the result turned upon the electoral vote of Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. The governors of these States gave certificates in favour of Mr. Hayes, but other officials gave the same document in favour of Mr. Tilden. At last a commission was appointed to decide which set of papers was legal. This commission consisted of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court. When this plan was agreed to chance favoured the Democrats, owing to the composition of

the Supreme Court; but when the commission was being organized Justice Davis, who was expected to be a member and to favour Mr. Tilden, elected a senator, and so forced to resign his seat in the Supreme Court. This led to the substitution of Justice Bradley, a strong Republican, who then voted the question, for the commission on every question divided seven to seven.

On March 4, 1877, President Hayes took office as nineteenth President of the United States. His first action was to place great offence to the politicians who had placed him in office, and very soon the Houses of Congress were up in arms against a President who insisted on putting empty campaign promises into practice. They refused to pass necessary appropriation bills, even one for the support of the army. These measures were eventually passed through, attached to them were "riders" repealing obnoxious laws. This proceeding President Hayes considered an infringement on his prerogative, so he vetoed the bills. Firm, and, in the end, won the day. Owing to his quarrel with the Congress his re-nomination was out of the question, and on March 4, 1881, he relinquished his office to President Garfield. For some years before his death, which occurred on January 17, 1889, at Fremont, Ohio, he lived a very retired life, and some real estate in a western State long regarded as valueless, but which gave him a large private income.

On the 1st, at Allahabad, aged 39, **William Summers, M.P.**, second son of William Summers, of Stalybridge. Educated at Owens College, Manchester; graduated B.A., London University, and University College, Oxford (2nd Class Classicals); called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1881; represented Stalybridge as a Liberal from 1880-5; defeated in 1885; sat for Huddersfield since 1886; acted as Unionist Whip to the Radical section of the Liberal Party, 1886-92, but was "forgotten" by Mr. Gladstone on the formation of his Ministry. On the 1st, at Kensington Palace, aged 76, **Edward Spencer Dickins Cowley**, a member of an old Shropshire family. Served as a volunteer in the Portuguese War of Succession, 1832, and on his return joined the Royal Horse Guards, and subsequently was appointed to the Prince Consort, and in 1862 was transferred to the Queen's Household as the 3rd, at Chard, aged 70, **General William Caussendier Anderson, C.S.I.**, eldest son of Robert Anderson. Educated at Abingdon School; entered the army in 1841, and saw service in the South Mahratta campaign, 1844; Punjab War, 1846-47; Married, 1846, Caroline, daughter of C. Staunton Cahill. On the 3rd, at Reading, aged 66, **Amédée Guillemin**, a populariser of science. Born at Pierré (Saône-et-Loire); educated at Beaugrenon and Paris; was a teacher of mathematics but turned to journalism, and in 1861 began his series of popular treatises of astronomical physics. On the 4th, at Southsea, aged 75, **General Francis Young**, of the Staff Corps; served with great distinction through the Mutiny, 1857-9, especially in Behar. On the 4th, at Reading, aged 68, **William Isaac Palmer**, one of the founders of the great firm of biscuit-makers, to which the town of Reading owes so much of its prosperity. He was also a great philanthropist, and took an active part in all schemes for the benefit of Reading and its inhabitants. On the 1st, at Paris, aged 43, **Albert Delpit**, a successful novelist and dramatist. Born at Orleans; educated in France; commenced literary work on two papers for

the elder Dumas; gained, 1870, the Ballande Prize for the best poem on *amartine*; served with distinction during the war, but was not naturalised until after its close; gained, 1872, the Monthyon, and in 1880 the Vitel Prize. On the 5th, at Eardiston, aged 69, **Sir William Smith**, of Eardiston, Worcestershire, third baronet; captain, Worcestershire Yeomanry Cavalry. Married, 1843, Susan, daughter of Sir Wm. Geo. Parker, second baronet of Sutton House, Plymouth. On the 5th, at Moulins, aged 81, **M. de Deux-Brézé**. Born at Brézé; educated for the priesthood at Paris and Rome, where he was a fellow-student with Pope Leo XIII.; created Bishop of Moulins, 1849. On the 6th, at Stanwell Place, Staines, aged 67, **Sir John Gibbons**, fifth baronet, eldest son of John Gibbons, of Stanwell. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford; was major in West Middlesex Militia, and a member of Middlesex County Council; succeeded his grandfather, 1844. On the 6th, at Upper Norwood, aged 85, **Sir John Peter Grant, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.**, of Rothiechurch, second son of Sir J. P. Grant, judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta. Educated at Eton, Edinburgh University, and Haileybury; entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1828; appointed Secretary to the Indian Law Commission, 1837; Secretary to Government of Bengal, 1848, and Secretary to the Governor-General in Council, 1852; member of council, 1854; Governor of the North-west Provinces, 1857-8, of Bengal, 1859-62, when he retired. He was, however, sent to Jamaica after Governor Eyre, and remained there to reconstitute the government of the island, 1866-74. Married, 1835, Henrietta, second daughter of Trevor Dicheley Hadden. On the 7th, at Rome, aged 82, **Countess of Castle-Stuart**, **Emeline**, daughter of Benjamin Bathurst. Married, first, 1830, third Earl of Castle-Stuart, and second, 1867, Signor Alexandro Pistocchi, son of General Pistocchi. On the 8th, at Budleigh Salterton, aged 60, **Henry Hawley Smart**, a popular novelist, the son of a Lincolnshire squire and nephew of Sir Joseph Hawley. Captain, Royal Scots and 18th Regiment; served through the Crimean Campaign and in India, and on his retirement from the army he commenced writing novels, chiefly sporting, of which the most successful were "Breezie Langton" (1867), "A Race for a Cup" (1869), "Cecile" (1871), "Bound to Win" (1877), &c. On the 8th, aged 70, **Major-General Henry Friend Kennedy**. Entered the army, 1840; served with 60th Rifles through the Punjab Campaign, 1848-9, and was present at both the principal engagements. On the 10th, in the Isle of Man, aged 81, **Captain Alexander Taubman Goldie**, third son of General A. J. Goldie. Entered the navy, 1824, and saw much service in the suppression of the slave trade, both in South America and in the West Coast of Africa. Married, 1835, Charlotte, daughter of H. E. Pulleine, of Crake Hall, York. On the 11th, at Mildmay Park, N., aged 72, **Caroline Pennefather**, eldest daughter of Rear-Admiral Hon. James Wm. King. Married, 1847, Rev. Wm. Pennefather, and on his death (1873) became the head of Mildmay Deaconesses and other affiliated institutions. On the 11th, at Plymouth, aged 47, **Captain Sir William Wiseman, B.N.**, ninth baronet, only son of Admiral Sir Wm. Wiseman. Entered the navy, 1859; served in the New Zealand War, 1864-5, and in the Niger Expedition, 1869. Married, 1878, Sarah Elizabeth, daughter of Lewis Langworthy. On the 12th, at Moose Court and Ottawa River, Hudson's Bay, aged 65, **Right Rev. John Hooden**, Bishop of Moosonee, son of William Hooden. Born at Exeter; educated at St. John's Hospital, Exeter, and ordained, 1852, as Secretary to Church Missionary Society; published works, &c.; officiated in Cree, Ojibbeway, and Esquimaux languages; consecrated first Bishop of Moosonee, 1872. Married, 1851, Elizabeth, daughter of W. Oke, of Wolverton, Somerset. On the 12th, at Loughrea, co. Galway, aged 82, **Lord Dunsardle, Denis St. George Daly**, second Baron Dunsardle and Clan Caral. Entered the army and served in 7th Hussars; was elected a representative Peer for Ireland, 1851. Married, 1864, Mary, daughter of William Broderick. On the 12th, at Edgbaston, aged 77, **Alfred Baker, F.R.C.S.** Studied medicine at the School of Medicine, Snow Hill, Birmingham; an active member of Midland Branch of the British Medical Association, and took a great interest in the General Hospital, of which he was successively vice-chairman and chairman. On the 12th, at Eastbourne, aged 72, **Francis William Henry Cavendish**, eldest son of General the Hon. J. Compton Cavendish. Served in the Foreign Office, 1846-63. Married, first, 1856, Lady Eleanor Sophia Diana Fitzgibbon, daughter of third Earl of Clare (divorced, 1866), and second, 1876, Florence Ianthe, daughter of Major-General Chas. F. J. Kyring, R.E. On the 13th, at Edinburgh, aged 65, **Alexander Nicholson, LL.D.** Born at Husabon, in the Isle of Skye; after a short preparation for the ministry devoted himself to literature, and in 1855 became editor of the *Edinburgh Guardian*; called to the bar, 1860, but acted as an assistant to Sir William Hamilton in the Chair of



Logic, and subsequently to Professor Macdougall in that of Moral Philosophy; appointed, 1872, Sheriff-Substitute in Dumfriesshire; transferred to Greenock, 1885; one of the editors of "Encyclopædia Britannica"; a charming song writer, and a fluent writer on various literary subjects. On the 13th, at Portland Place, W., aged 88, **Thomson Hankey**, of Shipborne Grange, Tonbridge, eldest son of the Thomson Hankey, of Portland Place, a leading London merchant. Governor of the Bank of England, 1853; represented Peterborough as a Liberal, 1853-68; 1874-80. Married, 1830, Apolline Agatha, daughter of William Alexander. On the 14th, at Granton House, Edinburgh, aged 63, **Sir Alexander Jardine**, of Appleby, eighth baronet. Educated at Edinburgh Academy and Woolwich; Comptroller of Dumfriesshire. Married, 1861, Henrietta, daughter of William Young of Craigjelds, Dumfriesshire. On the 14th, at Grasse, Alpes-Maritimes, aged 75, **Sir Peter Benson Maxwell**, son of Rev. Peter B. Maxwell, of Bridgetown, co. Donegal. Educated at Paris and Trinity College, Dublin; called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1841; Recorder of Prince of Wales' Island, 1856-66; of Singapore, 1866-7, and Chief Justice, Straits Settlements, 1867-71; reorganised the judicial tribunals of Egypt, 1883. Married, 1884, Frances Dorothea, daughter of Francis Syngé of Glanmore Castle, co. Wicklow. On the 15th, at 86 Gloucester Place, W., aged 83, **Frances Ann Kemble**, daughter of Charles Kemble and niece of John Kemble and Mrs. Siddons. First appeared on the stage at Covent Garden as Juliet in 1829, and continued to act in London with great success until 1882, when she went on a professional tour to the United States. In 1834 she married Mr. Pierce Butler, a Southern planter, from whom she subsequently obtained a divorce, and reappeared at the Princess' Theatre in 1847, but failed to recover her popularity. She subsequently gave Shakespeare readings, and wrote and translated several books, the most interesting being three autobiographies dealing with three epochs of her life. On the 15th, at Allangate, Halifax, aged 69, **Thomas Shaw, M.P.**, third son of Joseph Shaw, of Halifax. Educated at Huddersfield College; a wealthy woollen manufacturer; Mayor of Halifax, 1866-8; President of the Chamber of Commerce, 1874-6; represented Halifax as a Liberal from 1882. Married, 1854, Elizabeth, daughter of William Ranson, Treasurer of the Anti-Corn Law League. On the 15th, at Aston, aged 85, **John Inshaw**, an engineer who claimed to be inventor of the steam pressure gauge, of the twin screw propeller, and of the injector for filling steam boilers. He provided steam coaches to run between Birmingham and London, but they were superseded by the railroad of his friend, Stephenson. At the age of fourteen he lit his father's house with gas, and for years made his own gas. On the 18th, at Madrid, aged 62, **Don Cristino Martos**, a lawyer by profession, who took a prominent part in politics as an advanced Liberal; was condemned to death by Marshal Narvaez in 1866, but escaped to France; subsequently held the portfolios of Foreign Affairs and Justice, and was at various times President of the Cortes. On the 18th, in London, aged 73, **Colonel Thomas William Marten**. Entered the army; served with 7th Fusiliers at siege of Sebastopol; commanded the regiment at the second assault on the Redan, and also went through the Indian North-west Frontier War, 1863. On the 18th, at Carberry Tower, Midlothian, aged 64, **Lord Elphinstone, Wm. Buller Fullerton Elphinstone**, fifteenth baron in the Peerage of Scotland and first baron in that of the U.K. Entered the navy, 1841; served in the second Burmese War, 1848, and on board H.M.S. *Royal Albert*, 121 guns, in the Black Sea and Baltic, 1854-5. He also commanded a sloop on the China Station, 1860-2; was Lord-in-Waiting, 1874-80 and 1886-92. Married, 1864, Lady Constance, second daughter of sixth Earl of Dromore. On the 19th, at Colinton, Midlothian, aged 87, **Sir Thomas M'Clure**, first baronet. Educated at the Belfast Academy; for many years a leading merchant in Belfast; High Sheriff of Downshire, 1864; sat as a Liberal for Belfast, 1868-74, and for Londonderry, 1870-85; created a baronet, 1874. Married, 1877, Ellison Thorburn, daughter of R. A. Macfie, of Edinburgh. On the 20th, at Zurich, aged 82, **Professor Gustav Volkman**. Born at Hessfeld, in Electoral Hesse, from which he fled in 1848; joined the theological teaching staff of Zurich University, 1853; was the author of numerous critical and exegetical works. On the 20th, at Nostell Priory, Yorkshire, aged 72, **Lord St. Oswald, Rowland**, first baron St. Oswald, was the eldest son of Charles Winn (formerly Williamson) of Nostell. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; represented North Lincolnshire as a Conservative, 1868-85; was Lord of the Treasury and Conservative "Whip," 1874-80. Married, 1854, Harriet Maria Amelia, daughter of Colonel Henry Dumaresque. On the 20th, at Dean Hall, Newnham, Gloucestershire, aged 72, **Francis Edward Guise**, son of Sir John Wright Guise, G.C.B. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1842; called to the bar, 1846; went

Oxford Circuit; Recorder of Hereford, 1862; Stipendiary Magistrate, 1867-77, then he was appointed Clerk of the Peace for Gloucestershire, and in 1889 succeeded as Clerk of the County Council. Married, 1848, Henrietta, daughter of Mr James Rivett Carnac. On the 21st, at Bruton Street, W., aged 68, **Lord Stratheden and Campbell, William Frederick**, second baron; was educated at Eton, Balliol College, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge; sat as a Liberal for Cambridge, 1847-52, and for Harwich, 1859-60, when he succeeded to his mother's title of Stratheden and to his father's in the following year. On the 22nd, at Boston, Mass., aged 57, **Dr. Phillips Brooks**, Bishop of Massachusetts. Born at Boston; graduated at Harvard College, 1855; ordained in 1859, and moved to Philadelphia. During the Civil War he took an active part in the relief work of the Sanitary Commission. In 1870 he received a "call" from Trinity Church, Boston, which was destroyed by the great fire of 1872, but in five years a new building, at the cost of 220,000 $\frac{1}{2}$ ., was erected. Having declined in 1886 the office of Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania, he was elected Bishop of Massachusetts in 1891, and since the death of Dr. Henry Ward Beecher held the title of most popular preacher in the United States. On the 23rd, at Madrid, aged 75, **Jose Zorrilla**, a distinguished Spanish poet and dramatist. Born at Valladolid; the author of "Don Juan Tenorio," which held the stage for nearly half a century. On the 23rd, at Mâcon, France, aged 67, **Justice Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar**, of the Supreme Court of the United States. Born in Georgia; graduated from Emory College, 1845, and admitted to the bar, 1847; elected a member of the Georgia Legislature, 1853, and afterwards of the House of Representatives at Washington. In 1860 he withdrew to take a leading part in the War of Secession, serving with distinction as colonel in the Confederate army. After the close of the war he was appointed Professor of Political Economy in the University of Mississippi, and in 1875 returned to Washington as a member of the House of Representatives, and in 1877 became a member of the Senate. In 1885 he became a secretary of the Interior in Mr. Cleveland's Cabinet, and in 1887 was appointed to the Supreme Bench, notwithstanding the opposition of the Republican senators. On the 23rd, at Llantrissant, aged 92, **William Price, M.D.**, a prominent Chartist during the Chartist riots in 1839, and afterwards distinguished himself by affecting the garb and claiming the kinship of the Ancient Druids. He became conspicuous by his attempt to cremate his child on the top of a Welsh mountain, and left instructions that his own body should be similarly treated. On the 24th, at Lyons, aged 69, **Cardinal Foulon**. Born in Paris; appointed Bishop of Nancy, 1867; came into collision with the German authorities after the cession of Alsace-Lorraine, in which was a portion of his diocese; appointed Archbishop of Besançon, 1882; Archbishop of Lyons, 1887, and Cardinal in 1889. On the 24th, at Cairo, aged 48, **Colonel the Hon. Oliver George Powlett Montague**, third son of seventh Earl of Sandwich. Entered the army, and served through the Egyptian campaign, and became (1887) Colonel Commander of Royal Horse Guards; unsuccessfully contested South Hunts, 1885. On the 25th, at Shaftesbury House, Cambridge, aged 57, **Frederick Charles Wace**, son of C. F. Wace, of Holloway. Educated at City of London School and St. John's College, Cambridge; third Wrangler, 1858; elected Fellow, 1860; appointed Esquire Bedell of the University, 1877; Alderman of the Cambridgeshire County Council and Mayor of the town, 1888-91. On the 27th, at Gibraltar, aged 37, **Hon. Patrick Maurice Hely-Hutchinson**, son of fourth Earl of Donaghmore. Entered the navy, 1869; served in the engagements with the Peruvian turret ship *Huascar*, 1879; during the Zulu War, 1878; and at Alexandria, 1881; was Lieutenant-Commandant of the Victorian Naval Force, 1884-90, when he was appointed to the command of H.M.S. *Speedwell*. On the 27th, at Stopham, Pulborough, aged 70, **Lady Barttelot, Margaret**, only daughter of Henry Boldero of St. Leonard's Forest. Married, 1868, Colonel Right Hon. Sir Walter B. Barttelot, C.B., M.P. On the 29th, at Viareggio, aged 55, **H.R.H. Duchess of Madrid**, daughter of the Duke of Parma. Born at Lucca; on the assassination of her father in 1854 she took refuge on the Lake of Constance and was adopted by the Comte de Chambord. Married, 1867, Don Carlos and lived in France, 1873-1881, when her husband was expelled. On the death of the Countess de Chambord she inherited the Château of Frohsdorf. On the 30th, at Garland Hall, Surrey, aged 73, **Sir James McCulloch, K.C.M.G.**, son of George McCulloch, of Glasgow. Emigrated to Australia at an early age, and was a successful merchant; M.L.C. of Victoria before the introduction of responsible government, and subsequently took a leading part in colonial politics; Commissioner of Customs, 1857-8; Treasurer, 1859-60; and Premier and Chief Secretary, 1863-9, and Premier and Treasurer, 1870-1, and 1875-7. Married, first, 1841,



Susan, daughter of Rev. James Renwick, of Muirton; and second, 1867, M. daughter of Wm. Inglis, of Walfat, co. Dumbarton. On the 30th, at aged 75, **Victor, Duke of Ratibor**, President of the Upper House of the Diet; the head of the younger branch of the Hohenlohe-Schillingsfurst but resigned his position (1845) in favour of his younger brother, and took under the King of Prussia, holding very high military and political office the 30th, at Kensington, aged 80, **Admiral Colin Yorke Campbell**, only son of Admiral Colin Campbell, of Barbreck, Argyllshire. Entered the Royal Navy and served in various parts of the world. Married, 1857, his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of James Hyde, of Apley, Isle of Wight. On the 30th, at Carrico, Clare, aged 83, **Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Augustine Fitzgerald**, fourth and second son of Sir William Fitzgerald, second baronet. Educated at Winchester and Addiscombe; entered the Bengal Horse Artillery, with which he served years. Married, first, 1832, Eliza Margaret, daughter of Wm. Gore, and 1881, Clara Emma, daughter of James Whitaker.

## FEBRUARY.

**Lord Northbourne.**—Walter Charles James was the grandson of Sir Walter James Head, sometime warder of the Mint, who in 1778 assumed by Act of Parliament the surname of James only, and was created a baronet in 1791, and son of John James, for some time Minister to the Netherlands. He succeeded to his grandfather's baronetcy in 1829, whilst at school at Westminster, whence he passed to Christ Church, Oxford, graduating second class in classics in 1836. In the following year he was returned with Mr. W. Wilberforce as one of the Conservative members for Hull, Mr. Wilberforce being subsequently unseated for want of qualification. Sir Walter James also sat for Hull from 1841 to 1847, after which time he did not seek to re-enter Parliament, but associated himself closely with Mr. Gladstone, by whom he was nominated to be a member of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the Ecclesiastical Courts. He was also a trustee of the National Gallery. In 1841 he married Sarah Caroline, daughter and heiress of Cuthbert Alison of Hebburn Hall, and the owner of extensive property near Gateshead. He died on February 4 at his country seat of Betteshanger, near Sandwich, at the age of 77 years.

**Lord Brabourne.**—Edward Knatchbull-Hugessen-Knatchbull, son of Sir Edward Knatchbull, ninth baronet of Mersham Hatch, Kent, was born in 1829, and was educated at Eton and Magdalen College, Oxford (B.A., 1851), and shortly afterwards assumed his paternal grandmother's name of Hugessen. He was returned in 1857 as a Liberal for Sandwich, which he represented until 1880, when he was raised to the peerage by Mr. Gladstone. In

the interval he had been a Lord of the Treasury, 1857-9, under Lord Russell; Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department in 1860; Under-Secretary for the Colonies, 1871-4, under Mr. Gladstone. On the return of the Liberal Government in 1880, Mr. Knatchbull-Bull was summoned to the House of Lords as Baron Brabourne of Brabourne, on the abandonment of the Transvaal in 1881 and the Irish policy of the Government led him to separate himself from his party, and a few years later he joined the Carlton Club. He was a man of varied accomplishment, a fluent writer on many subjects, his greatest literary success being a series of fairy books for children, of which he wrote several. He also edited the *Quarterly Review* and wrote a notice of his great-aunt, Jane Austin, the authoress of *Pride and Prejudice*. More recently he was connected with the Liberty and Property League, and was Deputy Chairman of the South-eastern Railway. He died on February 6 at Smeeth Park, after a very short illness.

**Sir Andrew Barclay Walker,** died on February 27 at Gateacre, near Liverpool, was the second son of Peter Walker of Auchinflow, and was born at Liverpool, where his father had established himself as a brewer. He was educated at the Liverpool Institute, and subsequently followed his father and removed to the office of the business of Warrington, where he grew enormously under his direction. In 1867 he was first elected a Councillor for his native town, and he was twice Mayor, 1873-4 and 1878-9, between which periods he erected at his own cost the art gallery which bears his name at a cost with its sub-

ons of 50,000*l*. In 1889 he pre-  
the Walker Laboratories to the  
created University College at  
ool, of which he had assumed the  
cost of about 20,000*l*. He was  
a knight in 1877 and a baronet  
6, and was the first honorary  
n of Liverpool under the provi-  
f the new Act of 1890. Sir Andrew  
r married, first, 1853, Eliza,  
ter of John Reid of Limekilns,  
and second, 1887, Hon. Maude,  
ter of Haughton C. Okeover of  
er Hall, Stafford.

**Pettie, R.A.**, who died at Hast-  
n February 21, was born at  
burgh on March 17, 1839, and  
his artistic training there at the  
seventeen under Sir Robert Scott  
r and Mr. John Ballantyne,  
st his fellow-students being Mr.  
rdson, Mr. Peter Graham, and  
acWhirter. Two years later he  
ted a "Scene from the Fortunes  
al" at the Royal Scottish Acad-  
y. He was but twenty-one when his  
xhibit at the Royal Academy—  
Armourers"—was honoured by a  
on the line. This determined  
come to London, where he sub-  
tly resided. After a series of  
ses, he was elected an Associate  
Royal Academy in 1866, and an  
mician in 1873, in succession to  
Edward Landseer. He was a  
c delineator of historical scenes,  
r drawn from the novels of Sir  
r Scott. Mr. Pettie also painted  
ous fine portraits. His diploma  
was "Jacobites, 1745," and some  
chief pictures were "Treason,"  
Flag of Truce," "A Sword and  
r Fight," "Hunted Down,"  
et and Friar Lawrence," "The  
ce of Cardinal Wolsey," "The  
r," "Terms to the Besieged,"  
chstone and Audrey," "Sanc-  
" "The Death Warrant," "A  
Secret," and "The Duke of  
outh's Interview with James II."  
f his pictures, "The Vigil," was  
ased out of the Chantry fund.  
ettie in 1886 married Miss Bissum  
stings.

**General Beauregard.**—Pierre Gustave  
nt de Beauregard was born at his  
s plantation, near New Orleans,  
y 28, 1818. He graduated from  
Point Military Academy in 1838.  
as first assigned to artillery, but  
s discovered that his tastes and  
s led in the direction of the  
eers, to which department he was  
ferred, and in the next five years

did some excellent work in coast and  
river defences. At the beginning of  
the Mexican War he was at once given  
charge of the defences at Tampico, and,  
having placed the harbour in condition,  
was assigned to active duty in Mexico  
with his old regiment, taking part in  
the siege of Vera Cruz and the battles  
of Cerro Gorda, Contreras, Chapultepec,  
and before the city of Mexico. During  
the latter he was twice severely  
wounded, and received the brevet of  
major for bravery. At the close of the  
Mexican War he returned to the United  
States and was placed in charge of coast  
defences in a district which extended  
from Florida to the Rio Grande. On  
January 23, 1861, he was appointed  
superintendent of West Point Military  
Academy, but, just as he was on the  
point of assuming office, the secession  
of his native State was announced, and  
he resigned his appointment, threw up  
his commission in the army, and,  
going south, tendered his services to  
Jefferson Davis. He was at once  
placed in command of the defence of  
Charleston, South Carolina, and on  
April 12 fired the first shot at Fort  
Sumter, and so opened hostilities be-  
tween the North and South. General  
Beauregard, after the surrender of Fort  
Sumter, was ordered to Virginia, where  
he arrived in time to take an active  
part in the battle of Bull Run; he was  
not in command, however, being super-  
seded at the last moment by General  
A. S. Johnston. During the following  
year he was with the Army of the  
Mississippi, being second in command  
to General Johnston. At the battle of  
Shiloh General Johnston was killed,  
while trying to lead a refractory brigade  
in a charge which had been unavail-  
ingly ordered three times, and Beaure-  
gard succeeded to the command of the  
army. He forced the fighting, and in  
the first day secured a practical victory  
for the Confederate arms, but the North-  
ern army received heavy reinforcements  
during the night, and on the second  
day General Beauregard was forced to  
retire, falling back to Corinth, which  
he held against General Grant until  
May 29, when he evacuated it. Broken  
in health, he was now forced to take a  
leave of absence, but in a few months  
returned to active service in command  
of Charleston, which he defended suc-  
cessfully for a year and a half against  
the combined land and water attacks  
of Generals Gilmore and Kirkpatrick,  
and Admirals Dupont and Dahlgren.  
In May 1864, when Grant was closing  
in upon the approaches to Richmond,  
General Beauregard reinforced Lee,



defeated the Federal army under General Butler at Drury's Bluff, and successfully held Petersburg. In October 1864, after the consolidation of the military divisions of the West, he was sent to Georgia to resist the march of Sherman. The attempt, however, proved futile, and, joining forces with General J. E. Johnston in North Carolina, he surrendered with that officer to General Sherman in April 1865.

Since the war General Beauregard at various times president of the Orleans, Jackson and Mississippi road, Adjutant-General of the Louisiana, and manager of the Louisiana State lottery. He, however, was to abandon active life with many years, and died on February 21, Orleans, where he had resided for time.

On the 1st, at Fulbeck Hall, Lincolnshire, aged 69, **Colonel Francis A. Fane**, fourth son of Hon. Henry Fane, M.P. for Lyme Regis, 1768-96. In the army, 1842; Colonel, 25th Foot. Married his cousin Augusta, daughter of William Fane, E.L.C.S. On the 2nd, at Stopham, Sussex, aged 72, **Right Hon. Walter Barttelot-Barttelot**, C.B., M.P., first baronet. Born at Richmond; educated at Rugby; entered the army and served in the 1st Royal Dragoons; sat as representative for West Sussex, 1860-85, and for North-west Sussex from that date; created a baronet, 1875. Married, first, 1852, Harriet, fourth daughter of Sir Chris. Musgrave, Bart., and second, 1868, Margaret, only daughter of Boldero, of Salt Lodge, Sussex, whom he survived five days. On the 2nd, at age 82, **Hon. John Fitzwilliam Townshend**, Judge of the Irish Court of Admiralty, son of Henry Townshend of Castle Townshend, co. Cork. Called to the bar, Q.C., 1865; Judge of Admiralty Court, 1867. Married, 1838, Eleanor, daughter of Rev. Geo. Armstrong, of Cork. On the 2nd, at Launesswood House, Stour, aged 83, **Colonel Thomas William Fletcher**, F.R.S., eldest son of Thomas Fletcher Wandsworth. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1831; admitted to Oxon., 1853; called to the bar at the Inner Temple, 1854; Colonel, 1st Militia, and served as Earl Marshal's Gold Staff officer at the coronation of Victoria, and at the funeral of first Duke of Wellington; elected Fellow Royal Society, 1844, for his researches into the fossils of the Dudley coalfield. Married, 1831, Jane Marith, daughter of James Russell of Bescot Hall, near Wood Court, Staffordshire. On the 5th, at Cheltenham, aged 90, **Major-George Burn**, son of Robert Burn, of the East India House. Entered the Madras Native Infantry, 1819; served in the first China War; retired in 1830. Throughout his life he was never ill, and passed away without suffering from week's confinement to his bed. On the 6th, at Weldon Rectory, aged 84, **Sir Frederick Laud Robinson**, ninth baronet, son of Sir George Stamp Robinson of Crawford Hall, Northamptonshire. Educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Oxford; B.A., 1867; Rector of Crawford, 1870. Married, 1870, Madeleine, daughter of Frederick Sartoris of Rushden Hall, Northamptonshire. On the 7th, at Kensington, aged 73, **General Stephen J. K. Whitehill**. Entered the army, 1836; served through the Afghan War, 1838-42; North Concan Campaign, Persian War, 1856-7; Indian Mutiny, 1859-60, being charged with the capture of Tantia Topce and Feroze Shah through Central India. On the 8th, at Park, Swansea, aged 80, **Sir John Armine Morris**, third baronet, eldest son of John Morris, second baronet. Educated at Westminster; entered the army and served in 60th Rifles. Married, 1847, Catherine, daughter of Ronald Macdonald. On the 8th, at Gloucester Road, Regent's Park, N.W., aged 59, **John Burr**, A.R.S. Born in Edinburgh; trained at the Trustees Academy, and came to London in 1861; elected member of the Society of British Artists, 1876; a painter of various *genres*. On the 8th, at Roscrea, co. Tipperary, aged 81, **John W. McCarthy**, son of Michael McCarthy, a provision merchant of Tipperary. Educated at primary school and privately; secretary of numerous popular local movements, returned, 1892, as Nationalist member for Mid-Tipperary. On the 8th, at age 57, **Edward Allan-Schmidt**. Born at Heidelberg, but settled for many years in this country, where he attained considerable repute as an artist. On the 9th, at Pau, aged 56, **Major-General Sir Thomas Durand Baker**, K.C.B., son of John Durand Baker, of Bishop's Tawton, Devon. Educated at Cheltenham; entered Royal Irish Regiment, 1854; served through the Crimean War, 1854-6; Indian Mutiny, 1858-9; New Zealand War, 1864-6; Ashanti War, 1873-4; as A.A. and Q.M.G. and Chief of the Staff to Sir Garnet Wolseley in the Afghan Campaign, 1879-80, and South Africa, 1881; was D.A.Q.M.G. of the Horse Guards, 1874-5, and A.A.G., 1875-8; Military Secretary to Viceroy of India, 1879; D.Q.M.G. in Ireland, 1882; D.A.G. in Ireland, 1882-4, and

dia, 1884-6. On the 9th, at Elm Park Gardens, S.W., aged 56, **Louis John Jennings, M.P.** Born in London; at a very early age became connected with journalism, and was employed on the *Times*. He represented that paper as special correspondent in New York, and in 1871 exposed the Tammany Hall scandals of "Boss" Tweed, and others in the *New York Times*, of which he subsequently became the London manager. He was the author of several books dealing with English country life: "Field Paths," "Round the Wrekin," &c., "Study of V. E. Gladstone," and other works. He was at the time of his death assistant editor of the *Quarterly Review*. Married, 1867, Madeline Louisa, daughter of David M. Henriques, of New York. On the 10th, at Butler's Green, Hayward's Heath, aged 67, **Lieutenant-General Cadwallader Adams, C.B.**, son of Henry Cadwallader Adams of Ainsley Hall, Warwickshire. Entered the army, 1845; served with 49th Foot with distinction in the Crimea, where he was wounded. Married, 1871, Anne Catherine, daughter of Colonel James Stopford, C.B. On the 10th, at Bournemouth, aged 64, **Rev. Richard Temple West, M.A.**, son of J. M. West, Commissioner in Bankruptcy. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1849; Curate of Leeds, 1853; Hemel Hempstead, 1854-7; All Saints', Boyne Hill, 1858; All Saints', Margaret Street, 1860-4, when he was appointed Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Paddington. He was one of the most prominent of the High Church clergy in London. On the 10th, at Hyde Park Gate, W., aged 67, **Sir Charles Edward Lewis**, first baronet, third son of the Rev. George W. Lewis, of Magdalen College, Oxford. Educated at St. Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark; practised for many years as a solicitor; sat as a Conservative for London-Lerry City, 1872-90; created a baronet. Married, 1850, Isabella, daughter of R. A. Ellison of Bristol. On the 10th, aged 82, at Nunburnholme, **Rev. Francis Orpen Morris**, son of Admiral Morris, R.N. Born at Beverley; educated at Worcester College, Oxford; B.A., 1833; presented to the living of Nunburnholme, 1854; was the author of "History of British Birds," "A Natural History of the Nests and Eggs of British Birds," "The Country Seats of the Nobility and Gentlemen of the United Kingdom," and numerous other works on natural history. On the 12th, at Grizedale, aged 60, **William George Ainslie**, son of Montagu Ainslie of Grizedale Hall, Ambleside. Born at Humeespoor, East Indies. Educated at Sedbergh School; entered, 1849, the business firm of Harrison, Ainslie, & Co., of Alveston, of which he became the senior partner; sat as a Conservative for North Lancashire (North Lonsdale), 1885-92. Married, 1858, Amy, daughter of Thomas Sawyer. On the 13th, at Sidecup, within a few weeks of completing his 100th year, **Rev. John Wright, F.R.S.** Educated at Cambridge; ordained, 1827; governor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1845, and successively incumbent of Berkeley Chapel, Mayfair, Vicar of Great Malvern, and Rector of Falmouth, retiring at the age of 90 years. On the 14th, at Bristol, aged 60, **Sir Charles Walthen**. Six times Mayor of Bristol. On the 15th, at sea on his voyage home, aged 56, **Major-General Alexander H. A. Gordon**, head of the Hong-Kong police. Entered the army, 1856; served in the York and Lancaster Regiment; commanded the Hussars during the Ashantee War, and wounded in the advance to Coomassie. On the 5th, at Paris, aged 68, **Augustine Brohan**. A distinguished actress, who first appeared on the Paris stage in 1838; retired on a pension income of the Comédie française, 1868. Married Baron Ghent, for many years Belgian Minister in Paris. On the 16th, at Tichfield, Hants, aged 81, **Henry Burnett**, a popular tenor singer in early life, and a pupil of Sir George Smart, who acquired considerable reputation on the English opera stage. He married Fanny, eldest sister of Charles Dickens. She died in 1848, and shortly afterwards their little deformed child, who was the original of Paul Dombey. On the 17th, at Dreghorn, near Edinburgh, aged 82, **Robert Andrew Macfie**, son of John Macfie, Provost of Leith. Educated at Leith High School and University of Edinburgh; a merchant; sat as a Liberal for Leith, 1868-74. Married, 1840, Caroline Eliza, daughter of John Mastin of Conrance Hill, Dumfries. On the 17th, at Seymour Street, Portman Square, aged 73, **Admiral Sir Arthur Cumming, K.C.B.**, of Foston Hall, Derby, son of General Sir Henry Cumming, K.C.B. Entered the navy, 1832; was as mate of U.S. *Cyclops* through the Syrian War, and led the Turks in the assault on Sedan; served in the Mediterranean and South America with great distinction; commanded H.M.S. *Conflict* in the Baltic, and the floating battery station in the Black Sea during the Crimean War; Commander-in-Chief in East Indies, 1872-6. Married, 1853, Adelaide, daughter of Charles Stuart. On the 19th, at Tonga, in the Western Pacific, aged about 100, **King George of Tonga**, the grandson of the chief Finsu, in whom Captain Cook showed too much confidence. King George, whose native name was Tanhaahan, was baptised George by the Wesleyan mis-



sionaries in 1841, and in 1881 appointed Rev. W. Shirley Baker to be his Prime Minister. Subsequently to 1890, King George ruled with the aid of a native Government. He was succeeded by his great-grandson, Tanha-Han. On the 19th, at Berlin, aged 70, **Gerson von Bleichröder**, an eminent financier, whose firm owed its eminent position to their connection with the Rothschilds (dating from 1828), the friendship of Prince Bismarck (shown in the war of 1866 and subsequently), and the favour of Emperor William, who conferred upon him the Iron Cross, 1871, in recognition of his services as financial adviser during the peace negotiations with France. He was unpaid Consul-General for Great Britain from 1872. On the 20th, at The Cliffe, Nantwich, aged 68, **Sir Henry Fox Bristowe, Q.C.**, Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, son of Samuel Ellis Bristowe of Beesthorpe, Notts. Called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1847; Q.C., 1869; appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy, 1887. Married, 1850, Selina, daughter of Hon. Orlando Bridgeman. On the 20th, at Rochester, aged 82, **Rev. Charles Browne Dalton**. Educated at Wadham College, Oxford; B.A., 1833; Second Class Classics and Mathematics; Chaplain to Lincoln's Inn, 1836-46; Rector of Lambeth, 1846-54; Rector of Highgate, 1854-78; Prebendary of St. Paul's, 1845; Rural Dean and Proctor in Convocation. On the 21st, at Addlestone, aged 81, **William Hazlitt**, only son of William Hazlitt the essayist. On the 23rd, at Edinburgh, aged 87, **William Peddie, D.D.**, senior Minister of the United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh. Ordained, 1828, as colleague to his father, who had been Minister to the same congregation (Bristol Street Church) since 1783; received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, 1848; Moderator of the United Presbyterian Synod, 1858. On the 24th, at Walpole Street, Chelsea, aged 63, **Frederick Hayes Whymper**, late Chief Inspector of Factories, son of General Sir Wm. Whymper, who held the gate at Hougoumont, June 18, 1815. Educated at Eton (Newcastle Scholar) and Trinity College, Cambridge (Modern School, 1849), and B.A., third in Classics, 1851; appointed sub-Inspector of Factories, 1857; succeeded Mr. Redgrave as Chief Inspector, 1891. On the 24th, at Kelvedon, aged nearly 94, **Rev. Joseph Gedge**. Educated at Jesus College, Cambridge; First Sen. Opt., 1820; was tutor to Lord Mahon, afterwards Earl Stanhope, the historian. Being presented to a living in Lincolnshire in 1823, before his ordination, he was ordained deacon and priest on two successive Sundays in London by the Bishops of Bristol and Llandaff; Rector of Bilderton, Suffolk, 1849-79. On the 24th, at Denmark Hill, S.E., aged 46, **Robert Wilson**. Born at Glasgow; educated at Edinburgh University; came to London and devoted himself to journalism: was the author of "Life and Times of Queen Victoria" and other works. On the 26th, at Paris, aged 72, **Paul Girardet**, an eminent engraver. Born at Neuchâtel, Switzerland, but his grandfather, the head of a long line of artists, had settled in Paris in 1780. On the 26th, at Egginton Hall, Burton-on-Trent, aged 62, **Sir Henry Flower Every**, tenth baronet, son of Henry Every. Educated at Cheltenham College; entered the army, 90th Foot; High Sheriff of Derbyshire, 1863, and lastly Alderman. Married, first, 1855, Gertrude, daughter of Rev. the Hon. Baptist W. Noel, and second, 1859, Mary Isabella, daughter of Rev. Edmund Holland of Benhall Lodge, Suffolk. On the 26th, at Torquay, aged 77, **Sir Thomas Archer Colt**, seventh baronet. Educated at Glasgow University, where he took his degree M.A. and M.D. in 1840, and subsequently practised as a physician. Married, 1849, Frances, daughter of Elias Chadwick of Swinton Hall, Lancashire. On the 27th, at Bournemouth, aged 66, **Sir Walter George Nugent**, second baronet. Educated at Oscott, Ushaw, and Trinity College, Dublin; entered the army, 1845, and served with 33rd Foot through the Crimean Campaign. Married, 1860, Maria More, daughter of Right Hon. Richard J. O'Ferrall, M.P. On the 27th, at Cromwell Houses, S.W., aged 80, **Sir Charles Clifford**, first baronet, son of Geo. Lambert Clifford. Educated at Stonyhurst College; emigrated to New Zealand, 1843, and returned to England in 1850 to urge the issue of a Royal Warrant for the establishment of a responsible Government in the colony. He was first Speaker of the House of Representatives, 1853-60. Married, 1847, Mary Anne, daughter of John Hervey of Cruikfield House, Berks. He was knighted in 1858, and created a baronet at the Queen's Jubilee. On the 28th, at High Royd, Yorkshire, aged 76, **Mary Taylor**, one of Charlotte Brontë's intimate friends, the Rose Yorke of "Shirley," and M. of Mrs. Gaskell's "Life." She was the author of several books and essays, but none related to her life at Roe Hill.

## MARCH.

essor Minto. — William Minto, LL.D., was born in 1845 at Coull, Aberdeenshire, where his father held a post in connection with the Great Northern Railway of Scotland. He passed from the village school to the Aberdeen Grammar School, and thence to the University, where he graduated in 1865, taking honours in classics, mathematics, and philosophy; and for a few years afterwards he acted as assistant Professor of Natural Philosophy.

In 1866 he entered University College, Oxford, where he was the contemporary of a number of men who have subsequently attained eminence, amongst whom were Mr. Mowbray, Mr. Saintsbury, Mr. Andrew Lang, Mr. M. Creighton (Bishop of Exeter), Professor Ferrier, Mr. Myers, &c. Mr. Minto, however, did not remain to take an Oxford degree, but returned in 1868 to assist Professor Cairnes in the production of several works. It was during this period that he compiled his first volume, *English Prose Writers*, which appeared in 1872, and ran through several editions. It was followed in 1874 by *English Poets*, which was even more successful. In 1874 Lord Rosebery acquired the chief interest in the *Examiner* newspaper, appointed Mr. Minto to the post of editor, which he held until 1878, and during his tenure a famous controversy with Mr. John Addington Symonds regarding Mr. Swinburne and the "Athenian School of Poetry" was carried on in the columns of the *Examiner*, ending in a lawsuit. On quitting the *Examiner*, Mr. Minto became one of the leader writers on the *Daily Telegraph*, besides contributing to other papers and periodicals, and for two years, 1880-1, wrote the political history for the "Annual Register." He was also the author of a farce (1876), *The Colorado Beetle*, which enjoyed a great amount of popularity. In 1880, on the retirement of Professor Bain from his Chair of Logic and English Literature in the University of Aberdeen, Mr. Minto was appointed, and he withdrew from London, and for the next few years devoted himself almost exclusively to work in connection with his professorship. In 1885 he published *Blackwood's Magazine* his novel, *The Crack of Doom*, and afterwards later another entitled *The*

*Mediation of Ralph Hardelot*, "a tale dealing with Wat Tyler's insurrection, on which he spent great care, visiting the various spots in Kent connected with that popular rising. Whilst devoted to literature, Mr. Minto also took a keen interest in politics, and was Chairman of the Aberdeen Junior Liberal Association, devoting much time and labour to its organisation and work. Amongst his other works were a life of "Defoe," for the English Men of Letters Series; a volume on "Logic," for the University Extension Series, and many articles in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" on literary subjects. He had recently edited the "Life and Letters of Wm. Bell Scott," which gave rise to some controversy. He married, 1880, a niece of Professor Bain, of Aberdeen, to whose Chair of Logic and Literature he shortly afterwards succeeded, and he died in that city on May 1 after a very short illness.

M. Taine. — Hippolyte Adolphe Taine was born April 21, 1828, at Vouziers, in the Ardennes, and after a few years of private instruction was entered as a pupil at the Collège Bourbon, in Paris, whence he passed to the Ecole Normale, having intended to qualify himself for teaching. The thesis chosen for his degree, *Docteur-es-Lettres*, was "La Fontaine's Fables," and M. Taine's essay was so noteworthy, that he was strongly advised to devote himself to literature. His degree in philosophy was, however, refused, as his views were opposed to those of the examiners. He first undertook teaching at Nevers, and then at Poitiers and Besançon, but at length he allowed himself to be persuaded to give up teaching, and threw himself into the study of philosophy. His first critical work, "Essai sur Tite Live" (1854), was honoured by the French Academy. He had previously written an account of a journey to the Pyrenees, which was at once popular; but it was not until the appearance of his work of the "French Philosophers of the Nineteenth Century" (1856), and the attack upon the "Ecole Spiritualiste" of Victor Cousin, that Taine attracted the notice of scholars. Eight years later appeared his "History of English Literature," in four volumes, in which he upheld the theory that man was the creature of his surroundings. To this work, however, which gave rise to much hos-



tile criticism, he owed his appointment (1864) of Professor of History at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, and in the course of lectures which followed, he enforced the same doctrine to art which he had previously applied to literature. This was followed by his "Voyage en Italie" (1866), his "Vie et Opinions de Thomas Graindorge" (1867), a severe picture of Paris life, and by the two volumes of pure philosophy, "De l'Intelligence" (1870). In 1871 he gave a course of lectures on French Literature at Oxford, the University acknowledging the compliment by conferring upon him the honorary title of D.C.L., and M. Taine returned to his own country to publish his most popular volume, "Notes sur l'Angleterre." In 1874 he presented himself as a candidate for the French Academy, but the coterie, of which Monseigneur Dupanloup was the chief, passed him over in favour of M. Caro. The following year appeared the first volume, "La Conquête Jacobine," of the great achievement of Taine's literary career, "Les Origines de la France Contemporaine," and in 1878 his claims to a *fauteuil* could be no longer ignored. He succeeded M. de Loménie, and at once brought to bear upon the French Academy the influence of his taste and judgment. It was said that many of the younger men like Sully, Prudhomme, De Vogüé, P. Bourget, and even M. Renan owed their election to M. Taine's influence. In 1868 he married the daughter of M. Dennelle, an architect of distinction, and he died on March 5 at his house in the Rue Cassette at Paris.

**Jules Ferry.**—Jules François Camille Ferry was born at St. Dié, in the Vosges, in 1832, and began by studying law in Paris and writing for *Le Temps*, the staff of which he joined in 1865. His first great "hit" was in 1868, when he published a criticism of the imperial expenditure on the rebuilding of Paris under the immensely happy title of "Les Comptes Fantastiques d'Haussmann." This pamphlet gained him, as a Democratic Radical candidate, a seat for Paris on the Opposition side of the last Imperial Chamber, having been an unsuccessful candidate in 1863. In the Corps Législatif he was one of the leaders of the Opposition who could most readily obtain a hearing. He was among those deputies who demanded the dissolution of the chamber, on the ground that it did not represent the majority of the country; and, when the fatal war was declared,

he naturally opposed it with the rest of the scanty Left. After the proclamation of the Republic he became, as did each of the representatives of Paris, a member of the Government of National Defence, and went through many exciting experiences during the siege, being more than once in imminent danger from the insurrectionary National Guards. On September 5—the day after the revolution—he was appointed Secretary to the Government, and on the next day he was charged with the administration of the Department of the Seine, in which post he was able to carry on much work of great value in the way of organisation on the outskirts of Paris. He risked his life in trying to suppress the Communal insurrection of October 31, 1870, and soon afterwards he was delegated to the central mayoralty of Paris, upon the resignation of M. Arago. In this capacity he took an active part in the issuing of the order for the distribution of bread, and in other vigorous measures which the situation of the besieged city urgently demanded. The last incident of note in the siege was the successful defence by M. Ferry of the Hôtel de Ville against a body of enraged National Guards, who attempted to overthrow the Provisional Government.

After the peace, M. Ferry was elected Deputy for the Department of the Vosges, and, in consequence, resigned his national and municipal functions. In May 1871, after the second siege and the entrance of the troops into Paris, he was nominated Prefect of the Seine by M. Thiers; but so much hostile criticism was aroused by the appointment that he only held office for ten days. The unpopularity which attached to him then and from which he never afterwards entirely escaped also prevented him from being sent as Ambassador to Washington. Soon afterwards, however, apparently owing to some difficulty in working with M. Thiers, he went as Minister to Athens, where he remained for a year, till the fall of Thiers and the accession of Marshal MacMahon to power. Then he came home and at once took a leading place in the Opposition, resuming his place among the members of the Republican Left, who elected him their president. He was prominent at every Parliamentary crisis; resumed the pen as a financial critic; and was one of the foremost members of the famous "363," who refused a vote of confidence to the De Broglie Ministry in 1877, after the marshal's small *coup*

*d'état.* When the Republic had been definitely constituted by the general election of 1877 and by the fall of the marshal, M. Ferry at once came to the front as one of the most important members of M. Grévy's first Ministry. It was as Minister of Education that in 1879 he proposed the celebrated bill for regulating the action of the clergy and the so-called "free" universities—those not under State control—in teaching and in the giving of degrees. The bill, which took away from members of unauthorised religious bodies all power of teaching in public or private establishments, passed the Chamber of Deputies by a large majority; but it was rejected by the Senate, owing to the opposition of a strong party including many moderate Republicans, under the guidance of M. Jules Simon. It was at this period that M. Ferry attained to the greatest degree of popularity which he has ever enjoyed in France. During a provincial tour which he made in the autumn of 1879 he was everywhere warmly received, and his confident predictions of the eventual success of his bill aroused the enthusiasm of his audiences. The bill was dropped for a time, and in 1880, when, during the Premiership of M. de Freycinet, the clause was once more inserted in M. Ferry's Government Education Bill, it was again thrown out by a small majority in the Upper Chamber. But the Ministry proceeded to effect its purpose by decrees founded upon laws which had become obsolete, and the proscription of the Order of Jesuits was immediately proclaimed. The expulsion of its members was carried out, but the other unauthorised congregations were unmolested, and in consequence of this three of the more thorough-going members of the Cabinet resigned their portfolios. This was the death-blow to the Ministry, but it gave M. Ferry the Premiership. He formed a new Cabinet, consisting of the advanced colleagues of M. de Freycinet, with M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire as Foreign Minister, and the decrees were carried out rigorously, and even with some harshness. M. Ferry only remained in office for a year. The expedition, to which France owed Tunis, having been violently attacked on grounds of policy, he resigned in November 1881. A year and a half later he was asked to resume the task of administration, and he became Premier, again holding the portfolio of Public Instruction. He now quitted the field of religious education, and again turned his attention to

his favourite policy of colonial expansion. His invasion and annexation of Tonkin brought upon him a torrent of abuse and recrimination. He was accused of being a traitor and an enemy of his country; it was said that he had fallen into a trap set for him by Prince Bismarck; and by a sudden adverse vote of the Chamber in 1884 he was overthrown.

From that time M. Ferry became one of the most unpopular men in France. When M. Grévy resigned the Presidency, he was a candidate for the vacant office. Supported by a majority of Republicans in the Senate, and by a certain number in the Chamber, he obtained, in spite of the strenuous opposition of the Municipal Council of Paris, 212 votes on the first ballot against M. Carnot's 303, the next candidate in order being General Saussier with 148. But the threats of civil war, if he should be elected, and the flame of hatred against him sedulously fanned by the leaders of the Paris mob, had their influence, and he withdrew from the contest before the second ballot took place. A few days after the election of M. Carnot, M. Ferry was fired at on December 10, 1887, fortunately without ill-result, in the lobby of the Chamber by one Aubertin, who was afterwards found to be insane. From this time he preserved an almost unbroken silence, and seemed to be, as it were, ostracised from public life. He continued to represent his old constituency in the Vosges, with one brief interval in 1889-90, from the time of his first election in 1871 until his translation to the Senate in 1890. Only three weeks before his death his popularity returned in a remarkable manner. He was elected President of the Senate, and his advice was sought. But his health had never altogether recovered from the attack made upon him by Aubertin. Of the three shots one had taken effect, and the bullet flattening itself against M. Ferry's ribs produced a contusion at the base of the heart. No warning, however, was given of his sudden death, which took place on March 16 in Paris, shortly after he had left the presidential chair, in apparently good health. M. Ferry married, in 1876, Mlle. Rissler-Kestner.

**Sir George Findlay**, son of George Findlay of Grantown, N.B. Born there in 1829; was educated at the Halifax Grammar School, whence he passed, in 1845, at the age of 16, into the service of Thomas Brassey, then contractor for the construction of



the Trent Valley Railway from Rugby to Stafford. The following year the Trent Valley became an integral portion of the newly established London and North-western Railway. George Findlay was engaged on other lines in Wales, finally becoming manager of the Shrewsbury and Hereford, which had been leased by Mr. Brassey. In 1862 the London and North-western bought the Shrewsbury and Hereford, and Mr. Findlay was taken over with the rest of the rolling stock. After his arrival at Euston his rise was more rapid, being speedily appointed goods manager, and in 1874 succeeded Mr. Cawkwell in the post that he was to occupy for almost twenty years, though at first not with the title of general manager but only of traffic manager. Sir George Findlay did not suffer the mere routine work of his office, overwhelming as it might seem to be, to absorb his whole energies. In the discussion of railway questions at the Institution of Civil Engineers, of which he was an associate member, he took part from time to time. To the proceedings of the International Railway Congresses, both at Paris and St. Petersburg, he contributed valuable papers. Out of a lecture on the "Working of an English Railway," delivered at the Chatham School of Military Engineering, grew a book of great practical utility. More recently, as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Railway

Volunteer Staff Corps, he lectured the United Service Institution "Railways as a Means of Defence." And as an arbitrator between competing railway or dock companies his services were often called for and seldom given. He was a prominent Freemason, a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex, and since 1889 an Alderman of the Middlesex County Council. "a great, broad-shouldered, genialish man," spite of his Scotch parentage he had an Englishman's love of and his greatest delight was to get from business altogether and going. Sir George Findlay married in 1856, Annie, daughter of Sir Adamson, of Rugby, Staffordshire; second, 1885, Charlotte, daughter of Pryse Jacob, of Bridgend, Glamorganshire. His health had been a deal shaken the last few years when Sir Richard Moon retired from the chairmanship in February, 1893, this easier and more dignified post was offered by the directors to the general manager. But he resolutely stuck to his post, having, as he said, some years' good work still left to do. The knighthood conferred on him in 1893 was a tardy recognition of his public services as the oldest manager of the first English railroad. He died, on March 26, at his residence, Mill Hill House, Edgware, after a very short illness.

On the 1st, at Bournemouth, aged 65, **Colonel Robert Cogan Cross**. Appointed to 17th Bengal Infantry, 1843; served through the Indian Mutiny with great distinction; wounded in the defence of the Residency at Lucknow. Married, Katharine Diana, daughter of R. Shedden Homfray, B.C.S. On the 2nd, at Sussex Place, Hyde Park, aged 80, **General Sir Henry Bates, K.C.B.**, son of Sir Henry Bates, R.A. Educated at Charter House; entered the army, 1829; served 82nd Regiment three years in the West and twenty-one years in the East. He was aide-de-camp to Sir Robt. Dick and afterwards to Lord Gough during the Afghan War; commanded South-west District of Ireland during the rising, 1886; Colonel, 9th Foot, 1876; retired, 1881; Colonel of South Lancashire Regiment, 1889. Married, first, 1865, Charlotte, daughter of Colonel Kibb, and widow of Major-General Brett, Bombay, R.A., and second, 1875, Mary, daughter of Rev. P. Ewart, of Kirklington, York. On the 2nd, at Croydon, aged 81, **Captain Francis Philip Egerton, R.N.**, youngest son of General Sir C. Balkelly Egerton, G.C.M.G. Entered the Royal Navy, 1826; served in the Mediterranean, 1836-40; East Indies, 1842-7, during which he distinguished himself in an attack on Brunei (Borneo). Married, 1863, Georgina Augusta, daughter of Rev. W. Pitt, of Audlem, Cheshire. On the 7th, at Dothill Park, Salop, aged 76, **Dowager Lady Forester, Hon. Mary Anne**, daughter of second Viscount St. Vincent. Married, first, 1841, Colonel David Ahterlony Dyce Sombre, and second, 1848, George Cecil, third Baron Forester. On the 7th, at Marshalls, Ware, aged 75, **Stephen Martin Leake**, son of Stephen Ralph Martin Leake. Educated at St. John's College, London; Scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated 21st Wrangler, 1848; called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1853; edited in conjunction with Mr. E. Bullen, "Precedents of Pleading," 1859; and was author of "Law of Contracts," 1867, and of "Law of Property in Land," 1871. Married, 1859, Isabel, daughter of William Plunkett. On the 8th, at Eaton Square, S.W., aged 77, **Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas William Parish Labalmondiere, C.**

of Joseph Julian Labalmondier. Educated at Eton and Sandhurst, from which he passed out first with honours; joined 83rd Regiment, 1833; served under Lord Seaton during the Canadian Rebellion, 1837-8; employed on special duty in Ireland during the famine, 1847-8; Inspecting Superintendent of Metropolitan Police, 1850-6; Assistant Commissioner, 1856-84. Married, 1856, Margaret Doveton, daughter of John Moore Paget of Cranmore Hall, Somerset. On the 10th, at Tokio, aged 54, **Major-General Henry Spencer Palmer, R.E.**, third son of Colonel John Freke Palmer, Madras Staff Corps. After a few years at a school near Bath he entered the merchant service, and was engaged in the Black Sea transport service during the Crimean War. On his return, in 1855, he decided to enter the army, and was one of the first to obtain a commission at Woolwich by open competition (1856). Two years later, having obtained the first place in mathematics, he passed out into Engineers, and was sent to British Columbia as A.D.C. to Colonel Moody. On his return, he was employed for twelve years on the Advance Survey, and in 1869 was appointed to the joint command with Sir Charles Wilson of the Sinai Expedition, of which he wrote an interesting account. After being for some time A.D.C. to the forces of Hong-Kong, he went to Japan to superintend the construction of the waterworks of Tokio and the harbour of Yokohama. Married, 1863, Mary, daughter of Archdeacon H. P. Wright. On the 15th, at Betchingley, Surrey, aged 61, **Septimus Walter Sibley, F.R.C.S.**, seventh son of Robt. Sibley, architect. Educated at University College, London, first as general and afterwards as a medical student; gold medallist for medicine, 1852, and subsequently acquired a large practice; was the author of works on cancer and cholera. Married, 1851, Clara Fanny, second daughter of Sir Robert W. Carden, M.P. On the 16th, at Brighton, aged 82, **General John Hawkins Gascoigne, C.B.** Entered R.M.L.I., 1828; served in the Baltic, 1854; China, 1860, when he commanded the Marines in the capture of Peking. Married, first, 1843, Louisa, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Burton, and second, 1876, Ann, widow of Edward James, of Swarland Park, Northumberland. On the 16th, at Pimlico, S.W., aged 88, **Sir Howard Elphinstone**, second baronet. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1826; was subsequently incorporated at Merton College, Oxford; D.C.L., 1839, and was admitted an advocate at Doctors' Common the same year; called to the bar, 1840; represented Hastings as a Liberal, 1835-7, when he unsuccessfully contested Liverpool; sat for Lewes, 1841-7. Married, 1829, Elizabeth Julia, daughter of Ed. J. Curteis, M.P., of Windmill Hill, Sussex. On the 16th, at Chelsea, aged 67, **Emilie Ashurst Venturi**, youngest daughter of Wm. Henry Ashurst, solicitor of London, at whose house, at Stoke Newington, Mazzini, Saffi and the leading refugees of France, Germany, and Poland were accustomed to meet. Miss Ashurst's first marriage having been dissolved, she secondly married G. A. Venturi, a friend and follower of Mazzini, whose biographer she was, and as whose literary editor and secretary in this country she acted for several years. On the 17th, at Southsea, aged 63, **Major-General Frederick Smith Vacher**. Entered the army, 1846; was present at the battles of the Alma and Inkermann and at the fall of Sebastopol, being specially mentioned in despatches. On the 17th, at Blackheath, aged 59, **Captain Geo. Ferdinand Hastings Parker, R.N.** Entered the navy, 1848; served throughout the Russian War in the Baltic, and subsequently in the Pacific. On the 18th, at Madrid, aged 84, **Count Sepulveda**. For nearly fifty years Controller of the Royal Household under three successive royal dynasties. On the 18th, at Stinchcomb, aged 88, **Ven. Sir George Prevost**, second baronet, eldest son of General Sir Geo. Prevost, Governor-General in Canada. Born in the Island of Dominica; educated at Oriel College, Oxford; second class Classics; first Mathematics, 1825; ordained, 1828; curate to Rev. Thos. Keble, Vicar of Bisley, 1828-34, when he was appointed Rector of Stinchcomb; Archdeacon of Gloucester, 1865-81; was a friend and supporter of Dr. Pusey, and took a prominent part in the Oxford movement. Married, 1828, Jane, daughter of Isaac Lloyd Williams, of Cwmcynfelin, Cardiganshire. On the 18th, at Montreal, aged 67, **Lieutenant-Colonel Hewitt Bernard, C.M.G., Q.C.** Born at Jamaica, but educated in Upper Canada, where his family had settled; called to the bar, 1868; Secretary to the Confederation Commission, 1864-6; Deputy of Minister of Justice, 1868-76. On the 19th, at Cannes, aged 82, **Sir John Massey Stanley Errington**, twelfth baronet, third son of Sir Thomas Massey Stanley, ninth baronet, assumed the name of Errington, 1876. Married, 1841, Maria, daughter of Baron de Talleyrand. On the 20th, at Edinburgh, aged 72, **Major-General John Richard Anderson, C.B.** Entered the army, 1838, and the Royal Artillery, 1840; served in the China War, 1842; Crimean War, 1854; and the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8, distinguishing himself on several occasions. Married, 1856,



Mary, daughter of Robt. Ainslie, of Elvington, N.B. On the 22nd, at Cambridge, Mass., aged 91, **Rev. Andrew Preston Peabody**, Emeritus Professor of Christian Morals in Harvard University, U.S.A. Born at Beverly, Mass.; son of a school teacher; graduated at Harvard, 1826; pastor of the Unitarian Church, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, 1833-60; part proprietor of the *North American Review*, 1852-61; "Plummer" Professor of Morals, 1861-81, and preacher to Harvard University. On the 23rd, at Chesham Place, aged 40, the **Duke of Bedford**; **George William Francis Sackville Russell**, tenth Duke of Bedford, was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1874; sat as Marquess of Tavistock as a Liberal for Bedfordshire, 1875-85. Married, 1876, Lady Adeline Marie, daughter of third Earl Somers. On the 24th, at Kingstown, Dublin, aged 72, **Colonel Thomas Beckurter Speedy**. Entered the army, 13th Foot, 1839, and was present through the first Afghan War and at the siege of Jelalabad; appointed, 1865, Adjutant and Secretary of the Royal Hibernian Military School. On the 24th, at Dublin, aged 69, **Sir Henry Robinson, K.C.B.**, eldest son of Admiral Sir Hercules Robinson. Educated at Sandhurst, and served for some time in 60th Rifles; appointed Poor Law Inspector and Local Government Inspector in Ireland, 1848, and promoted, 1876-9, Assistant Under-Secretary for Ireland; Vice-President of the Local Government Board, Ireland, 1879-91. Married, 1853, Hon. Eva Arthur Henry Medora Annesley, daughter of tenth Viscount Valentia. On the 25th, at Malacca, aged 44, **Sir Elliot Charles Bovill**, Chief Justice of the Straits Settlements, son of W. J. Bovill, Q.C. Educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford; called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1873; Legal Adviser and Judicial Commissioner in Cyprus, 1879-93; Chief Justice of Cyprus, 1883-92, when he was appointed to the Straits Settlements. Married, 1876, Anna, daughter of Rev. John Tabourdin R. White, D.D. On the 25th, at New York, aged 60, **Elliot Fitch Shepard**, editor of the *New York Mail and Express*. Born at Jamestown, N.Y.S.; educated at the University of New York, and admitted to the bar, 1858; aide-de-camp to Governor Edwin Morgan; during the war he was placed in command of the Volunteer Depot at Elmira, and personally equipped the 51st New York Regiment, known as the "Shepard Rifles." He founded the New York Bar Association, 1876; and in 1888 purchased the *New York Mail and Express*, after his marriage with a member of the Vanderbilt family. On the 27th, at Buda-Pesth, aged 66, **General Baron Edelsheim**. Born at Carlsruhe; joined the Austrian army as a cadet; served through the Italian campaign, 1859, with distinction; held an important command in 1866; and at the close of the war appointed Inspector of Cavalry, which post he retained until 1875 on his appointment as Commander-in-Chief in Hungary. On the 28th, at New York, aged 79, **Benjamin H. Field**, whose name for nearly thirty years was linked with every charitable work in that city. Born at York Town, and educated at a local school, he entered the office of a New York merchant, and rose to be partner of the firm. He retired in 1864 to devote his whole time and means to philanthropic works. He established a Home for Incurables at Fordham; was President of the New York Eye and Ear Infirmary; Vice-President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and several similar societies, and was founder and President of the New York Free Circulating Libraries; also held many important public posts in connection with the city of New York. On the 29th, at London, aged 66, **Rev. Samuel Cox, D.D.**, a distinguished Baptist theologian. Born near London; educated at the Baptist College, Stepney; after a short pastorate at Ryde and Southsea removed to Nottingham, where he filled the charge until 1888. Founded the *Expositor*, 1875, which he continued to edit, and was the author of several theological works, of which the most important was "Salvator Mundi." On the 30th, at Versailles, aged 83, the **Comte de Champagny, Duc de Cadore**, son of Napoleon I.'s Minister. Honorary chamberlain to Napoleon III.; deputy, 1853-70, and one of the editors of the *Napoleon Correspondence*. On the 30th, at Beaumont Street, London, W., aged 61, **John Bartholomew**, Chief of the Geographical Institute, Edinburgh, and a distinguished cartographer. On the 30th, at Elsing Hall, East Dereham, aged 62, **Richard Charles Browne, J.P.**, a lineal descendant of Hugh Hastings, of Elsing, whose barony of Hastings (1264) fell into abeyance in the sixteenth century between his two daughters, Anne and Elizabeth, from the former of whom Mr. Browne descended, but the abeyance was terminated in 1840 in favour of the descendants of the younger sister.

## APRIL.

1 of Derby, K.G. — Edward Stanley, the eldest son of the Earl of Derby, who was Prime Minister, was born at Knowsley Park in July 1826. Educated at Rugby under Dr. and at Trinity College, Cambridge. At Cambridge he gained a declamation, besides several other prizes, and in 1848 he took first-class in the classical tripos, and was also placed among the first in mathematics. From 1848 to 1850 years he was destined for the law, and his first appearance before the law was as the Proctor-candidate for Lancaster in 1848, when he was beaten by Mr. Armstrong, the Liberal.

On quitting the university he went on a tour in Canada, the United States, and the West Indies, and laid the foundations of a knowledge of our colonial empire. Some of the results of his travels appeared in a pamphlet on the West Indies and their Revenue, which went through several editions, and which the planters, then in the height of their power, thought the ablest state-ment of their case. A year or two later he visited South America, of which he wrote "Six Weeks' Impressions." In his absence in America, in December 1848 elected as Member for Lord George Bentinck at Liverpool, and that seat he held until his death, until he became Member only once he sought election; he stood in 1859 for Maryport, but was defeated by Mr. Edwin Stanley, Sir Benjamin Hall.

His first speech in the House of Commons was on May 31, 1850, in support of Sir Edward Buxton's motion that it is unjust and impossible to impose the free-grown sugar of the colonies and possessions on the home market without unrestricted competition with the sugar of foreign slave-trading. It was a subject which Lord Stanley made his own. His speech was a gem, closely reasoned and supported, to prove that distress, not the fault of the planters, existed generally throughout the colonies; that with the existing facilities no improvement could be effected; and that the claims of the colonies were wholly distinct from the home agricultural interest. He was warmly compli-

mented by excellent judges of Parliamentary style. He had the good sense not to abuse his success or scatter his energies. He stuck to the cause of the suffering West Indian planters, and in a letter to Mr. Gladstone, called "Further Facts about the West Indies," he again urged the necessity for legislation. When he next addressed the House of Commons it was with reference to our colonial empire. Sir William Molesworth moved, in 1851, his memorable resolution in favour of relieving the mother country from civil and military expenditure on account of the colonies and giving them ample powers of self-government. Lord Stanley thought that under professions of a desire to preserve the connection of the colonies with England, there was veiled an intention to break it, and he opposed the motion in a speech of marked ability: "I am compelled to come to the same conclusion as that of the hon. gentleman, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and, with him, to believe that the effect of this motion, if carried, would be the entire abandonment of the colonial empire. To that step I will never consent. I believe that it would be an act of political suicide unprecedented in the history of the world." A visit to India and a careful study of its resources and government occupied part of 1851 and 1852.

In his father's first short-lived Administration he was appointed in March 1852 Under-Secretary for the colonies. Neither in that office nor in the long period when he was in opposition was he solicitous to obtrude himself. At the same time his political opinions were widening and drawing him away from his colleagues to the teaching of Joseph Hume and Richard Cobden. In 1853 he took up, in a pamphlet on "Church Rates," a position which his party could not accept, for he declared "the claims of Nonconformists to be exempted from ecclesiastical taxation appeared unanswerable." By his arguments in favour of the opening of museums on Sundays, by his early advocacy of a conscience clause to be enforced in all schools receiving State aid, and by many indications that he was in favour of large social and economical changes, it became apparent that he sat loosely with his party; and it was natural that Lord Palmerston should, on Sir Wm. Molesworth's death in 1855, offer him



the office of Colonial Secretary—an offer which he declined. In 1858 his father took office a second time; Lord Stanley became Secretary of State, in the first instance for the colonies; but the Government having accepted Lord Ellenborough's resignation, Lord Stanley took his place, and it fell to him to pilot through the House the bill for transferring the government of India from the Company to the Queen. For the tact with which he steered it past many rocks he won golden opinions. Indeed, his conduct in office at that time went far to justify his friends in predicting that he would one day lead his party. More than once he came into collision with the able Governor-General, who was then repairing the effects of the Mutiny, and he once, at least, overruled too unceremoniously the deliberate acts of Lord Canning. He offended the missionaries and their friends by his avowed adherence to the "ancient policy of perfect neutrality in matters affecting the religion of India." He did his part in supporting the unfortunate Reform Bill of 1859 in a speech which probably expressed his deliberate and final opinions as to democracy—a speech which advocated admission of the working classes to the franchise by judicious selection, and not in mass. While in opposition he busied himself with social and economical questions. He supported Lord Grosvenor's amendment to the Liberal Ministry's Reform Bill in a famous speech, of which Mr. Bright said that what was important in it was not true and what was true was not important, but which was, in fact, among the weightiest contributions to the discussion. He also moved the amendment to Mr. Gladstone's resolutions on the Irish Church.

At a critical moment in 1866, just as the Austro-Prussian conflict was becoming acute, Lord Stanley returned to office, and it was a comfort to many that the conduct of foreign affairs was committed to him. This was the first searching trial of Lord Stanley's capacity as a statesman, and the trial was severe. The Eastern question began to take an ominous shape. The Cretan insurrection threatened to open up all that the Crimean War had closed. Lord Stanley strove hard to minimise the troubles of the time, and it was alleged that in his desire to preserve neutrality he forgot the rights of humanity towards the women and children who were left to the mercy of Turkish irregular troops. It fell to him to deal with the Luxemburg diffi-

culty; by the expedient of a "collective guarantee" of neutrality he staved it off; but the cord of many strains was weak, and it soon snapped. The position to which Lord Russell had stuck in regard to the Alabama claims Lord Stanley yielded; he admitted the principle of arbitration. He was often blamed for the results of the Geneva arbitration; but, as he more than once explained, it was one thing to admit the principle of arbitration and another to consent to arbitration under a treaty which put us on our trial under a law not existing when the alleged offences were committed. On the whole, his two years at the Foreign Office were successful, though they revealed a tendency to temporise when swift, definite action was needed. His policy in regard to reform was less intelligible. He had no delusions on the subject of the virtues of democracy, but he suffered himself to be hurried on to household suffrage, and to make, without a protest, "a leap in the dark." In 1869 he was raised to the House of Lords by the death of his father, and in Mr. Disraeli's Administration of 1874 he again was Secretary of Foreign Affairs; and he had not long been in office when the Eastern question became serious. The smooth course of events for a time and the *coup* which was made by the Government by the purchase of the Suez Canal shares seemed to justify confidence of tranquillity to come. But the Andrássy Note and the Bulgarian atrocities soon forced the hand of the Government, and its foreign policy became unpopular. Again he did his utmost to prevent the Eastern question opening up in all its length and breadth, and to preserve the *status quo*. Throughout all the quickly changing phases of that difficulty while he was in office, and almost until the actual outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, he was cool and hopeful, if not optimistic. He seemed to make light of difficulties which others thought insuperable. He saw prospects of peace when others dreaded war. In his answer to the deputation, introduced by Mr. Bright on July 14, 1876, he dismissed as "the most improbable thing in the world" the probability of a great European war. On the very eve of hostilities he was endeavouring to build a bridge of retreat for the Russian Government. At last he was compelled to admit that his efforts to maintain peace were unavailing. The Russians crossed the Danube on June 22, 1877. Then began for Lord Derby a period of still greater

The Cabinet, it soon became was divided. Lord Beaconsfield set upon a bold course of resistance to the advance of Russia; Lord Devon, Lord Derby, and perhaps Salisbury sought to restrain the policy of the Premier. Lord and Lord Carnarvon felt themselves compelled to resign. The former returned to office, but only for a short time. After the signing of the Treaty of Stefano, when measures of aggression and warlike preparation were upon, Lord Derby withdrew, on March 28, 1878, from a Ministry of which he had long ceased to direct the policy. He was blamed for resigning so long with Lord Beaconsfield in the Ministry; he was blamed for not doing more.

At that time Lord Derby drifted away more from his old party, and it became known that he no longer even nominally belonged to it, which was a surprise to many of his friends. When in 1882 he accepted a position in Mr. Gladstone's Ministry as Secretary, again his official position was troubled. It fell to him to deal with South African affairs at a critical time, and, as usual, his policy was one of caution, at times bordering on *ser faire*. For the policy of withdrawal from the Soudan, or, as he called it, "rescue and retire," he was more responsible than the other members of the Ministry. But he was never very convinced of the necessity of sending Gordon to Khartoum, and none among them defended the withdrawal of our forces with more courage than Lord Derby.

After the fall of Mr. Gladstone's Government, he took no very prominent part in public affairs. On Home Rule he separated entirely from Mr. Gladstone. He had always been disposed to treat Ireland with liberality, and he offended some members of his party by refusing to vote against the Home Rule Bill of 1870, but he met Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule proposals with firm resistance, and, until the death of the late Duke of Devonshire and Lord Hartington to the Upper House, he led the Liberal Unionist opposition.

Among Lord Derby's many services should be mentioned his various Commissions over which he presided with admirable tact and judgment, the many committees on which he served, his labours on behalf of the many excellent societies, his connection with the Peabody Trust, his service as a model Chairman of Quarter Sessions, and his work as Chancellor

of the University of London. He married, in 1870, Mary Catherine, second daughter of fifth Earl de la Warr and widow of second Marquess of Salisbury, and died on April 11 at his seat at Knowsley in Lancashire.

**John Addington Symonds** was born at Clifton, Bristol, in 1840, and was the son of Dr. J. Symonds, a man who had in his time a great and deserved reputation through the West of England as a physician and a philosopher. Educated at Harrow and Balliol, he early showed his bent towards literature; he had a distinguished university career, which was crowned by a Fellowship at Magdalen. He won the University English Essay, the subject being "The Renaissance"; and in his case, as in many others, the fact of obtaining the prize did much to fix the direction of his studies for life. His first book was "An Introduction to the Study of Dante," and from Dante he went on to steep himself in the Italian and Latin writings of Petrarch, Boccaccio, the humanists and poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and their successors. As a by-work during the preparation and publication of his principal book he threw off such occasional volumes as "Studies of the Greek Poets," of which the first and second series appeared in 1876 and 1878, "Sketches and Studies in Italy," and "Italian By-Ways," together with various volumes of poems, original and translated, and the lives of Sidney and Shelley in the "English Men of Letters" series. But, though the titles of these last two books show the second line of work to which Mr. Symonds devoted himself, his most serious studies and his most productive labour were given to Italy. His "History of the Renaissance in Italy," in five volumes, with the two subsequent and supplementary volumes on "The Catholic Reaction," were his most ambitious performance, and that by which he would have chiefly wished himself to be judged. The first volume, "The Age of the Despots," appeared in 1875; the next two, on "The Revival of Learning" and "The Fine Arts," in 1877; the two on "Italian Literature" (1300-1530) in 1881; and the two final volumes five years later.

Mr. Symonds was a student also of the period when English literature was most affected by Italy, and his large volume on "Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama" (1884) was a clear and effectively-written *résumé* of the best that is known on the subject.

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Much the same may be said of his small monographs on Sir Philip Sidney and on Shelley. As a writer of original verse he was musical, reflective, and often interesting. As a translator, whether of verse or prose, he produced the best existing rendering of Michel Angelo's profoundly touching poetry, and the only possible English versions

of two very different books—Cellini's "Autobiography" and Count Carlo Gozzi's "Memoirs." His last work, "A Study of Walt Whitman," by a sad coincidence, appeared on April 19, the day of his death, in Rome. He married, 1868, Margaret, younger daughter of Frederick North, of Rougham, Norfolk, and M.P. for Hastings.

On the 1st, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 91, **Captain George Hope, R.N.**, third son of Captain R. Hope. Born at Chatham, May 30, 1801; entered the navy, 1813, on board H.M.S. *Latona*; was a student at the Royal Naval College, Portsmouth, 1814-6; and was present as a midshipman at the taking of Algiers on H.M.S. *Græchus*; served on the North American station, 1816-9, when he was appointed to the Royal Sovereign Yacht; and was in the South American station, 1823-8. Married, first, 1833, Charlotte, daughter of Vice-Admiral John Tollemache, and second, 1845, Katherine, daughter of Wm. Leveson-Gower, grandson of first Earl Gower. On the 2nd, at Lustleigh, Devon, aged 74, **Eden Colvill**, of Ochiltree, Chairman of the R.M.S. Company, of which his father, Andrew Colvill, had been the founder. Educated at Eton and Trinity College; after an apprenticeship to business, appointed manager of the Beauharnais Settlement near Montreal, and sitting for two years in the Legislative Council; Governor of the Red River Settlement under the Hudson's Bay Company. Married, 1845, Anne, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, of Montreal. On the 2nd, at Eastbourne, aged 65, **Major-General Cadwallader William Elgee, C.B., R.A.**, son of Captain Elgee, 67th Regiment. Educated at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich; entered the Royal Artillery, 1846; served in China Campaign, 1857-8; and Transkei Campaign, 1877-8. Married, 1877, Dora, daughter of Assistant-Commissary General G. Bennett. On the 4th, at Geneva, aged 86, **Alphonse de Candolle**, an eminent botanist, son of Adolphe Pergamus de Candolle, the botanist. Born in Paris; Foreign Member of the Royal Linnean Society, &c. On the 5th, at Devonport, aged 54, **Captain Arthur Thomas Brooke, C.B., R.N.**, Flag Captain to H.R.H. Duke of Edinburgh, second son of Geo. Brooke, of Ashbrooke, co. Fermanagh. Entered Royal Navy, 1853; served through China War, 1857; distinguished himself in saving many lives, and commanded an expedition up the Niger for the suppression of the slave trade. Married, first, 1880, Alice Marianne, daughter of Clement R. Archer, of Hill House, Hampton, and second, 1892, Blanche, daughter of J. Vaughan, Metropolitan Police Magistrate. On the 6th, at Little Campden House, Kensington, aged 59, **Vicat Cole, R.A.**, son of George Cole, a landscape painter. Born at Portsmouth; first exhibited in 1852 at Society of British Artists, and in the following year at the Royal Academy; gained, 1860, Society of Arts Medal for "A Surrey Cornfield"; elected an Associate of the Royal Academy, 1870, and R.A., 1880. In 1888 his "Port of London," regarded as his best work, was purchased by the Trustees of the Chantrey Fund. On the 7th, at West Wycombe Park, Bucks, aged 38, **Sir Edwin Abercromby Dashwood**, eighth baronet. Married, 1889, Florence, daughter of Frederick Norton, of Dargaville, New Zealand, in which country Sir E. Dashwood spent many years of his early life. On the 7th, at San Francisco, aged 81, **William Ingraham Kip, D.D.**, Bishop of California. Born in New York; graduated at Yale College; ordained in the Protestant Episcopal Church, 1835, exactly 200 years after the first settlement of his ancestors in America. After holding charges at New York and Albany, he was appointed, 1853, first Missionary Bishop to California. His family was descended from Ruloff de Kype, a native of Brittany, and a supporter of the Guises in the religious wars of France. On the 8th, at Paris, aged 86, **Admiral Paris**. Entered the navy, 1820; accompanied Dumont d'Urville and Captain Laplace in their voyage round the world; commanded the *Archimède*, the first French screw steamer which doubled the Cape, and the frigate *Fleurbaey* at the bombardment of Sebastopol; appointed Curator of the Naval Museum at the Louvre, 1871. On the 8th, at New York, aged 72, **John Taylor Johnston**. Creator of the Central Railway of New Jersey; founder of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and an art collector of wide repute. Born in New York, of Scotch parents, and educated partly at the Edinburgh High School and partly at the New York University; graduated in law at Yale University, and called to the bar, 1843; and five years later became connected with railway undertakings, with which his fortunes rose and fell. He was a liberal patron of art, education, and numerous

aritable and philanthropic institutions. On the 8th, at Windsor, aged 30, **Lieutenant and Adjutant Sir Aubrey Hope M'Mahon**, fourth baronet, son of Sir Thomas Westropp M'Mahon, C.B. Entered Grenadier Guards, 1880; was aide-camp to Lord Stanley, of Preston, as Governor of Canada. On the 8th, at Duke Street, Portland Place, W., aged 63, **Charles Earle, R.I.**, a painter in water colours of repute, son of Rev. H. J. Earle, Rector of High Ongar, Essex. On the 8th, in London, aged 53, **Mrs. Arthur Swanborough**, who, as Miss Eleanor Bufton, is a popular actress of light comedy, having first appeared in Shakespearian plays at the St. James' and Princess' Theatres. On the 10th, at Mexico, aged 73, **Manuel Gonzalez**, ex-President of the Republic. In early life he took a prominent part in various revolutionary wars, and fought in guerilla bands. In 1867 he was appointed Governor of the Palace, which he held until 1871, when he was arrested on the charge of complicity in the theft of the Emperor Maximilian's plate. He subsequently joined with Porfirio Diaz, who made him, in 1876, Secretary of War.

1880 he was elected President, and distinguished his administration by the most reckless fiscal mismanagement, and was forced to retire in 1884, when he was appointed a provincial governor. On the 11th, at Paris, aged 84, **Adolphe Frank**, Vice-President of the Jewish Consistory in France. Born at Liancourt (near) ; came to Paris, and was Deputy to M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Professor of Greek Philosophy, 1849-52, and Professor of International Law, 1852-82, the Collège de France. On the 11th, at Brancaster, Norfolk, aged 40, **Claude Andrew Calthrop**, a painter of some distinction. On the 12th, at Houghton Tower, Lancashire, aged 69, **Sir Charles de Hoghton**, eighteenth baronet. Entered the army and served with 73rd Foot; assumed the older form of De Hoghton by royal licence, 1862. Married, 1863, Florence, daughter of Louis Moyard, of Morges, Switzerland. On the 12th, at Regent's Park Road, aged 81, **Sir Francis Aubrey James Walsh**, son of James T. Walsh, J.P. Educated at Westminster School; for many years Principal of the Statistical Department of H.M. Customs; Chairman of the Tower Liberty Bench. Married, 1842, Jane Mary, daughter of Richard Robinson. On the 13th, at Chicago, aged 58, **Charles Appleton Longfellow**, a son of the American poet. He had lived for many years in Japan and the East Indies, and was a renowned yachtsman. On the 13th, at Roehampton, aged 81, **Rev. Henry James Coleridge, S.J.**, second son of Hon. Sir J. Taylor Coleridge. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford; graduated first class Classics, 1844; Fellow of Oriel College; joined the Church of Rome and entered the Jesuit Order; was the author of a "Life of Our Blessed Lord" and other religious works. On the 14th, at Stony Stratford, Bucks, aged 75, **Sir George Whichcote**, eighth baronet. Succeeded his brother in 1892. Married, 1866, Louisa Day, daughter of Thomas William Clagett, of Fetcham, Surrey. On the 14th, at Swanee, Tennessee, U.S.A., aged 68, **General Edmund Kirby Smith**, son of the Judge of the Superior Court of Florida. Born at St. Augustine; educated at West Point; served with distinction in the Mexican War, and was appointed Assistant Instructor of Mathematics at the Military Academy; took side with the Confederates, and as Major of cavalry was severely wounded at the battle of Bull Run, and on his recovery was appointed Commander and Administrator of the Western Section of the Southern Confederacy to organise a provisional government. At the close of the war he entered into business, but in 1870 was appointed Chancellor of the Nashville University, and in 1875 Professor of Mathematics at Swanee University. He married, in 1862, the daughter of Colonel M'Daniel, at whose house he had been nursed after his severe wound. On the 14th, at Harston, Cambridge, aged 34, **Norman Capper Hardcastle, LL.D., F.S.A.** Educated at Downing College, Cambridge; Lecturer on Modern Languages, and Organising Secretary for Technical Education for the Cambridgeshire County Council. On the 14th, at Brampton Manor, Hunts, aged 85, **Thomas Fowke Andrew Burnaby**, third son of Colonel John Dick Burnaby, of Errington House, Leicester. For many years Clerk of the Peace for Notts. Married, 1833, Emily, daughter of Rupert Chawner, M.D., of Burton-on-Trent. On the 16th, at Schierstein, Hesse-Cassel, Prussia, aged 83, **Frederick August Ludwig, Count von Bismark-Schierstein**, Chamberlain to H.R.H. the Grand Duke of Luxembourg. On the 17th, at Chesardine Hall, Market Drayton, aged 52, **Charles Donaldson-Hudson**, youngest son of John Donaldson, of Wigton. Educated at Merton College, Oxford; assumed the name of Hudson, 1862; High Sheriff for Staffordshire, 1880; sat as a Conservative for Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1880-5. Married, 1870, Sarah Marie, daughter of Major Robert Streatfield, 52nd Regiment. On the 18th, at Paris, aged 64, **Lord Mowbray and Stourton, Alired Joseph Stourton**, twenty-third Baron Mowbray (1295), twenty-fourth Baron Segrave (1264), and nineteenth Baron Stourton, son



of eighteenth Baron Stourton, established, 1877, his claim to the two dormant peerages. Married, 1865, Mary Margaret, daughter of M. E. Corbally, M.P., of Corbalton Hall, co. Meath. On the 20th, at London, aged 80, **William Macpherson**. Born at Aberdeen; educated at Charter House and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1834; called to the bar, 1837; appointed Master in Equity at Supreme Court of Calcutta, 1846, where he placed the Procedure Codes in civil cases on an intelligible basis. On returning to England he was appointed editor of the *Quarterly Review*, 1858-64, but resigned the post in order to devote his whole time to his duties as Secretary to the Indian Law Commission, and was subsequently, 1872-82, Legal Adviser and Judicial Secretary to the India Office. On the 20th, at Ferrara, aged 71, **Cardinal Giordani**, Archbishop of Ferrara. Created Cardinal, 1887. On the 21st, at Southsea, aged 82, **David Alfred Doudney**, D.D. Born at Portsmouth; began life as a printer, and worked at Southampton. Coming to London he started the *City Press*, and was also editor (1840-93) of the *Gospel Magazine*. He also started in Ireland another periodical, *Old Jonathan*; ordained, 1847, by the Bishop of Cashel; Vicar of Kilrush, co. Tipperary, 1847-59, and Incumbent of St. Luke's, Bedminster, Bristol, 1859-90; author of numerous religious works, and completed Dr. Giles' "Commentary." On the 21st, at Bradenham Hall, Norfolk, aged 76, **William Meybohm Rider Haggard**, eldest son of William Haggard, of Bradenham and Twickenham. Born at St. Petersburg; educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge; LL.B., 1837; called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1842. Married, 1844, Ella, daughter of Bazett Doveton, Bombay C.S.; father of Mr. H. Rider Haggard, the novelist. On the 22nd, at Park Lane, W., aged 77, **Dowager Countess of Buchan**, **Caroline Rosa**, daughter of James Primrose Maxwell, of Tuppence, Kent. Married, 1839 (third wife), Henry David, twelfth Earl of Buchan. On the 23rd, at Cambridge, aged 59, **Robert Lubbock Bentley**. Educated at Caius College, Cambridge; B.A., Second Class Classics, 1855; Tyrwhitt Scholar; appointed Lord Almoner's Reader in Arabic, 1887. On the 24th, at Windsor, aged 52, **Colonel E. H. Lenon**, V.C. Entered the army and joined the 67th Foot; served throughout the China Campaign, 1860, with such conspicuous bravery that, although only a lieutenant, he was gazetted brevet-major, and received the Victoria Cross. He was one of the Knights of Windsor. On the 24th, at St. Leonard's, aged 81, **Lady Salt**, **Caroline**, daughter of George Whitham, of Great Grimsby. Married, 1830, Mr., afterwards Sir, Titus Salt, baronet (died 1876), of Saltaire and Crownert, Yorkshire. On the 25th, at Bournemouth, aged 55, **General Percy Guillemard Llewellyn Smith**, R.E., son of Col. J. T. Smith, Madras Engineers. Born at Madras; educated at Woolwich, and entered the Royal Engineers, 1855; served with distinction in South Africa; placed in charge of the Harbour Defence Works at Weymouth, and subsequently appointed Instructor in Estimating, &c., at the Military Engineering College, Chatham, and was employed upon many important works, and wrote several text-books on scientific subjects. On the 25th, at Taunton, aged 84, **Hon. Louisa Mary Jennings**, Abbess of the Franciscan Convent at Taunton since 1851, daughter of seventh Lord Stafford. On the 26th, at Norwood, aged 66, **Lord Hampton**, **John Harvey Pakington**, second Baron Hampton. Born at Powick Court; educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1847. Married, 1849, Lady Diana Boyle, daughter of fourth Earl of Glasgow. He was for many years a great invalid, and took no part in political life. On the 27th, at Auckland, N.Z., aged 54, **John Ballance**, Premier of the colony, the son of a tenant farmer. Born in co. Antrim, and educated at the local national school. In 1853 he was apprenticed to an ironmonger in Dublin, and afterwards went to Birmingham; emigrated to New Zealand in 1866, when he was first a sheep farmer, but soon after opened a shop at Wanganui as a jeweller, and started the *Wanganui Herald*. In 1868 he raised a cavalry contingent which took part in the Maori War; elected to the House of Representatives, 1875, as a supporter of the unification of New Zealand; Minister of Education, 1878-9; Native Minister and Minister for Defence and Laws, 1884-7; Prime Minister, 1891. On the 27th, at Rome, aged 74, **Right Rev. James Francis Turner**, D.D., son of Lord Justice G. T. Turner, D.C.L. Educated at University College, Durham; B.A., 1851; Chaplain at Bishop Cosin's Hall, Durham, 1852-4; Rector of North Tidworth, Wilts, 1858-69; Bishop of Grafton and Armidale, N.S.W., 1869-92. On the 27th, at Paris, aged 72, **Charles de Mazade**. Born at Castel Sarazin; studied law at Toulouse; came to Paris and wrote the fortnightly political summary in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1852-8, and again from 1869 to his death; elected, 1862, a member of the French Academy. On the 28th, at St. Petersburg, aged 71, **General Prince Dondukoff Korsakoff**, aide-de-camp to the Czar; descended on the maternal side from a Kalmuck Khan; distinguished

during the campaign in the Caucasus; was appointed Governor of Kieff, and one of the chief supporters of the Panslavist cause, and after the Peace of San Stefano, in 1878, was appointed Governor-General of Bulgaria. At the Berlin conference he used all his influence to prevent the separation of Roumelia from Bulgaria, but without success. He was elected in 1879 first National Assembly Prince of Bulgaria, but the Czar refused to ratify it, and he was appointed Governor of Kharuoff, 1880, and Governor and Commander-in-Chief in the Caucasus, 1882. On the 29th, at Remark Road, aged 94, **Samuel Bellin**, son of John Bellin, of Burnt House, died. Studied painting in Rome with Turner, Severn, and others, and on his devoted himself to mezzotint engraving with marked success. On the 29th, aged 70, **Lord Deramore, George William Bateson**, second Baron Deramore (special patent), second surviving son of Sir Robert Bateson, first baronet, died, 1876, by royal licence, the surname of De Yarburgh, having married, Mary Elizabeth, eldest daughter of George J. Yarburgh, of Hertington Hall, Leamington. On the 30th, at St. John's, Newfoundland, aged 59, **Sir Robert John D.C.L.**, Judge of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland, son of Judge Pinard, died. Called to the bar of Newfoundland, 1856; Q.C., 1865; Solicitor-General, 1873, and appointed Judge, 1880. Married, first, 1851, Anna, daughter of R. M. Cooke, and second, 1872, Emily Hetty Sabina, daughter of Rev. John Homfray, Rector of Binty, Norfolk.

## MAY.

**Nant-General Hon. Sir J. C. K.C.B.**—James Charlemagne, son of the eleventh Baron Doro, had held military rank in Indian service, was born January 1, 1813, in Hungary. Entered the army, 1833, was gazetted to 13th Regiment, served through the Crimean War before Sebastopol, and distinguished himself at the battle of the Alma. He accompanied his regiment to India on the outbreak of the war and took part in the Oude and Burmah campaigns, 1856-8, his name mentioned in despatches. He was killed just before the close of the war as aide-de-camp to Lord Clyde, 1860, was sent as Assistant-Quartermaster-General with the expedition to China, where he was present at the capture of the Taku fort and the surrender of Peking. From 1869 to 1882 he held various appointments at home and abroad, including Malta and Cyprus; and on

the outbreak of hostilities in Egypt in 1882 he was appointed, as Brigadier-General, Chief of the Staff in Egypt. During his service in that country he commanded a brigade in the Nile Expedition of 1885, and was afterwards Commander of the Nile field force, which was despatched to rescue General Gordon. From 1887-90 he was Commander of the British troops in Egypt, and thence was sent as Commander-in-Chief to Madras. He was in addition an excellent officer, a fearless sportsman, and his death was caused by wounds he received when out tiger shooting. He was brought back to Madras, but died on April 3 at the time that his promotion to a still more important command was under consideration. General Dormer married, 1861, Ella Frances Catherine, only daughter of Sir Archibald Alison the historian, and widow of Robert Cutlar Fergusson, of Craigdarroch, Dumfriesshire.

On the 1st, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 75, **William Cotton Bevell**. Educated at Eton and entered the Indian Civil Service; retired to the Cape of Good Hope, where he spent five years exploring the interior, making several important discoveries, including that of Lake Ngami. He met Livingstone in the Zambesi, and travelled with him. On the 3rd, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, aged 83, **Sir Wyndham Hanmer**, younger son of Thomas Hanmer. Entered the army and was a member of the Horse Guards. He married, first, 1842, Victoria Maria Louisa, daughter of Sir John Conroy, Bart., and second, 1877, Harriet Frances, daughter of the Hon. Henry Kely-Hutchinson; succeeded to the baronetcy but not the peerage of his brother. On the 3rd, at Ballykilcavan, Queen's County, aged 81, **Allen Johnson Walsh**, fourth baronet. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1851; Captain, Queen's County Rifles, 1854-9. Married, first, 1854, Harriet Anna, daughter of Rev. Wm. Brownlow Forde, of Seaford, co. Sussex. On the 4th, at Cambridge Terrace, Hyde Park, aged 90, **Francis Bayley**, of the Westminster County Court, third son of Sir John Bayley, Justice of



the Queen's Bench. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1827; appointed County Court Judge, 1849. Married, first, 1830, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Macdonald, of Westminster, and second, 1854, Charlotte, daughter of M. Frederic Roulet, of Pereux, Neuchatel. On the 4th, at St. John's, Newfoundland, aged 59, **Captain Richard Pike**, a distinguished Arctic explorer. Born at Carbonear, Conception Bay; served on board ship from his youth, and was engaged for many years in the sealing trade; accompanied the convoy of Lieutenant Greely and his party to Lady Franklin Bay, 1881; was sent with the relief expedition, 1883; and in 1891 took part in Lieutenant Peary's expedition. On the 5th, at Bayeux, aged 67, **Dowager Lady Kinsale, Elizabeth Elia**, daughter of M. O. de François de Ponchalon, of Alençon, and widow of M. C. de Bosquet de Beaumont. Married, 1864, thirty-first Baron Kinsale. On the 5th, at Old Windsor, aged 76, **William Govett Romaine, C.B.**, son of Rev. R. Govett. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1837; called to the bar at the Inner Temple, 1839; appointed Deputy Judge Advocate-General to the army in the Crimea, 1854-6; Permanent Secretary to the Admiralty, 1857-69; Judge Advocate-General of India, 1869-73; English Controller-General of the Finances in Egypt, 1876-9; unsuccessfully contested Chatham as a Liberal, 1857. Married, 1861, Frances Phebe, daughter of Henry Tennant, of Cadoston Lodge, Glamorgan. On the 6th, at Harrow on the Hill, aged 70, **Major-General John Pitcairn Sandwith**. Educated at Addiscombe; entered the Indian army; served through the Scinde Campaign, 1843-4; commanded 8th Bombay Native Infantry, 1867-77. Married, 1852, Elizabeth Sophia, daughter of R. H. Tulloh, Elliston, St. Boswell's. On the 6th, at London, aged 50, **Richard Herbert Carpenter**. Educated at Charter House, 1851-7; studied architecture under Mr. W. Slater; restored Chichester and Armagh Cathedrals, Sherborne Abbey, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, &c., besides designing several important buildings, public and private. On the 7th, at Hertford Street, May Fair, aged 83, **Maria, Marchioness of Allesbury**, one of the most accomplished ladies of the day, and a keen participator in all social life. Maria, daughter of Hon. Charles Tollemache, of Harrington, married, 1833, first Marquess of Ailesbury. On the 7th, at Queen's Gate, S.W., aged 69, **Sir James Anderson**, son of John Anderson, of Dumfries. Entered the mercantile marine, 1840, and the Cunard Company's service, 1851; commanded the *Great Eastern* while laying the Atlantic telegraph, 1866, since which time he was Managing Director of the Eastern Telegraph Company. Married, first, 1852, Mary, daughter of John Stuart, and second, Margaret, daughter of Thomas Milligan. On the 8th, at Hyde Park Gardens, aged 46, **Lord Petre, Right Rev. William Joseph**, thirteenth Baron Petre. Domestic Prelate at the Court of the Vatican, and co-heir to the Baronies of Howard, Greystoke, &c. On the 8th, at Buckleburg, aged 75, **Prince Adolphus George von Schamburg Lippe**, General of cavalry in the Prussian army. Married, 1844, Herminia, daughter of Prince George of Waldeck and Pyrmont. On the 9th, at St. James' Square, London, aged 88, **Field-Marshal Lord William Paulet, G.C.B.**, fourth son of thirteenth Marquess of Winchester. Educated at Eton; Ensign, 85th Foot, 1821; served as Equerry to H.R.H. Duke of Cambridge in the Crimean War; also as Assistant-Adjutant-General, 1834-5; and Major-General in command of a division, 1855-6; commanded Infantry Brigade at Aldershot, 1856-60; South-western District, 1860-5; Adjutant-General, 1865-70; Field-Marshal, 1886. On the 9th, at Cowes, Isle of Wight, aged 43, **Ernest Richard Charles Cust**, only son of Colonel the Hon. Charles Cust. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1873; heir presumptive to the Earldom of Brownlow; a devoted yachtsman. On the 10th, at Venice, aged 68, **Edgar Atheling Drummond**, second son of Andrew Robert Drummond, of Cadlands, Hants. Entered Royal Navy, 1839, and retired as lieutenant, entering the family banking firm. Married, 1858, Hon. Louisa T. Pennington, daughter of third Lord Muncaster. On the 10th, at Wokingham, aged 78, **Dowager Marchioness of Downshire, Hon. Caroline**, eldest daughter of first Viscount Combermere. Married, 1834, fourth Marquess of Downshire. On the 10th, at Rome, aged 62, **Cardinal Zigllara**. Born at Bonifacio; created Cardinal Deacon, 1879. On the 11th, at Margate, aged 78, **Thomas Sells Egan**, a distinguished oarsman. Graduated at Caius College, Cambridge, 1839; coxswain to university boat, 1836-9 and 1840, and afterwards at Henley; for many years a writer on sporting matters, and the translator of several of Schiller's and Heine's poems. On the 11th, at Dublin, aged 69, **Sir Thomas Alfred Jones, F.R.H.A.** Studied at the Drawing School of the Royal Dublin Society and Hibernian Academy; entered Trinity College, Dublin, 1844; elected Associate, R.H.A., 1852; Member, 1861; and President, 1870; knighted, 1880. Married, first, 1854, Susan,

daughter of Wm. Casey, of Springfield, co. Clare, and second, 1878, Florence Mary, daughter of H. T. Mathwin Quinan, Chancey Examiner, Dublin. On the 8th, at Pyrmont, aged 62, the **Prince of Waldeck-Pyrmont, H.S.H. George Victor, Prince of Waldeck-Pyrmont, Count von Rappolstein, Seigneur of Hoheneck and Arnoldseck, &c.** Succeeded his father at the age of fourteen years, his mother being appointed Regent; assumed his royal duties, 1852; a Prussian General. Married, 1853, H.S.H. Princess Helena, daughter of William, Duke of Nassau. On the 13th, at New Maldon, aged 72, **Colonel James Dodington Carmichael, C.B.**, son of Hon. David Scott Carmichael-Smyth, B.C.S. Entered the army, 1838; served with 32nd Regiment in the Afghan War, 1851-2; wounded at Mooltan; served throughout Oude Campaign, 1858, and in Egypt as D.Q.M.G. Married, 1st, 1860, Barie, daughter of Major Latter, and second, 1869, Teresa Anne, daughter of Thomas Morris, of Crome Hall, Gloucester, and widow of Captain J. Scott, 32nd Regiment. On the 16th, at Hagnaby Priory, Lincolnshire, aged 70, **Roger Pocklington-Coltman**, son of Rev. Roger Pocklington, of Walesby, Notts. Educated at Marlborough College; Captain, 1st Mid. Engineer Volunteers. Married, 1872, Marian Catharine, daughter of Thomas Coltman, of Hagnaby, whose name he assumed in 1875. On the 19th, at London, aged 73, **Edward Alfred Cowper**, son of Edward Cowper, one of the early improvers of the printing press; apprenticed to a leading engineer, 1834-41, during which time he invented the railway fog signals, still in use, and subsequently many other useful works; was engaged in the building of the great exhibition in Hyde Park, 1851, and designed the span-roof of the Birmingham Central Station, and invented among other things in 1879 an electrical writing machine. On the 20th, at Posbury House, Wiltshire, aged 80, **Dowager Lady Shelley, Charlotte Martha**, daughter of Rev. Henry Hippisley, of Lambourne Place, Berks. Married, 1845, Rev. Sir Fred. Shelley, eighth baronet of Michaelgrove, Sussex. On the 20th, at Rome, aged 81, **Jacob Molescholt**, an eminent physiologist. Born at Bois-le-Duc; studied medicine at Heidelberg, and practised at Utrecht, 1845-7; Professor of Physiology and Anthropology at Heidelberg University, 1847-54; at Zurich, 1856-61; Tunis, 1861-79, when he was appointed to the Chair of Physiology at Rome, having, in 1876, been nominated a member of the Italian Senate. On the 20th, at Eaton Square, S.W., aged 72, **John Henry Daniell, C.B.**, second son of Thomas Daniell, of Berkhamstead, Herts. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; senior partner in the firm of Mullens, Marshall & Co., stockbrokers, and agent to Commission of National Debt. Married, 1848, Katharine, daughter of Joseph Hoare Bradshaw, of Ballyhays, co. Down. On the 22nd, at Milford-on-Sea, aged 57, **Sir William Henry White, C.B.**, son of George White of the War Office; entered the War Office, 1842; served as Military Auditor in the Crimea, 1855-6, and in China, 1857; Accountant-General to the Army, 1878-82; Financial Secretary to the Special Mission to Egypt, 1879-80, and in South Africa, 1881; Assistant Paymaster-General to the Supreme Court, 1886-92. Married, 1854, Elizabeth Mary, daughter of Francis Janvrin, of Devonshire Place, London, and Jersey. On the 22nd, at Paris, aged 89, the **Duc de Mortemart**, President of the Cercle Agricole. Educated at St. Cyr and Saumur; entered the Lancers of the Royal Guard, 1821; resigned his commission, 1828; sat for the Department of the Rhone in the Constituent Assembly as a Legitimist, 1848-50; acted as Chief of the Staff to the General Commanding the First Army of Paris, 1870-1; elected for the Rhone Department, 1871-6, when he withdrew from political life. On the 23rd, at Vienna, aged 87, **Anton von Schmerling**. Born and educated at Vienna; practised as a barrister; appointed Councillor of the Court of Appeal, 1846; represented Austria at the Frankfort Congress, 1848, where he was also elected President of the Federal Diet, and appointed Minister of the Empire. He strongly opposed the Prussian hegemony, and soon afterwards retired from office; appointed Minister of Justice in Prince Schwarzenberg's Cabinet, 1849-51; Minister of State, 1861-5, when he resigned and became First President of the Supreme Court of Justice; appointed a Life Member of the Upper House, 1867, and from 1879 was the leader of the Opposition in that House. On the 23rd, at Stoke Bishop, aged 76, **Arthur Shelley Eddis, Q.C.**, Judge of the Clerkenwell County Court. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; Fourth Classic and Senior Opt., 1839, and Senior Classical Medallist and Fellow of Trinity College, 1842; called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1845; Q.C., 1869; County Court Judge, 1883. Married, 1845, Elizabeth, daughter of J. Wright. On the 23rd, at Devonshire Street, Portland Place, aged 78, **Sir John Kingston James**, second baronet. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1835; entered the army and served in 6th Dragoons; claimed, 1854, the right to be called as a knight. Married, 1839, Frances



Isabel, daughter of T. F. Wilkinson, of Cahirelly Castle, co. Limerick. On the 25th, at Cromer Hall, Norfolk, aged 36, **Benjamin Bond Cabbell**, eldest son of John Bond Cabbell. Educated at Eton and Magdalen College, Cambridge. Married, 1886, Beatrice Evelyn, daughter of M. P. Glazebrook. On the 26th, at Stanley Street, aged 37, **Walter Bangle Hadden, M.D.**, son of Robert Hadden, a proprietor of the *Liverpool Mercury*. Educated at Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby; the Royal Infirmary, Liverpool; and at St. Thomas' Hospital, London; M.D., London, 1879; F.R.C.P., 1888; author of several medical and scientific works. On the 27th, at Campala, Uganda, East Africa, aged 37, **Captain Melville Raymond Portal**, eldest son of Melville Portal, of Laderstobe House, Hants. On the 28th, at Paris, aged 75, **Alfred Darcey**, Director of the Cluny Museum since 1885, having been previously attached to the Louvre, 1862-72, and Director of the Gobelins, 1872-85; author of several works of the archaeology of the Middle Ages. On the 28th, at Oxford, aged 85, **Rev. Charles Pritchard, D.D., F.R.S.**, Savilian Professor of Astronomy. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; Fourth Wrangler, 1830; Fellow of St. John's College, 1831; Head Master of Clapham Grammar School, 1838; President of the Royal Astronomical Society, 1866; Hulsean Lecturer, 1867; elected Savilian Professor at Oxford, 1870; Fellow of New College, Oxford, 1883; the author of several works on astronomy and also on Biblical criticism. On the 30th, at Brighton, aged 81, **Sir William Bowyer**, eighth baronet of Denham Court, Bucks (1660), and fourth of Radley Hall, Berks (1791). Educated privately and abroad; called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1851. Married, 1857, Ellen Sarah, daughter of Shirley Foster Woolmer, of Grosvenor Place. On the 30th, at Poltalloch, aged 87, **John Malcolm**, second son of Neill Malcolm, of Poltalloch. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1827; was distinguished for his patronage of art and his fine collection of drawings by the Old Masters. Married, 1832, Isabella Harriet, second daughter of Hon. John Wingfield-Stratford, of Addington, Kent. On the 30th, at Bournemouth, aged 68, **Lady Emma Augusta M'Neill**, daughter of seventh Duke of Argyll. Married, 1870, Right Hon. Sir John M'Neill, G.C.B. (third wife).

## JUNE.

**Rev. Thomas Mozley, M.A.**—Thomas Mozley, the son of a commercial man, was born in 1806 at Gainsborough, and after some years at school at Derby was sent to the Charter House, passing thence to Oriel College, Oxford, where he matriculated early in 1825. Although he graduated (1828) with only a third class in Classics, he was elected a Fellow of Oriel in the following year, and found himself thus the colleague of John Henry Newman and other leaders of religious thought. In 1832 he accepted the college living of Moreton Pinckney, in Northamptonshire, but still retained his Fellowship for four years longer, and with it retained his keen interest in the great movement which was beginning to stir Oxford and England. In 1836 he relinquished his Fellowship on accepting the living of Cholderton, a remote parish in the midst of Salisbury Plain, and in the same year he married a sister of John Henry Newman. He remained at Cholderton for eleven years, rebuilding his church, but in 1842 he had become the editor of the *British Critic*, and two years later he commenced his work on the *Times*, which lasted for forty years with slight

intermission. In 1847 he resigned the living, his already established connection with the *Times* having rendered it expedient for him to come to London. In London he lived for some years, removing subsequently to Finchampstead, in Berkshire. In 1868 he was for a third time presented to a college living—that of Plymtree, in Devonshire—which he held for some years until his age and the increasing failure of his eyesight compelled him to retire from active clerical work, and latterly he lived quietly at Cheltenham, where he died more or less suddenly on June 18. In the latter years of his life he had published several volumes of reminiscences, bearing chiefly upon the Oxford movement. He acted as *Times* correspondent at Rome during the sittings of the Vatican Council, 1869-70, and republished, under his own name, his account of that historical event.

**Lord Calthorpe.**—Frederick Henry William Gough-Calthorpe, eldest son of fourth Baron Calthorpe, born in 1826, was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, and for a time was a lieutenant in the Gloucestershire Yeomanry. He sat for East Worcester

as a Liberal, 1859-68, when he succeeded to his father's peerage. Shortly before that event he had become known as an owner of race-horses, and although he never won the Derby, he bred some excellent animals, amongst which Sea Breeze, who won the Oaks and the St. Leger in 1888, was the most noteworthy. His chief source of wealth was the land, about 2,000 acres, on which Edgbaston, the most wealthy suburb of Birmingham, had grown up, and its develop-

ment amply compensated for the decline in the value of his London property in Clerkenwell and the neighbourhood. He was also the owner of an "Adventurer's" share in the New River Company, of which he disposed some years before his death for over 90,000*l.* He died on June 25 at his house in Grosvenor Square after a protracted illness arising from an affection of the throat.

On the 2nd, at Scrivelsby Court, aged 65, **Francis Scaman Dymoke**, the Hon. the Queen's Champion, to which office he succeeded in 1875 on the death of Henry Lionel Dymoke, with whom it was supposed the family had become extinct, and the estate inherited from the Lords Marmion would have been forfeited on the failure of the owner of the manor to appear personally at a royal coronation. On the 3rd, at Clapham, aged 61, **George Potter**. Born at Kenilworth and apprenticed to a carpenter; came to London in 1854 and became a prominent member of the Carpenters' Union, especially during the great lock-out of 1859, and at the reception of Garibaldi; President of the London Working-men's Association, 1865-8, and a member of the London School Board, 1873-82; stood as a Radical for Peterborough, 1874, and Preston, 1886, but without success. On the 3rd, at Wadley, Berks, aged 64, **Thomas Leinster Goodlake**, eldest son of Thomas Miles Goodlake. Although for thirty years totally blind, owing to an accident, he was an active magistrate; the Chairman of the Faringdon Bench, Board of Guardians, and an Alderman of the Berks County Council. Married, 1855, Mary Frederica, daughter of Robert Glyn and sister of Sir Richard George Glyn, first baronet. On the 5th, at Rothenburg, Bavaria, aged 80, **Charles Joseph von Hefele**, Bishop of Rothenburg since 1869; a resolute opponent of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility at the Œcumenical Council, 1870; author of "History of Christian Councils" and other works. On the 5th, at Edinburgh, aged 71, **James Claudius Erskine**, son of William Erskine, the historian. Educated at St. Andrews and at Haileybury College; went to Bombay as a writer, 1840; Revenue and Judicial Aide and Deputy Secretary in Persian Department, 1847; Secretary of Judicial Department, Bombay, 1854; First Director of Public Instruction in Western Indies, 1855-9; Member of Council, 1860-2; Judge of Bombay High Court, 1862-5, and Member of the Council, 1865-7. Married, 1856, Eliza Ann, daughter of Lestock Reid, sometime Governor of Bombay. On the 7th, at New York, aged 59, **Edwin Booth**, the eminent tragedian. On the 9th, at Poona, aged 59, from a fall from his horse, **Lieutenant-General Sir John Hudson, K.C.B.**, son of Captain J. Hudson, R.N. Educated at the Royal Naval School, Greenwich; entered the army, 1853; served with 64th Regiment through the Persian War, 1856-7, and during the Mutiny, 1857-8, with General Havelock's column; in the Abyssinian Campaign, 1867-8; as second in command of 28th Bengal Native Infantry in the Cabul Campaign, 1879-81; and he commanded the Indian contingent in the Soudan Campaign, 1885, and afterwards a brigade of the Bengal Army, 1887-8; the Quetta Division, 1888-9, and a Bengal District, 1889-92. He had only succeeded to the Bombay command a few weeks previous to his fatal accident. Married, 1859, Isabel Mair, daughter of Major-General Charles Fred. Havelock. On the 12th, at Schloss Feldafing, Bavaria, aged 44, **Duke Max Emmanuel**, of Bavaria. On the 13th, at Belgrave Mansions, S.W., aged 76, **General Sir Frederick Edward Chapman, K.C.B.**, Colonel Commandant, R.E., son of Richard Chapman, of Gatchell, Somerset. Entered Royal Engineers, 1835; served as Colonel throughout the Crimean War, 1855-6; Governor of Bermuda, 1867-70; Inspector-General of Fortifications, 1870-5. Married, first, 1846, Annie Weston, daughter of Wm. Cox, of Cheshunt, and second, 1889, Madame Rapp, widow of Consul-General in London for Switzerland. On the 13th, at Blackburn, aged 64, **James Sharpler**, a blacksmith and self-taught artist and engraver. Born at Wakefield, and brought up at Bury. His principal work was an engraving, "The Forge," on which he spent five years. On the 14th, at Ashstead, aged 70, **General Sir Wm. Payn, K.C.B.**, Colonel of Bedfordshire Regiment, son of William Payn, of Kidwells, Maidenhead, elder brother of James Payn, the novelist. Entered the army, 1842; served with 53rd Regiment through Sutlej Campaign, 1845-6; Punjab, 1849; Peshawur Frontier, 1851-2; commanded a regiment of Turkish contingents, Crimea, 1855-6; and in Indian



Mutiny Campaign, 1857-8; commanded Mysore Division of Madras Army, 1877-83. On the 14th, at Weymouth, aged 62, **Rear-Admiral James Wylie East**. Entered Royal Navy, 1845; served as Lieutenant on H.M.S. *La Hogue* in the Baltic, 1854, and took a prominent part in the siege of Bomarsund. On the 15th, at Milburn, Inverness, aged 85, **Colonel John Peter Stuart**, son of Dr. Robert Stuart, of Grantown-on-Spey. Entered Black Watch, 1825; served in India and Mediterranean; Staff Officer of pensioners at Wick, 1855-62, and at Inverness, 1862-77. On the 15th, at Nairn, N.B., aged 65, **Lieutenant-General William Robert Gordon**. Educated at Addiscombe; joined Bengal Staff Corps, 1845; served through the Burmese War, 1852-3; Gonthal Rebellion, 1855; Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; and Assam War, 1872-3. On the 15th, at Cabruda, Equatorial Africa, aged 24, the **Duc d'Uzès**, son of Duke Emmanuel de Crussol d'Uzès, the scion of an old Royalist family. He succumbed to the hardships of a journey across Africa which he had undertaken. On the 15th, at Torquay, aged 66, **Rev. John Ellerton**, a well-known hymn writer. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1849; Curate of Brighton, 1852-60; Vicar of Crewe, 1860-72; Barnes, Surrey, 1876-84; Rector of White Roding, Dunmow, 1885; author of "Church Hymns Annotated," &c. On the 18th, at Kensington, aged 67, **General Sir Edwin Beaumont Johnson, G.C.B., C.I.E.**, fourth son of Sir H. Allen Johnson, third baronet. Educated at Addiscombe; entered Bengal Artillery, 1842; served through the Sutlej Campaign, 1845-6; Punjab Campaign, 1848-9; Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; wounded at both Delhi and Lucknow; Military Secretary to H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief, 1865-70; Quartermaster-General in India, 1873; Adjutant-General, 1874; Member of the Indian Council, 1876; and Director-General of Military Education in England, 1884-90. On the 18th, at Croydon, aged 89, **Sir Henry Valentine Gould**, third baronet of Old Court, co. Cork. On the 19th, at Inverness, aged 57, **Major-General Charles James Mounsey-Grant**, youngest son of George Gill Mounsey, of Castletown, Carlisle. Joined 71st Highlanders, 1833; served through the Crimean War, the Central Indian Campaign, 1858-9, and in the series of engagements with the Afghan tribes, 1863-4. Married, 1862, Mary Tiszah, daughter of James Robert Grant, of The Hill, Carlisle, whose name he took. On the 22nd, at the Burlington Hotel, London, aged 70, **Sir William Mackinnon, C.I.E.**, first baronet. Founder of the British East Africa Company; born at Campbeltown, N.B., and having been trained in business went out to India in 1847 and established a trade which subsequently became the British India Steam Navigation Company. In 1872 a mail service was established between Aden and Zanzibar, and in 1878 the Sultan of Zanzibar, sensible of the advantages of British friendship, offered through Mr. Mackinnon to place his territories under British protection. In 1885 he established and obtained a charter for the British East Africa Company, which gradually extended its influence to the great lakes of the Upper Nile, and finally to Uganda. He unsuccessfully contested Argyllshire as a Liberal in 1885, and was created a baronet in 1889. Married, 1856, Janet, daughter of Robert Jameson, of Glasgow. On the 23rd, at Highgate, aged 64, **Arthur Locker**, youngest son of Edward Hawke Locker, F.R.S. Born at Greenwich Hospital, where his father was a Civil Commissioner; educated at Charter House and Pembroke College, Oxford; B.A., 1851; emigrated to Australia, but returned in 1861 to pursue a literary career; editor of the *Graphic*, 1875-91. Married, first, 1856, Emily, daughter of Lieutenant J. W. Rouse, R.N., and second, Mrs. J. H. Carpenter. On the 24th, at Durban, Natal, aged 75, **Sir Theophilus Shepstone, K.C.M.G.**, son of William Shepstone, a settler on the border land of British territory in South Africa; was appointed, 1835, Interpreter of Kaffir Language at the Cape; served on Staff during the Kaffir War, 1835, and during the first military expedition to Natal, 1838; acted on several occasions as diplomatic agent to various tribes; appointed Secretary for Native Affairs, 1856, and member of the Executive and Legislative Council, Natal; settled the succession of King Panda to the throne of Zululand, 1861, and sent on special mission in 1873 to crown King Cetewayo; negotiated between the Transvaal States and Zululand, 1876, and Administrator of the Transvaal, 1876-9. Married, 1838, Maria, daughter of Deputy Commandant-General Palmer. On the 27th, at Gibraltar, aged 65, **Sir Lochian Nicholson, R.E., K.C.B.**, son of G. T. Nicholson, of Waverley Abbey, Surrey. Educated at the Royal Military Academy; entered the Royal Engineers, 1846; had during the Crimean War the superintendence of the works against the Sebastopol Harbour, and served in the Indian Mutiny at the capture of Lucknow; Governor of Jersey, 1878-83; Inspector-General of Fortifications, 1886-90; appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Gibraltar, 1891. Married, 1864, Hon. Mary Romilly, daughter of first Baron Romilly. On the 28th, at

Charlbury, aged 84, **Edmund Sturge**, for thirty years the Chairman, Vice-President and Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, and for more than sixty years an earnest worker in the cause.

## JULY.

On the 1st, at Philadelphia, U.S.A., aged 69, **Anthony J. Drexel**, a banker of Tyrolese descent. Settled in Philadelphia since 1817; realised a very large fortune in "non-current" money during the War of Emancipation. He was a part owner of the *Public Ledger*, and a liberal citizen, having amongst other benefactions endowed the Young Men's Training College, West Philadelphia, to the extent of three-quarters of a million dollars. On the 2nd, at York, aged 82, **Lord Decies**, **William Robert John de la Poer Honley Beresford**, third Baron Decies. Born in Dublin; served in 10th Hussars and Grenadier Guards. Married, 1860, Catherine, daughter of William Dent-Dent, of Shortfleet Tower, Northumberland. On the 3rd, at Geneva, aged 91, **Daniel Colladon**, a distinguished engineer and man of science. The inventor of the "fairy fountain" and the compressed air engine; lighted with gas Geneva (1843) and Naples (1862); introduced the system of boring tunnels by the use of compressed air (1849), which was subsequently applied to the piercing of the Mont Cenis, St. Gothard, Arlberg and Andes tunnels. He, however, strongly opposed the use of electric light. On the 3rd, at Bath, aged 59, **Admiral Henry Bouchier Phillimore, C.B.**, son of Captain Sir John Phillimore, R.N., C.B. Entered the navy, 1846; served on board H.M.S. *Malacca* during the Crimean War, and afterwards saw much service in the New Zealand War, 1863-4. Married, 1865, Anne Ellen, daughter of Edmund Dewar Bourdillon, of Herts. On the 4th, at New York, aged 82, **Charles Graham**, a distinguished architect, by whom some of the finest buildings—chiefly hotels and private houses—in the principal parts of New York were built. He was for many years a prominent abolitionist, and aided fugitive slaves to escape. His house was at one time known in consequence as the "chief station on the underground railway." On the 4th, in Paris, aged 43, **Guy de Maupassant**, a distinguished writer of fiction. He belonged to a noble Norman house; was educated in Paris, and after taking his degree entered a Government office, which he soon quitted, and under the direction of Flaubert, took to literature. After seven years' apprenticeship he contributed (1880) his first story to a collection *Les Soirées de Médan*. During the eleven following years he produced thirty volumes, until 1891, when his health completely broke down, under constant excitement and the excessive use of opiates. It was found necessary to place him under restraint, and ultimately his brain gave way. On the 4th, at Dobroyd Castle, aged 71, **John Fielden**, second son of John Fielden, M.P., of Centre Vale, Todmorden, a large cotton-spinner. Married, 1846, Ellen, daughter of T. Brocklehurst. On the 7th, at Badgworth Court, Acbridge, aged 67, **Colonel Henry Acland Fownes-Luttrell, C.B.**, eldest son of Rev. A. Fownes-Luttrell. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford; B.A., 1850; served in the Rifle Brigade, 1851-7. Married, 1857, Mary A., daughter of J. R. Poole, of Bridgwater. On the 8th, at Washington, U.S.A., aged 73, **Justice Samuel Blatchford**, the son of a distinguished American lawyer. Born at New York; graduated at Columbia College; became private secretary to Governor W. H. Seward (afterwards Secretary of State), with whom he subsequently practised. Appointed, 1872, District Judge of the U.S. Circuit Court, at New York, and in 1882, a Justice of the Supreme Court. On the 8th, at Lyne, near Horsham, aged 82, **Henry Fowler Broadwood**, eldest surviving son of James Shudi Broadwood. Educated at Harrow, Trinity College, Cambridge, and Heidelberg; entered the firm in Great Pulteney Street, in which he represented the fourth generation, in 1834. Married, 1840, Juliana Maria, daughter of Wysley Birch, of Wretham Hall, Norfolk. On the 8th, at Torquay, aged 88, **Dowager Lady Grey, Anna Sophia**, eldest daughter of Hon. and Right Rev. Henry Ryder, D.D., Bishop of Lichfield. Married, 1827, Right Hon. Sir George Grey, G.C.B., P.C., second baronet. On the 10th, at Oxford, aged 54, Professor Henry Nettleship. Born at Kettering; educated at Durham and Charter House Schools, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford; B.A., 1861; first-class, besides many other university distinctions; Fellow of Lincoln College, 1862-8; Assistant-Master, Harrow School, 1868-73; Fellow and Tutor of Christ Church College, 1875-8, when he was elected Corpus Professor of Latin. Married, 1865, daughter of Rev. T. H. Steel, of Harrow. On the 12th, at Biarritz, aged 79, **Sir John Hes Mantell**, son of George Mantell, M.D., of Farringdon, Berks. Educated at Radley College; called to the bar



at Middle Temple, 1837; Chief Justice, Gambia, 1847-66; Stipendiary Magistrate for Manchester, 1869-85. Married, 1867, Elinor Knight, second daughter of Charles Hitchcock, M.D., of Devizes. On the 12th, at Peall Court, Worcester, aged 52, **William Edward Dowdeswell**. Educated at Westminster, and Christ Church, Oxford; sat as a Conservative for Tewkesbury, 1865; for West Worcestershire, 1866-76. Married, 1869, Emily, second daughter of Sir Thomas G. H. Parkyns, Bart. On the 13th, at Conholt Park, Andover, aged 73, **Lady Charles Wellesley, Augusta Sophia Anne**, only child of Right Hon. H. Manvers-Pierrepont, third son of first Earl Manvers. Married, 1844, Major-General Lord Charles Wellesley, M.P., second son of the first Duke of Wellington. On the 18th, at Maidstone, aged 82, **Edmund Law Lushington**, of Park House, Maidstone, eldest son of Edward Henry Lushington. Educated at Charter House and Trinity College, Cambridge; senior classic and chancellor's medallist, 1832; Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College; elected Professor of Greek at the University of Glasgow, 1838-70, against Mr. Robert Lowe, afterwards Lord Sherbrooke. Married, 1842, Cecilia, fourth daughter of Rev. George Clayton Tennyson, LL.D., Vicar of Louth, Lincolnshire, and sister of the Poet Laureate. On the 14th, at New York, aged 90, **Commodore Samuel Lockwood**, the oldest officer in the United States Navy. Born at Connecticut; entered the navy, 1820; saw service in the Mediterranean, the Gulf of Mexico, and during the Civil War, 1861-2, commanded the flotilla blockading Wilmington, York River, &c. On the 16th, at Ealing, aged 88, **John Glasgow Grant, C.M.G.**, son of Francis Bell Grant, of Barbadoes. Called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1839; filled various judicial appointments in Barbadoes; M.L.A., 1842; Speaker, 1875, and M.L.C., 1879. Married, 1842, Mary Elizabeth, daughter of John Walter. On the 17th, at Fulham, S.W., aged 86, **Sir Charles Peter Layard, K.C.M.G.**, son of C. E. Layard, of the Ceylon Civil Service. Educated at St. John's College, Cambridge; entered the Ceylon Colonial Service, 1830; and held numerous civil and judicial posts in the island. Married, 1834, Louisa Anne, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Edwards. On the 17th, at Winchester, aged 87, **Rev. Gilbert Wall Heathcote**, son of Venerable Gilbert Heathcote, Archdeacon of Winchester. Educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford; B.C.L., 1832; Fellow of Winchester, 1838; Rector of Ash, Hants, 1838-83. Married, 1842, Clara Rosalie, daughter of Venerable Timothy Stonhouse Vigor. On the 18th, at Arncliffe, in Crana, aged 83, **Venerable Archdeacon William Boyd**, son of William Boyd, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. Educated at Wilton School and University College, Oxford; graduated first mathematics, 1831; Fellow of University College, 1831-5, when he was presented to the living of Arncliffe; Archdeacon of Cromen, 1880-90. On the 19th, at Fenley, aged 54, **Rev. Charles Gresforde Edmondes**, son of Rev. Thomas Edmondes, Vicar of Cowbridge. Educated at Cowbridge and Trinity College, Oxford; B.A., 1860; second class classics; Professor of Latin at St. David's, Lampeter, 1866; Vicar of Warren and St. Twinell, 1882; Archdeacon and Canon of St. David's, 1883; Principal of Lampeter, 1888-93. On the 20th, at Pall Mall, S.W., aged 77, **General William Charles Robertson Macdonald, C.B.** Entered Madras Army, 1835; served in the Gwalior Campaign, 1843-4, and commanded a regiment of Turkish cavalry in Turkish contingent during the Russian War, 1855-6. On the 21st, at Fulham, aged 82, **Walter White**, son of cabinet-maker at Reading, to whose business he was apprenticed; emigrated to the United States, 1834, but returned in 1838 and joined his father; elected Clerk to the Royal Society, 1844, and Assistant Secretary and Librarian, 1861; was the author of several popular books of travel at home and abroad. On the 22nd, at Vienna, aged 68, **Feldzeugmeister, Baron Ferdinand von Bauer**, Austro-Hungarian Minister of War. Born at Lemberg, Galicia; entered the army, 1842, in the Engineers; distinguished himself at the battle of Custoza; and was made Major-General, 1868; ennobled, 1881; Commandant of Vienna, 1885; Minister of War, 1888. On the 25th, at Kensington, aged 86, **John Rae, LL.D., F.R.S.**, a distinguished Arctic explorer. Educated at Edinburgh; obtained his diploma, 1833; appointed Surgeon to the Hudson's Bay Company; explored 700 miles of unknown country between the districts surveyed by Ross and Parry, 1846; took part in Sir John Richardson's search for Franklin, 1848-9; went out in command of further search expedition, 1850-54; and obtained evidence of the loss of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, 1853; and explored over 5,000 miles of country, much of it hitherto unknown; took part in surveying for a cable to America *via* Faro, Iceland and Greenland, 1860; and across the Rocky Mountains from Winnipeg, 1864. On the 25th, at Paris, aged 71, **Henri Josse**, a large coal owner at Hull, Great Grimsby and Cardiff; sat as a Gladstonian Liberal for Great Grimsby, 1892-3.

1858, Louisa, daughter of James Errington Mills. On the 27th, at East End, aged 86, **Anne Pearless**. A distinguished writer on botanical subjects and a gifted artist; better known by her maiden name of Anne Pratt; born at near Rochester; published "Flowers and their Associations," 1826, which was followed by "A Catechism of Botany," "Field, Garden and Woodland," "Living Plants and Ferns of Great Britain," and many others, all illustrated by herself. Married, 1867, John Pearless, of East Grimstead. On the 28th, at East End, aged 64, **Sir Thomas Martineau**, son of Robert Martineau, Mayor of Birmingham. Admitted a solicitor, 1851; head of firm of Rylands, Martineau & Co., 1860, Emily, eldest daughter of Timothy Kenrick. On the 29th, at East End, aged 71, **John Derby Allcroft**, of Stokesay Court, near Gate, Hyde Park, aged 71, John Derby Allcroft, a successful merchant and glover. He was a prominent philanthropist and a leader among the Evangelical party in the West. He sat as a Conservative for Worcester, 1878-80. Treasurer of Christ's Church, Worcester. Married, first, 1854, Mary Annette, daughter of Rev. Thomas Martin, of Worcester, and, 1864, Mary Jewell, daughter of John Blundell, of Timbury Manor, near Worcester. He died at Göttingen, aged 93, **Captain Ferdinand Scharnhorst**, a relative of the reorganiser of the Prussian army. Joined the army at the age of fourteen years, and fought at Waterloo as an officer of the 1st German legion. His battalion, which was posted at La Haye Sainte, was cut to pieces. On the 30th, at Paris, aged 69, **Mario Uchard**, a novelist and a composer. Born in Paris; began life as an engraver, was next a composer of music, and afterwards studied philosophy and philology. In 1857 he appeared as a novelist, but was more successful as a novelist. Married, 1855, Madeleine, the actress, from whom he separated. He died by his own hand.

## AUGUST.

**Sir Edward Bruce Hamley**, K.C.M.G., son of Admiral William Hamley, was born April 27, 1834, and was educated through the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, received his commission in the Royal Artillery. He was still a captain when the Crimean War broke out, and as a result of his services in the Crimea he was promoted to the rank of major. He was sent to the Crimea where he distinguished himself on several occasions. At the Battle of Inkermann he had a similar experience. He was also present in the Crimea, and was several times mentioned in despatches for his services during the siege of Sevastopol. On his return he received a number of distinctions and rewards. He went back to serve with his regiment in 1866, when he had reached the rank of Major-General. He was appointed a member of the Council of Education—a post which he held until 1870, when he was named a member of the newly-established Council of Education. He was then appointed a member of the Council of Education, and he held that post until 1870, when he was named a member of the newly-established Council of Education. He was then appointed a member of the Council of Education, and he held that post until 1870, when he was named a member of the newly-established Council of Education.

tation of the Russo-Turkish frontier in Asia. In 1882 he was specially selected by Lord Wolsey for the command of a *corps d'armée* in Egypt, and he fully justified the choice by his famous night march and subsequent carrying of Tel-el-Kehir, the key of the Egyptian position. General Hamley's services on this occasion were made the subject of much painful discussion—especially as there was an opinion which in certain quarters to deny him of his fair share in the success of the campaign. He was at various times asked to come forward as a candidate for Parliament, but it was not until 1885 that he accepted the invitation of the Conservative election of Rotherham. He was returned by them after a very contest, and again in 1890, and during his time in the House of Commons he showed a keen interest in the service, from which he had at that time retired as Lieutenant-General and Colonel-Commandant of the Royal Artillery.

General Hamley's literary career was almost contemporaneous with his military life. As early as 1861 he had written his first work of fiction, "Rough Passage," which appeared in "Punch." It was a very successful story, and a year or two later, when he was at Gibraltar, he was again successful in a romance, "Legend of the Rock," which it was in 1863 that he



"Lady Lee's Widowhood," published as a serial in *Blackwood's Magazine*, showed him as a story-teller of considerable power, with a clever appreciation of the manners of a certain class. His subsequent writings were either essays on topics and persons of the day, or, as in the case of his "Campaign of Sebastopol," a diary of events in which he had taken a leading part. He contributed with regularity to both *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Review* articles upon literary and military subjects, but it was as conversationalist rather than as a writer that Sir Edward Hamley shone. He died at Porchester Terrace, Bayswater, on August 12, after a comparatively brief illness—having been attacked by a difficulty of breathing, of which the cause was left unexplained—but was referred to the hardships he had gone through during the Crimean Campaign.

**Duke of Coburg Gotha.**—Ernst August Karl Johannes Leopold Alexander Eduard, son of Duke Ernst I. of the special line of Coburg Gotha, and of the Duchess Louise, daughter of Duke August of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, was born on June 21, 1818, at Coburg; in his early youth he showed particular aptitude for natural science and music. After spending the year 1836 in England, France, and Belgium, he devoted himself to the study of political science, and ultimately entered the Saxon army with a captain's commission. A few years later, having in the meanwhile travelled in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Africa, the Prince quitted the Saxon army with the rank of a Major-General, and on May 3, 1842, he married Alexandrine, daughter of Grand Duke Leopold of Baden, but no children were born of their marriage, and the succession was settled in favour of his brother's second son—the Duke of Edinburgh. On January 29, 1844, Duke Ernst succeeded his father, both as Duke of Coburg Gotha and as chief of the entire House of Coburg. During the stormy period of 1848-9 he succeeded, by timely action, in saving his country from many a disastrous experience, and by virtue of the constitution of May 3, 1852, the closer union of the two duchies of Coburg and Gotha was finally accomplished. In 1849, the late Duke took the field in the war with Denmark, and it was while he was in independent command of the forces that the Danish flotilla was defeated off Eckernförde on April 5, 1849. Subsequently Duke Ernst

joined the so-called Three Kings' Alliance, and it was at his initiative that the Congress of Princes was held in Berlin, at which he warmly defended the claims and aspirations of the people.

During the Austro-Italian campaign of 1859, the Duke, notwithstanding his friendly relationship with the Emperor Napoleon III., devoted himself energetically to the establishment, in the German interest, of an Austro-Prussian Alliance. By his efforts to revive the German national idea in Germany, and by the patronage and encouragement he afforded to the Nationalverein, the rifle meetings, and other national pursuits, which at the time were looked upon as the harbingers of national unity, he rendered himself exceedingly popular. As in his eyes Bismarck was the embodiment of reaction, the Duke took an active part in the Congress of Princes convened in 1863 at Frankfurt by the Emperor of Austria, whose Government he at the time credited with the desire for a reform of the constitution on a national basis. When, on the outbreak of the Schleswig-Holstein conflict, he attended the Federal Council, he pleaded hard in favour of the separation of the two duchies from Denmark, and on behalf of the investiture of Prince Frederick of Augustenberg as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, a scheme which he also personally advocated at the Court of Napoleon III. Before the outbreak of the war in May 1866 the Duke hastened to Berlin to urge upon the King the expediency of preserving peace, and, in furtherance of this aim, to disclose to his Majesty a letter from Count Mensdorff, the Austrian Minister, which revealed the agreements concluded between the Emperors Francis Joseph and Napoleon, and laid stress on the isolated position of Prussia. When, notwithstanding, war was eventually declared, Duke Ernst took his stand by the side of Prussia, and sent his troops to join the Prussians operating against the Hanoverians and armies of the Southern States. After having taken part in the capitulation negotiations with the Hanoverians, he accepted an invitation to headquarters sent him by the Crown Prince of Prussia (afterwards Emperor Frederick of Germany), as a member of whose suite the Duke followed the greater part of the Bohemian campaign. In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 he was attached to headquarters, and when the results of his enlightened patriotism were shown in the corona-

on at Versailles, the Emperor William is reported to have said: "This I owe partly to you."

Duke Ernst, besides devoting himself to the study of science and natural history, was an ardent musician and composer of some note, his operas of "Casilda," "Santa Chiara," and "Diana von Solanges" being well known, whilst another of his compositions, known as the "Hymne," became one of the most popular patriotic songs in the duchy, and completely identified with the national spirit of

the people. He was the author of several works, of which "My Life and Times," published shortly before his death, was the most important. He was, moreover, a friend of authors, composers, and painters, and throughout his long life devoted himself intelligently to the patronage of art and science. He died on August 22, at his palace of Reinhardtshaus, having survived his younger brother, the Prince Consort of Great Britain, over thirty years.

On the 2nd, at Fortress Monroe, Va., U.S.A., aged 72, **General George Washington Morgan**. Born in Pennsylvania; enlisted in a company commanded by his brother, and took part in the War of Texas Independence, 1836; entered United States Military Academy, 1841; removed to Mount Vernon, Ohio, and commenced practising law, 1843; served through the Mexican War under General Scott, and at its close resumed his practice at the bar; appointed United States Consul at Marseilles, 1856, and Minister to Portugal, 1858; commanded 7th Ohio Regiment in the war against the Confederates, and afterwards under General Sherman in command of 13th Army Corps; elected to Congress as a Democrat for Ohio four times in succession, when he retired from political life. On the 3rd, at Plympton, aged 74, **Admiral Henry Schank Hillyar, C.B.**, son of Rear-Admiral Sir James Hillyar, K.C.B. Entered Royal Navy, 1819; served in Syria and China War, 1841-2; Borneo and Prome, 1845; Black Sea, 1854-5; Commander-in-Chief at Queenstown, 1876-8. Married, 1855, Anna Louisa, daughter of G. W. Soltan, of Little Efford, Devon. On the 5th, at Cheltenham, aged 65, **General Edward Henry Cox, R.M.A.**, second son of Captain George Hamilton Cox, of the Bengal army. Entered Royal Marine Artillery, 1846; was senior officer of the corps at the attack on the outer fort of Sebastopol, 1854. Married, 1857, Frances Emily Cadogan, daughter of Rev. Arthur Drummond, Rector of Charlton. On the 6th, at Llandrindod Wells, Radnorshire, aged 85, **Rev. Nugent Wade**. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; Gold Medallist, 1828; B.A., 1829; Court Chaplain at Elsinore, 1833-9; P.C. of St. Paul's, Finsbury, 1839-46; Vicar of St. Anne's, Soho, 1846-90; Canon of Bristol, 1872. On the 6th, at Grosvenor Place, S.W., aged 59, **Baroness Bolsover, Augusta Mary Elizabeth**, younger daughter of Very Rev. the Hon. H. Montague Browne, Dean of Lismore. Married, 1862, second wife, Lieutenant-General Arthur Cavendish-Bentinck, grandson of third Duke of Portland; created, 1880, Baroness Bolsover, with remainder to the issue male of her husband by his first marriage. On the 6th, at the Château de Josselin, Morbihan, aged 73, **Duc de Rohan, Charles Louis Josselin de Rohan-Chabot, Duc de Rohan, Prince de Léon**. Married, 1843, Octavie, daughter of Marquis de Boissy. On the 7th, at Edinburgh, aged 89, **James Stille**, the oldest bookseller in Edinburgh. Apprenticed, in 1816, to Messrs. Ballantyne, when Sir Walter Scott was a member of the firm. On the 8th, at London, aged 53, **Carlotta Leclercq (Mrs. John Nelson)**, the most distinguished of a family of actors of French extraction; the children of Charles Leclercq, an actor, dancer, and ballet master. At the age of fifteen Carlotta made her first success at Princess Theatre in 1854, under Charles Kean's management, as Marguerite in the play of "Faust," and subsequently played the parts of Norina, Titania, &c. Between 1860-9 she was associated with Charles Fechter, and in 1877 married Mr. John Nelson, but continued to act at intervals down to 1891. On the 10th, at Orton Longueville, Peterborough, aged 71, **Dowager Marchioness of Huntly, Mary Antoinetta**, daughter of Rev. P. William Pegus. Married, 1844, eighth Marquess of Huntly, second wife. On the 10th, at Southampton, aged 66, **Mary Augusta Gordon**, daughter of General H. W. Gordon, R.A., and sister of General Gordon who fell at Khartoum. On the 13th, at Richmond, Surrey, aged 9, **Dowager Viscountess Middleton, Hon. Harriet Brodrick**, third daughter of fourth Viscount Middleton. Married, 1829, William John, seventh Viscount Middleton, and Dean of Exeter. On the 13th, at Rowmarsh, near Rotherham, aged 80, **Rev. Dr. William Vesey Ross Mahon**, fourth baronet. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1835; Rector of Rowmarsh, 1853. Married, 1853, Jane, daughter of Rev. Henry King of Ballylin. On the 13th, at Streatham, S.W., aged 63,



**Sir Arnold William White**, Queen's Solicitor, son of Edward White, Great borough Street. Entered the Royal Navy, but was subsequently articulated to his father's firm. Married, 1854, his cousin, Maria, daughter of W. White. On the 14th, at Geneva, aged 72, **Dowager Countess of Jersey**, daughter of Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, second baronet, the distinguished man. Married, first, 1841, sixth Earl of Jersey; and, second, 1865, C. Brandling, of Middleton Hall, near Leeds. On the 14th, at Moscow, aged 72, **Monseigneur Leonti**, Metropolitan Archbishop of Moscow. Educated at Theological College of St. Petersburg; appointed Bishop of Revel, 1860; Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Novgorod; successively Archbishop of Podolsk, Kherson, of Odessa, and of Warsaw. On the 14th, at Prior Park, Bath, aged 72, **Hon. and Rev. William Clifford, D.D.**, Roman Catholic Bishop of Clifton, second of seventh Lord Clifford of Chudleigh. Born at Irnham Hall, Lincolnshire; educated at Stonyhurst College, and at Rome; attached to the mission at Clifton, appointed Bishop, 1857. On the 14th, at Adderbury, Oxon., aged 79, **Sir R. Pierce Fullerton**, of Enrae Park, Flintshire, third baronet. Entered the army and served in 75th and 44th Regiments; was on the Staff of General Sir Smith during the Kaffir Wars, 1848-50. Married, 1853, Catherine Judith, daughter of Richard Fontaine Wilson, of Melton Park, Doncaster. On the 15th, at Düsseldorf, aged 75, **Professor Carl Müller**, a distinguished painter and director of the Academy of Arts at Düsseldorf. Born at Darmstadt; educated at Düsseldorf, and afterwards at Italy; brought first into notice by the frescoes of Apollinaris Church at Remagen; appointed, 1857, Professor at the Düsseldorf Academy. On the 16th, at Morvan, aged 67, **Professor Jean Martin Claude**. Born and educated at Paris; received as doctor, 1853; appointed Physician to the Central Hospital Bureau, 1856; Professor of the University of Paris, and attached to La Salpêtrière, 1862, as a specialist in nervous diseases; being specially granted for him in 1880. On the 17th, at Blandford, Dorset, aged 94, **Rev. Sir John Warren Hayes, M.A.**, third baronet, youngest son of Sir John Macnamara Hayes. Educated at Harrow and Wadham College, Oxford; B.A., 1821; Rector of Arborfield, Berks, 1839-80; Grand Chaplain of the Masonic Order, 1844. Married, 1844, Ellen, daughter of George Beauchamp, of The Priory, Berks. On the 18th, at Brooklyn, U.S.A., aged 79, **Professor Washington Coakley**. Born on the Island of St. Bartholomew; son of an India planter; educated at Rutgers College, N.Y., 1832-6; appointed Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy, St. James' College, Indiana, 1843, and transferred to the New York University, 1860, in succession to Professor L. On the 19th, at Bowdon, Cheshire, aged 82, **Abel Heywood**, a self-educated man who began life in a bookseller's shop, and subsequently engaged in the publication of educational serials. This brought him into collision in 1832 with the commissioners of stamps, and he was several times fined and once imprisoned for selling unstamped papers. He subsequently rose to prominence, and was elected Mayor of Manchester on several occasions. On the 23rd, at Wharfedale, Vicarage, Suffolk, aged 76, **Rev. Foster Barham Zincke**. Educated at Wadham College, Oxford; Second-Class Classics, 1839; Vicar of Wharfedale, 1847; Canon in ordinary to the Queen, 1858. Married, 1867, widow of Major-General William Stevenson, K.C.B., author of "Egypt of the Pharaohs," several editions on Switzerland, &c. On the 23rd, at Charlton, aged 72, **Lieutenant-General James Robert Gibbon, R.A., C.B.**, son of James Gibbon, M.P., of Swansea. Educated at Woolwich Academy; entered Royal Artillery, 1840; commanded a Division in the Crimea, 1855-6; served in Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; Colonel of Staff in Canada, 1869-70. Married, 1862, daughter of H. E. Hill, of Wimborne Minster. On the 23rd, at Thornliebank, Renfrewshire, aged 65, **Alexander Ewing**, eldest son of Walter Crum, F.R.S., a Glasgow merchant and manufacturer. Married, 1863, Margaret Nina, daughter of Right Rev. Alexander Ewing, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles; represented Renfrewshire as a Liberal, 1880-5. On the 25th, at Saratoga Springs, N.Y., aged 82, **John W. Casiliar**. Born in New York; began as a steel engraver in 1826, and became a well-known bank-note engraver; adopted painting as his profession, 1840, and visited Europe; his first picture, "A Swiss Lake," was exhibited in 1868, and his last in 1885, "Summer Day." On the 26th, at Vienna, aged 61, **Admiral Baun Tollen**, a member of the Austrian Navy. Distinguished himself in the Battle of Lissa, 1866. Married, 1876, Miss Jane Congreve, of Mount Congreve, co. Wexford. On the 27th, at Dublin, aged 73, **Right Rev. William Bennet Chester, D.D.**, Bishop of Killaloe, son of Rev. John Chester, Vicar of Ballycough, co. Cork. Born at Mallow; educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1846; English Verse

Second-Class Classics, 1846; Vicar of Killard, 1847; Rector of Kilkee, c.; sixty-fourth Bishop of Killaloe, Kilfenora, Clonfert, and Kilmacdonagh, Married, 1848, Jane Charlotte, daughter of Charles Meredyth, of Dublin. 27th, at Berkeley Square, W., aged 65, **William Moore Graily Hewitt, M.D.** Studied at University College, London; M.B., 1850; M.D., 1851; Professor of Medic Medicine, University College, and the author of many scientific works on diseases of women. On the 27th, at Brighton, aged 51, **Colonel Francis Cosby Hanram Clarke, C.M.G.** Educated at Addiscombe; entered Bombay Army, 1859; D.A.Q.M.G., Horse Guards, 1872-80; Delimitation Commissioner for Persia and Turkey, 1878-9; A.Q.M.G. in South Africa, 1881; Professor of Civil Administration in Staff College, 1882-4; Surveyor-General of Ceylon, Married, 1865, Elizabeth Stainton, daughter of S. W. Brown, F.R.C.S. On the 28th, at Ennismore Gardens, S.W., aged 86, **General Hon. Sir Augustus Spencer, G.C.B.**, third son of first Baron Churchill. Joined 43rd Foot as Private, 1825; served under Sir de Lacy Evans in Portugal, 1826; commanded a regiment during the Crimean Campaign, and commanded 1st Brigade, 4th Division, in the attack and fall of Sebastopol: Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, and second army corps in autumn manoeuvres, 1875. Married, 1836, Maria, daughter of Sir Archibald Campbell. On the 31st, at Remouval, Belgium, aged 59, **Sir William George Cusins**, second son of Thomas Cusins. Entered the Choir of the Chapel Royal; studied at Brussels, 1844-6; Scholar at Royal Academy of Music, London, 1847; organist to the Queen's Private Chapel, 1849, and violinist in the Royal Italian Opera Orchestra; Organist of Music, Royal Academy, 1853; Conductor of the Philharmonic Society, and Master of Music in ordinary to the Queen, 1870-93; Composer of the "Gideon," 1871. Married Louisa Mary, daughter of George H. Galt.

## SEPTEMBER.

**Alexander Galt, G.C.M.G.**—Alexander Tulloch Galt was the son of Alexander Galt, the Scottish novelist, who emigrated on the continent with Lord Darnley and Mr. Hobhouse, and in 1800 introduced British goods into the continent by way of Turkey. He died about a serious diplomatic mission; organised the Canada Land Company in the early days of the nineteenth century with a capital of £100,000 and a land grant of 100,000 acres. He was despatched to Canada as manager, conducted the first successful colonisation, and opened up the route through the then untravelled wilderness between Lakes Ontario and Erie.

The city of Galt, Ontario, was named in his honour. But disaster broke out in the company's affairs, and he was recalled, and the man who had written forty-five books and put his name to a great colony was forced to flee to the advantage of the insolvency laws. Alexander Tulloch Galt, his second son, was born in Chelsea, September 18, 1818, educated in London, and at the age of fourteen gave proof that he had inherited his father's literary ability by contributing several articles to *Fraser's Magazine*. In 1833 he decided to follow his father to Canada, and accepted the post of Secretary in the British and American Company, operating then in

Eastern Canada. In 1844 he was appointed commissioner of the company, an office which he retained for twelve years, his administration being a remarkable success. In 1849 he first entered political life as a member of Parliament from the county of Sherbrooke, and though a Liberal in politics, opposed the Administration of Baldwin and Lafontaine, voting against the Rebellion Corn Bill, and, despairing at the time of Canada's future, signed the annexation manifesto. When Toronto became the seat of the Government, after the destruction of the public buildings at Montreal, he resigned, and did not resume political life till 1853, when he returned to Parliament, and served continuously for twenty years. On the resignation of the Brown-Dorian Government in 1858, he was asked to form a Ministry, but declined. The same year he proposed resolutions in Parliament in favour of a federal union of all the British North American colonies, and these resolutions became the basis of the policy of the Cartier-Macdonald Government which he then joined. Together with Sir George Cartier and Sir John Rose he visited London to arrange the confederation of the provinces. He acted as a member of the Executive Council and Minister of Finance from 1858 till 1862, when the Ministry was defeated

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on the Militia Bill. He again filled the same office from 1864 to 1866, when he resigned in consequence of his opposition to the educational policy of the Administration relative to the British and Protestant population in Lower Canada. He became a third time Minister of Finance of the Dominion on July 1, 1867, but resigned a few months later for private reasons. He was a delegate to Washington respecting the reciprocity treaty in 1866 and to the London Colonial Conference of 1866-7. In 1868 he came to London with Dr. (Sir Charles) Tupper to confer with the Imperial Government on the Nova Scotia trouble, and again became Finance Minister in 1869. He was a member of the Fisheries Commission of 1877, appointed under the Treaty of Washington, conducting negotiations for Canada for commercial treaties with France and Spain in 1879; and in 1881 delegate from Canada to the International Monetary Convention at Paris. He acted as Canadian High Commissioner to Great Britain from 1880 to 1883. After declining the honour of knighthood in 1867, in 1869 he was made a K.C.M.G., and in May 1878 was advanced to G.C.M.G. He was an honorary LL.D. of Edinburgh University, and received a diploma for special services in connection with the International Fisheries Exhibition in London, 1883. He was a fluent speaker both in Parliament and on the platform, but his most important work was as a Finance Minister, as shown in the consolidation of the public debt, encouragement of direct foreign trade, abolition of canal and Lake St. Peter tolls, and the issue of provincial notes as currency. As President of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway he carried out the consolidation of railways which now operate under the name of Grand Trunk, of which he was for some years Government Director. He married, first, 1848, Elliot, daughter of John Torrance, of St. Antonie Hall; and, second, in 1851, Amy Gordon, another daughter of the same. His death, on September 19, took place at his country residence, Seaforth, near Montreal, Canada.

Thomas Hawksley, F.R.S., was born at Nottingham in 1807, and began practice at an early age, being appointed, about 1830, to construct waterworks in his native town. In 1852 he removed to London, where he stood for a long period at the head of that branch of the profession

having to do with water as a supply, and with drainage and hydraulic works generally. He accustomed to say that he had constructed above 150 waterworks of the largest character; and there were no important towns in Great Britain, and, indeed, in the great cities in the civilised world, to which he had not been professionally consulted in some way or other.

Among the waterworks, he constructed, about 1850, for Liverpool the Rivington Pike Works (then considered the largest in existence) obtaining a supply from hills two miles distant; and he was to the end of his life connected with still greater work of bringing, in the same town, water from the source of the Severn in North Wales. Towns supplied from high ground were Leeds, Leicester, Sheffield, Huddersfield, the Weardale district (including Durham), Rochdale, Bolton, Bury, Merthyr, and Bridgetown (Wales). Among the towns supplied by pumping were Darlington, St. Middlesbrough, Norwich, Nottingham, Derby, Yarmouth, Sunderland, Southport, Cambridge, Coventry, Worcester, Cheltenham, Lowestoft, Stockholm, and Alton.

The number of gasworks constructed by him was very large, including for Nottingham, Derby, Southampton, Cambridge, Lowestoft, and Ipswich, and among the towns in which he designed the sewerage arrangements may be mentioned Birmingham, Manchester, Hertford, Windsor, Whitechapel, and Aylesbury.

Mr. Hawksley had the great credit of being the first to suggest and carry into practice the system of "constant service" in water supply, a system was ever advocated and carried out by him, often in the face of great and obstinate opposition. He had a great interest in all matters relating to sanitation. He gave importance to the Government Sanitary Commission as early as 1848, and afterwards entered warmly into discussions on the subject. At the establishment of the Metropolitan Board of Works there arose controversies as to the arrangements for the metropolitan main drainage, and in 1857 Mr. Hawksley was appointed, in conjunction with Mr. Bidder and Mr. (afterwards Sir) Bazalgette, to study and report on the subject. The works were carried out according to their proposals.

valuable evidence before the Commission on Water Supply, and over by the Duke of Richmond in 1883 he appeared similarly before another Royal Commission on the purification of the Thames. As in 1892 he was examined by another Commission on the Metropolitan Water Supply, and a few days before that he had the satisfaction of seeing, in their report, a confirmation of the ten-expressed opinions in favour of the Thames as a source for the water supply.

As the earliest in this country to apply, for practical uses, certain hydraulic principles discovered by French physicists, the results of which were applied by him to a colossal culvert for a Midland railway, somewhat astonished his professional brethren. He was a clever and hard worker, and his reports and addresses were usually full of original and admirable ideas in style.

Hawksley was one of the oldest members of the Institution of Civil Engineers, which he joined in April 1841. He took great interest in its affairs and was elected member of Council in 1853, and vice-president in 1854. In December 1871 he was elected president, an office which he held for two years. He was also president of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers in 1876-7, and was one of the founders and the first president of the Gas Institute. He belonged to various technical bodies, and in June 1881 he received the great scientific honour of election into the Royal Society. He was also awarded at various times decorations from the Governments of Austria, Sweden, Denmark, and Brazil for services rendered to those countries.

Though he had attained the age of sixty-six he was enabled to continue his work, even out of doors, with wonderful regularity; but at 10 o'clock on September 23, after a long illness, he died at his residence in Phillimore Gardens, Kensington.

**Professor Jowett.**—Benjamin Jowett, son of a printer in Bolt Court, Fleet Street, was born at Camberwell in 1817, and educated at St. Paul's School, whence he obtained, in 1835, a B.A. degree at Balliol College, Oxford, and graduated, 1838, first-class in Theology. With Sir Stafford Northcote and others, like Lord Coleridge, Deans of Exeter and Goulburn, Arthur Clough, and above all, Arthur Stanley, he

formed close and lifelong friendships. The "Oxford Movement" was in full progress at that time, but Balliol was less touched by it than many other colleges, though Oakeley and W. G. Ward "went over." As to Mr. Jowett's history during the ten or twelve years after he became Fellow and Tutor, not many memorials remain; but it is plain that he gradually impressed himself upon the college and the university. His answers before the University Commission of 1852 showed that even at that date he had taken his line as a university reformer. That commission, it will be remembered, had been appointed by Lord John Russell in answer to the very general demand of University Liberals, who could ill tolerate the continued existence of the abuses, the waste, and the intellectual stagnation which accompanied the then organisation of the university. The resistance of the threatened interests was as determined as the zeal of the reformers, and the members of the obstructive party one and all refused to answer the commissioners' questions, regarding them as a gross example of unconstitutional interference. The leading spirit on the commission was Tait, the Dean of Carlisle, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and with him were Dean Liddell of Christ Church, Professor Baden-Powell, and other capable men. Mr. Jowett's written answers to the sixteen questions of the commissioners cover nearly all the points that were at that time interesting the university. After demanding the abolition of those invidious distinctions which in the old days marked off classes of undergraduates from one another, he wrote: "We hope that 'the great business of the university' will still continue to be 'to educate English gentlemen,' not the priest-gentlemen of Catholic seminaries, but men of simple manners, who felt that there would be no shame in entering on a career in which learning and usefulness would be the only claims to distinction." The position of Dissenters in the university, twenty years before the abolition of tests, was curiously illustrated by his proposal to admit them to halls, and to let them take the B.A. degree, nothing being suggested as to the M.A.

The next public work to which Mr. Jowett was called was to take a seat on Lord Macaulay's commission as to the mode of selecting Indian civil service candidates; and in 1855 Lord Palmerston appointed him to the Regius Professorship of Greek. In the



same year he brought out a book which presently became famous, if only from the attacks made upon it by some of the more orthodox clergy at Oxford and elsewhere—the edition, with notes and essays, of St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, Romans, and Galatians. It was dedicated to his old colleague, Dr. Frederick Temple (Bishop of London), "in grateful acknowledgment of numberless thoughts and suggestions, and of the blessing of a long and never-failing friendship." The interesting volumes, which presently passed into a second edition, showed not only a curious originality in the point of view, but what was rare then among English commentators, a knowledge of German writings in the original language. They made some sensation, and confirmed the Church party in Oxford in that opposition to the Professor of Greek which afterwards found expression in the rather petty and foolish proceeding of depriving him, as far as could be done, of his salary, and thereby in giving him some of the honours of martyrdom.

When in 1859 the volume called "Essays and Reviews" appeared, under the quasi-editorship of Dr. Temple, it was naturally found to contain a contribution by Mr. Jowett. Its subject was "The Interpretation of Scripture," and, though it was not held to contradict the formularies of the Church, and so to lay the writer open to a prosecution, it was hotly attacked for its "tendencies" by such controversialists as Bishop Wilberforce, in his vehement and celebrated article in the *Quarterly Review*. What Bishop Wilberforce mostly complained of was "the remarkable indifference to all doctrine to be found in the writings of Mr. Jowett," and in this complaint he had certainly not gone very wide of the truth.

His election to the Mastership of the college in which he had long been the ruling spirit took place in 1870, on the preferment of Dr. Scott to the Deanery of Rochester. He preached when his turn came in the University pulpit; he was a Curator of the Bodleian, and a Delegate of the University Press. In his evidence before the second University Commission, that of 1877, of which Lord Selborne was chairman, his proposals on the professorial system were liberal in the extreme, but they were at the same time practical. He wanted to ensure, first, the utility, and, secondly, the responsibility of the professors, while

at the same time he was urging plans for inducing the eminent men to settle even for a short time in Oxford, that by mere presence and by occasional lectures they should raise the intellectual standard of the place. One point which he was especially emphatic about was the need for proper university buildings, whether offices or professional lecture rooms, remarking characteristically that "a good building is always a real advantage, while improvements are often doubtful." He was also particularly anxious to secure some classes, however small, for the new professors of more obscure subjects whom it was proposed to endow, thinking, in his eminently practical way, that even the greatest scholars work more heartily when a few students are working with them. To this end he was lavish in his proposals for scholarships and professorships. He warmly espoused, if he did not originate, the scheme for admitting unattached students, which very soon took root. He was also a leader in the movement for enabling the university to take in graduate members of colleges for the whole or a considerable part of their time in lodgings; a scheme which in many cases considerably lessens the expense of residence. Often he helped, from his own resources, the career of some poor but promising lad; and a memorable sign of his happiness was when he was in the midst of his almost fatal illness in 1891, that one of these, who had never have come to the university without his aid, had been elected to a fellowship in an important college. At the same time he saw that the work of the university might in many ways be brought home to numbers of persons who could have no other going through the regular residence course, and with this end he not only encouraged the establishment of University Extension Lectures, but had them have now become a regular institution throughout the country, but he had much to do with granting the sum of 300*l.* a year, which for a certain time was granted jointly by the University and New Colleges to University College, Bristol. In 1882 it came to him to be Vice-Chancellor of the university; and in that post, which he held for the customary four years, he was, for himself, if anything, too active, whether for his own health or for the comfort of those with whom he had to deal in his promotion of all kinds of small and great.

the same time, keen as was his spirit in the university, the centre of the home of his affections was Balliol College. From Balliol pupils passed into all the common life of the university, carrying with them the impress of his character and influence, and thus he felt himself to a great extent in touch with all the students. But it was in Balliol that his main work was done; it was there his influence passed, strong and direct, into the minds and hearts of successive generations of undergraduates, many of them the brightest and most receptive young men of their day.

Not that he was of a communicative nature, or that he had the gift of inspiring conversation and confidence in young men; for, except on his holidays at Malvern or elsewhere, he had become intimate with few, and they were oppressed by his shyness, and very little was ever said on either side. But, as a clever pupil read an essay or came to breakfast with him, a single pregnant sentence of the master would strike deeper and longer than a whole argument of another man. He was keenly alive to the social danger and to the injury caused by the wide severance of classes, and habitually exerted himself to bridge over the distance that exists between the well-to-do and the poor. He was fond of advising on leaving Oxford for professional life in London, or in any of the great towns, to give up a regular course of their time to learning something about the life of the poor. He would not ask them to become philanthropists; he did not like the word or the associations that have clustered about it; but he asked them to study for themselves the life and the occu-

pations of the less favoured classes, and to endeavour to aid in their instruction and amusement. It may thus be said that, though Toynbee Hall was named after his brilliant young pupil, he himself had much to do with giving the impulse that formed it.

Mr. Jowett had held the Regius Professorship of Greek for thirty-eight years at the time of his death. When Lord Palmerston appointed him he had not made any special mark as a Greek scholar, nor, indeed, was he ever remarkable either for a minute philological knowledge of the language or for a profound acquaintance with obscurer branches of Greek literature. But the publication of three such books as the translations of Plato, of Aristotle's Politics, and of Thucydides, would of itself be sufficient evidence that he did not allow the pressure of other claims to distract him from the duties of his professorship.

In 1891 Professor Jowett had had a severe attack of illness, owing to a failure of the heart, and at one time his doctors despaired of saving his life. By the constant care of the widow of his old pupil, Professor T. H. Green, he managed to rally from the attack, although he never absolutely recovered his strength. His last appearance in public was at Westminster Abbey, when, on July 16, he preached a sermon on the lives of Spinoza and Bunyan. He had gone through his work at Oxford as usual, had continued his lectures, and encouraged undergraduates in his customary manner, but during the great heat of the summer his strength again failed, and although he was removed from Oxford to Headley Park, Liphook, the residence of his friend and old pupil, Mr. Justice Wright, he succumbed on September 30.

On the 1st, at Strathpeffer, aged 50, **Sir James Russell, C.M.G., LL.D.**, son of James Russell, of Broughshane, co. Antrim. Educated at Queen's College, Belfast; B.A., University, Ireland, 1863; appointed to Hong Kong Cadetship, 1864; Chinese Government Interpreter, 1867; Private Secretary to Government, 1870; Stipendiary Magistrate, 1870-8; called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1878; Treasurer and Puisne Judge, Hong Kong, 1883-8; Chief Justice, 1888-92. On the 1st, at St. Andrews, N.B., aged 73, **Very Rev. John Cunningham, D.D.**, Principal of St. Mary's College. Born at Paisley, and educated at Glasgow; was for many years Minister of the Church of Scotland, at Crieff, Perthshire, and was one of the first parish ministers to have an organ in his church. He was the author of "History of the Church of Scotland," and was an advocate of opening museums on Sundays; Moderator of the Church of Scotland, 1886, and in the same year succeeded Principal Tulloch at St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. On the 1st, at Clifton, aged 70, **Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Kennion, R.A.**, son of Rev. T. Kennion, Vicar of Harrogate. Educated at Harrogate; entered Bengal Artillery, 1842; served through Sutlej Campaign, 1845, and Indian Mutiny, with great distinction, and was severely wounded; died, 1863. Married, 1869, Elsie, daughter of John Hartley, of Gorforth Hall,



Cumberland. On the 1st, at Bath, aged 93, **Rev. Leonard Blomefield**, son of Rev. George Leonard Jenyns, of Bottisham, Cambridge. Graduated at St. John's College, 1822; Curate, 1823-40, and Vicar, 1840-53, of Swaffham, *Bulbeck*; a distinguished naturalist, and the author of several scientific works of great value; presented a valuable library to Bath city. Married, first, Jane, daughter of Rev. Edward Daubeny, and, second, 1860, Sarah, eldest daughter of Rev. R. Hawthorn; assumed the name of Blomefield. On the 2nd, at Jesmond Dene, Newcastle, **Lady Armstrong, Margaret**, daughter of William Ravenshaw, of Bishop Auckland. Married, 1835, William George Armstrong, the founder of the Elswick Works, who was created Baron Armstrong. On the 4th, at Brighton, aged 91, **Joseph Barron Montefiore**, son of Eleazar Montefiore. Acquired considerable wealth by purchasing, in conjunction with his brother, land in South Australia, which afterwards became the site of the city of Adelaide; founded the West London Synagogue for the reformed Jewish community. Married, 1827, Miriam, daughter of A. Mocatta. On the 4th, at Beverley, Massachusetts, aged 61, **Jerome Napoleon Bonaparte**, grandson of Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia, by his first marriage with Miss Elizabeth Patterson. The latter, having been refused admission into France in 1805, found an asylum in Camberwell, where her son was born. After the accession of Napoleon III. a declaration of this son's legitimacy was obtained, and he was allowed to bear the name of Bonaparte, but without being recognised a member of the imperial family. He married, 1831, Mary Williams, of Roxburg, Massachusetts. Their elder son, having served in the American army, 1852-4, was appointed a lieutenant in the French army, and served through the Crimean War, 1854-5, the Algerian Campaign, 1857, and the war with Austria, 1859-60; but on the fall of the empire retired to the United States. On the 5th, at Brook Green, Hammersmith, aged 72, **Morgan Lloyd, Q.C.**, eldest son of Morris Lloyd, of Cefnallgwm. A graduate of Edinburgh University; called to the bar at the Middle Temple, 1847; Q.C., 1873; sat as a Liberal for Beaumaris, 1874-85, and unsuccessfully contested Anglesea as a Unionist, 1885. Married, first, 1858, Mary, daughter of Hon. Charles Elphinstone Fleming, and, second, 1879, Anne, daughter of James Lewis, of Cwmhyar, Cardiganshire. On the 5th, at the Castle of Fredensborg, Copenhagen, aged 77, **Prince William of Schleswig-Holstein, Sonderburg, Glücksburg**, elder son of Frederick William, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein. Born at Gothorp; elder brother of Christian IX., King of Denmark; general of cavalry in the Austrian army, and lieutenant-general in the Danish army. On the 5th, at Eaton Square, S.W., aged 76, **Colonel John Ireland Blackburne**, of Hale Hall, Lancashire, eldest son of John Ireland Blackburne, who sat in Parliament, 1823-47, and grandson of John Blackburne, who represented Lancashire, 1784-1831. Educated at Eton; sat as a Conservative for South-west Lancashire, 1875-82. Married, first, 1846, Mary, daughter of Sir Henry Bold Hoghton, eighth baronet, and, second, 1857, Emma Jemima, daughter of George Ravenscroft, and widow of fifteenth Viscount Hereford. On the 6th, at Edinburgh, aged 71, **Lord Belhaven and Stenton, James Hamilton**, son of Archibald Hamilton, Surgeon, 92nd Regiment. Established, 1875, his claim to the dormant barony. Married, 1877, Georgina, daughter of John Watson, of Garnock, Lanarkshire. On the 7th, at Cape Town, South Africa, aged 55, **Dame Cameron, Helen Colebrooke Mary**, daughter of General Sir Hunter Littler, G.C.B. Married, 1857, General Sir William Gordon Cameron, K.C.B., commanding the forces in South Africa. On the 7th, at Eaton Place, S.W., aged 79, **General Sir Arthur Boston, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.**, youngest son of Rev. John Drew Boston, Rector of Blofield, Norfolk. Educated at Eton and Sandhurst; joined 32nd Foot, 1832, and served through the Cabul Campaigns, 1842; the Sutlej, 1845-6, and the Crimean War, 1854-5, when he commanded 9th Foot, and was mentioned in despatches; commanded a brigade at the Curragh, 1866-70, and the Mysore (Madras) Division, 1870-5; Governor of Malta, 1878-84. Married, 1850, Caroline M. G., daughter of Rev. J. F. Close, of Moune, in Donegal. On the 7th, at New York, aged 85, **Hamilton Fish**. Born in New York; graduated at Columbia College, 1827, and admitted to the bar, 1831; entered the United States Congress as one of the representatives of New York, 1842; Governor of New York, 1847-50; Senator, 1851-69, when he was appointed Secretary of State, by General Grant, and retained the post through both terms of office. He negotiated the preliminary treaty which led up to the Alabama Arbitration. On the 7th, at St. John's Wood, N.W., aged 100 years and 8 months, **Dr. Severin Wielobyski**, son of a Polish judge. Took part as a captain of cavalry in the Polish rising, 1830; escaped, and for some years was a teacher of French at Edinburgh; graduated at Edinburgh, M.D., 1852; he never used tobacco; his



tasted no intoxicant for sixty years, and had been a vegetarian seventeen years. On the 8th, at Philadelphia, United States of America, aged 61, **Captain John Hudson Spencer**. Graduated at United States Naval Academy of Annapolis; left the service in 1864, and served under Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, and afterwards entered the American merchant service; discovered a channel in the Philippines, which bears his name, 1874, and the Island of Contote, off the coast of Mexico, 1886. On the 9th, at Farnham, aged 72, **Colonel Thomas Edmunds Mulock, C.B.** Entered the army, 1836; commanded 70th Regiment during the New Zealand War, 1863-5. Married, 1861, Julia Florentia, daughter of John Leigh Doyle Sturt, R.E., and granddaughter of General Sir Robert Sale. On the 9th, at Rochester, aged 74, **Colonel Harvey Wellesley Pole Welman**. Entered the army, 1836, and joined 1st Foot; took part in the Afghan Campaign, 1838-9, and was present at the storming of Ghuznu and Khelat. On the 10th, at St. James's, S.W., aged 56, **George Culley, C.B.**, Commissioner of her Majesty's Woods and Forests. On the 10th, at Sunbury, aged 68, **Thomas William Kennard**, second son of R. W. Kennard, of Gatcombe. Founded, 1854, the Crumlin Iron Works, Monmouthshire, and designed the Crumlin Viaduct, 1,658 feet long and 200 feet high; Engineer-in-Chief of the Atlantic and Great Western Railway, United States, and of many engineering works in Spain and Italy. On the 10th, at Altna-Craig, Argyllshire, N.B., aged 35, **Surgeon-Major Thomas Heazle Parke, D.C.L.** Born at Drumona, co. Antrim; educated at Dublin; entered the army medical service, 1881; accompanied the expedition for the relief of General Gordon, 1882, under Lord Charles Beresford, R.N., and was in charge of the Helonan Cholera Corps, 1883; accompanied Mr. H. M. Stanley in search of Emin Pasha, during which he distinguished himself by his skill, his endurance, and devotion to the sick and wounded. He obtained many professional distinctions, and was the author of several medical works, as well as of "Incidents Connected with the Relief of Emin Pasha," whom he attended after his nearly fatal accident at Zanzibar. On the 10th, at Paris, aged 74, **Adolphe Yvon**, a historical painter. Born at Eschwiller, in Lorraine; studied under Paul Delaroche; sent by Napoleon III. to the Crimea, where he painted the capture of the Malakoff. On the 10th, at Chatelard, aged 62, **General de Miribel**, Chief of the French General Staff. Born at Montbonnet (Isère); educated at the École Polytechnique, Paris, and at the École Militaire, Metz; entered the Artillery, 1855; served in the Crimea; wounded at Solferino, 1859, and in Mexico, 1865; took part in the defence of Paris, 1870-1, and in the suppression of the Commune; appointed Chief of the General Staff by M. Gambetta, 1881, and distinguished himself under various Cabinets in the re-organisation of the army, which he brought to a high degree of perfection. On the 11th, at Lawrence, Tennessee, United States of America, aged 52, **Rev. Francis Theodore Hodgson, D.D., LL.D.** Born at Columbia, Va.; graduated at Princetown, 1860; entered the Confederate Army as corporal in the Richmond Zouaves, and by bravery and distinction rose in two years to be major; when he resigned his commission, was ordained and became an army chaplain, but on two occasions led a forlorn hope. After the close of the war he occupied a pulpit at Keyport, New Jersey, and was successively Professor of Metaphysics of the University of Alabama, and Chancellor of the University of the South, 1879-90, and Editor of the *Lewana Review*. On the 12th, at Richmond, Surrey, aged 55, **Major-General William Arbuthnot, C.B.**, eldest son of Archibald F. Arbuthnot. Educated at Eton; entered the Army Rifle Brigade, 1856; served through the Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; in Abyssinian Campaign, 1867-8, as Aide-de-Camp and Military Secretary to Lord Napier; commanded 14th Hussars, Boer War, 1881, and Cavalry of Army of Occupation in Egypt, 1882-3; D.A. and Q.M.G., Soudan War, 1885. Married, first, 1865, Hon. Alice Pitt, daughter of fourth Baron Rivers; second, 1869, Selina, daughter of Sir Thomas Moncrieffe, seventh baronet, and, third, 1879, Edith Anne, daughter of Major-General J. Langford Pearse, M.S.C., of Lindesay, Ryde, Isle of Wight. On the 13th, at Boston, Massachusetts, aged 50, **Francis Lathrop Ames**, a distinguished financier, and a liberal patron of art. Graduated at Harvard, 1854; studied law, but entered, 1860, the implement-making business established by his great-grandfather in 1773; turned his attention to railway and financial questions. He amassed a large fortune, and exercised great influence over various lines of railway. On the 13th, at Clifton, aged 66, **General James Daubeny, C.B.** Entered 24th Regiment, 1845; served throughout the Crimean Campaign, 1854-5, as Captain in 62nd Regiment; commanding a company in both attacks on the Redan; subsequently held a command in India, and was A.G. of the Home District, 1870-3; Hon. Colonel, King's Own (Yorkshire) Light



Infantry, 1890. Married, 1870, Isabella, daughter of S. Leveson. On the 14th, at Venice, aged 46, **Henrietta Montalba**, youngest daughter of H. R. Montalba. An artist of considerable talent, who had distinguished herself as a sculptor. On the 15th, at Woolwich, aged 74, **General Sir Frederick Alexander Campbell, K.C.B.**, second son of General Frederick Campbell, R.A. Educated at Woolwich Academy; entered Royal Artillery, 1836; member of Ordinance Committee, 1860-3; Superintendent of Government Factories, Woolwich, 1865-75; Director-General of Artillery, 1875-83. Married, 1843, Emma Frances, daughter of William Stockley. On the 15th, at New York, aged 98, **Mrs. Mary Monroe**, "the most travelled woman in America." Born in Derbyshire, England; a friend of Lafayette, the Duchess of Kent, Sir Walter Scott, and many other celebrities. In 1830 she was the Pope's guest at Rome during Easter week. She married an officer of the United States Customs. On the 16th, at Upway, Dorset, aged 91, **Rev. Robert Bentley Buckle**. Educated at Sidney Sussex College; fourth wrangler, 1824; Fellow and Tutor of Sidney Sussex, 1825-37; Rector of Upway, 1837-88; Prebendary of Salisbury, 1841. On the 16th, at Ross, Herefordshire, aged 73, **Rev. Robert Henry Cobbold**. Educated at Peterbourn, Cambridge; a well-known athlete, and President of C.U.B.C.; B.A. (Sen. Opt. and first-class Classics), 1843; went as missionary to Ningpo, 1847; Archdeacon of Ningpo, 1856-8; Rector of Broseley, Staffordshire, 1859-73, when he was appointed Rector of Ross; author of "The Chinese at Home." On the 16th, at Berns, aged 58, **Louis Ruchonnet**. Born in England of Vaudois parents; educated at Lausanne, where he practised as a barrister and leader of the Radical Party; President of the National Council, 1869 and 1875; President of the Swiss Confederation in 1883 and 1889, and at the time of his death Minister of Justice. On the 16th, at Farnborough, aged 89, **Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, C.B.**, eldest son of Major-General Walter Tremenheere, K.H. Educated at Winchester; Prefect of Hall, and Gold Medallist, 1822; Scholar and Fellow of New College, Oxford; B.A., 1827; called to the bar at the Inner Temple, 1831; Revising Barrister on the Western Circuit, 1835-8; appointed Inspector of Mines, 1840-71, and was member of several royal commissions in connection with the working classes. Recorder of Saffron Walden. Married, 1856, Lucy, eldest daughter of Ralph Bernal, M.P. for Rochester, and widow of Vicesimus Knox. On the 19th, at South Kensington, aged 82, the **Countess of Rothes, Harriet Elizabeth Leslie**, younger daughter of third Countess of Rothes, and sister of eleventh earl. Married, 1835, Martin E. Haworth, of 60th Rifles, and Barham Wood, Herts, who in 1886 assumed the name of Leslie, when she succeeded her aunt as Countess of Rothes. On the 19th, at Poulton-le-Fylde, Preston, aged 91, **Charles Clay, M.D.** Born at Bradbury, Stockport; studied medicine under Mr. Kinder Wood, of Manchester, and chemistry under Dalton; L.R.C.S., Edinburgh, 1823; practised at Ashton-under-Lyne, 1823-39, when he removed to Manchester, and where in 1842 he performed the first successful operation for ovariectomy in this country. He was a writer on medical numismatic and other subjects. On the 21st, at Aix-les-Bains, aged 76, **Count de Bylandt**, Dutch Minister at the Court of St. James's for twenty-two years. He had previously held diplomatic posts in the principal courts of Europe. On the 21st, at Rutland Gate, S.W., aged 69, **Lord Alfred Spencer Churchill**, second son of the sixth Duke of Marlborough. Educated at Sandhurst; entered 83rd Foot, and was Lieutenant-Colonel, Oxfordshire Yeomanry Cavalry; sat as a Conservative for Woodstock, 1845-7, and 1857-65. Married, 1885, Hon. Harriet L. H. Gough-Calthorpe, daughter of the fourth Baron Calthorpe. On the 23rd, at Bath, aged 96, **Captain Andrew Gammell**, son of General Andrew Gammell, of the Foot Guards. Entered 59th Regiment, 1813; served in the Peninsular and at Bayonne. On the 24th, at Hampstead, aged 77, **Benjamin Whitworth**, son of Nicholas Whitworth. Born at Manchester, where he founded a large firm, and developed the shipping trade of Fleetwood, 1849-62. He next introduced cotton manufacture into Drogheda, 1862, and sat as a Liberal for that city, 1865-9; Killarney, 1875-9; Chairman of the Executive of the United Kingdom Alliance. Married, 1843, Jane, daughter of Thos. Walker, of Salford. On the 25th, at Albert Street, S.W., aged 52, **Albert Moore, R.W.S.**, youngest son of William Moore, of York. An artist of great taste and delicacy of colouring in both oils and water colours. On the 26th, at Lindley Hall, Leicestershire, aged 50, **Vincent Thomas Eyre**, eldest son of Vincent Anthony Eyre. Educated at Sandhurst; entered 6th Inniskillings. Married, 1873, Barbara, daughter of Thomas Giffard, of Chillington, Staffordshire. On the 26th, at Baden-Baden, **Prince Mentschikoff**, son of the Russian Commander at the Crimea, and last representative of the

ennobled by Peter the Great. He was devoted to horse-racing, and lived in Germany. On the 26th, at Cleveland Terrace, Hyde Park, S.W., aged 75, **John Mott Maidlow**, second son of William Maidlow, of Sydenham. Educated King's College School and Queen's College, Oxford; B.A., 1861; Double First Arts; elected Fellow of Queen's College, 1863; Eldon Scholar, 1864; called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1867. On the 27th, at Paris, aged 50, **Auguste Meng**, a landscape painter. Born at Metz; studied in Paris under Emile Leroy; Third Class Medal, 1881; Second Class, 1888. On the 27th, at Copenhagen, aged 75, **Andreas Friederik Krieger**. For many years leader of the Conservative Party in Denmark; brought about the adoption of the New Constitution; represented Denmark at the London Conference, 1864; and was several times Minister. On the 28th, at Brighton, aged 65, **Miss Annie Feray Nutrie**, a portrait painter of great ability, who exhibited annually at the Royal Academy, 1822. On the 28th, at Reading, aged 79, **Lieutenant-General Sir Alexander Cromby Nelson**. Born at Walmer, Kent; educated at Sandhurst; entered the Army, 1835; served under Sir Wm. Nott in Candahar and Afghanistan, 1842, and afterwards under Sir Charles Napier in Scinde, 1843-4; was sent in to command troops in Jamaica during the outbreak; Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey, 1870-83. Married, 1846, Emma Georgiana, daughter of Robert Cartwright, of Hall Barns, Altrincham, Cheshire.

# OCTOBER.

**John Madox Brown**.—Ford Madox Brown was born at Calais, of English descent, in 1821. He was the grandson of John Brown, of Edinburgh, the originator of the Brunonian theory of medicine. He first came before the public in 1844, when he sent two cartoons to Westminster Hall. In the competition of 1845 he was unsuccessful. Haydon in his diary speaks of a fresco as "the finest specimen of difficult method in the hall." In 1846 on his return from a visit to Italy, at his "Wicliff Reading his Translation of the Scriptures" to the Free Mission near Hyde Park, and his "King Lear" was exhibited there in the following year. His "Chaucer at the Court of Edward the Third," on which he had been engaged for several years, appeared at the Royal Academy in 1851. This picture was among the pictures selected by the Government for the Paris Exhibition of 1855, and it received the Liverpool prize of 50*l.* three years later. It was subsequently purchased for the Sydney Museum. At the Royal Academy in 1852, his picture "Christ Washing Peter's Feet" was exhibited. In 1856 it was awarded the Liverpool prize, and it was among the pictures exhibited in the following year. Mr. Madox Brown did not exhibit in London for thirteen years, though his works were frequently shown at Liverpool, Edinburgh, and other places in that time. In 1863 he exhibited an exhibition with a hundred pictures, cartoons, and other sketches, among which were included "The Last Judgment," "The Autumn Afternoon,"

and "Wilhelmus Conquistator." This collection also embraced his "Work," which was subsequently purchased by the Manchester Corporation, and now hangs in the Art Gallery of that city. The artist was engaged longer on this picture than on any of his other productions, and it was considered, both by himself and by his admirers, to be his greatest achievement at the time of its appearance. He subsequently painted "The Coat of Many Colours," "Cordelia's Portion," "Elijah and the Widow's Son," "Romeo and Juliet," "The Entombment," "Don Juan," and "Jacopo Foscari." In 1878 he completed a picture of "Cromwell," representing the Protector dictating the famous protest against the cruelties of the Duke of Savoy towards the Vaudois Protestants.

For many years he was engaged on a series of twelve frescoes in the Manchester Town Hall, illustrative of the phases through which that city had passed since the building of Mancunium by the Romans. The last of these frescoes, having for its subject the defence of Manchester Bridge by Bradshaw, the regicide, against the Royalist troops, was finished only a month before his death, which happened in London, on October 6, after a very brief illness.

**Sir William Smith, LL.D., D.C.L.**—Sir William Smith was born in London on May 20, 1813. He took his degree at the University of London, where he gained the first prizes in the Latin and Greek classes, and afterwards be-



came examiner in classics. He kept his terms for the bar at Gray's Inn, but was never called, having resolved to devote his time to literature. The first volume known to have been produced by him was the "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," in 1842, originally in one volume, but subsequently enlarged. This publication was followed after six years by the "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology," in three volumes. The "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography" was finished in 1857. These volumes were soon afterwards summarised by the author, and after the publication of these smaller dictionaries Dr. Smith set himself to work upon a series of students' manuals, beginning at a History of Greece, followed by Histories of England (the "Students' Hume"), France, Dr. Liddell's Rome, Gibbon, and others. Liddell's Rome was the only one of this series that did not bear Dr. Smith's name, though many of the others were not actually written by him. These were again condensed for still younger classes. All these works went through many editions. In 1855 he published his large Latin dictionaries, based, as all such dictionaries are, on the works of Forcellini and Freund. This was supplemented in 1870 by "An English-Latin Dictionary," which was produced with the help of Mr. Hall. This latter certainly supplied a want that had long been felt and is not approached in completeness by any other work on the same subject. Between 1860 and 1863 he brought out another of his encyclopædic works, "A Dictionary of the Bible," in three volumes, a subject which had not been treated with any completeness since Kitto's time. Dr. Smith also edited, with the help of Archdeacon Cheetham, "A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," two volumes (1875-1880), and, in conjunction with Dr. Wace, "A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects, and Doctrines during the first Eight Centuries," four volumes (1877-1887). These two latter works were intended to complete the earlier Bible Dictionary. It must be added, however, that Dr. Smith's part in many of these works was only nominal. Mr. (now Sir) George Grove really edited the Dictionary of the Bible and Dr. Wace the Christian Biography. In 1875 he completed his large atlas of "Biblical and Classical Geography" as a companion volume to his "Biblical and Classical Dictionaries." In addition to these works he published Latin and

Greek grammars and several courses of exercises in the same tongues. The real labour of the latter part of Sir W. Smith's life however was the editorship of the *Quarterly Review*, which he held from 1867 till his death. In 1870—the year of the completion of fifteen years' labour over the "English-Latin Dictionary"—he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. He had also received the honorary degrees of LL.D. of Glasgow and of Ph. D., Leipsic; he was member of the Senate of the University of London, and was examiner in classics in that university from 1853-1869: and was Senior Registrar of the Royal Literary Fund. Sir William Smith married, in 1834, Mary, the daughter of the late Mr. James Crump of Birmingham.

**Marshal MacMahon.**—Marie Edmé Patrice Maurice de MacMahon, Marshal of France, Duc de Magenta, and ex-President of the French Republic, whose death took place at Paris, on October 17, was descended from an Irish family of distinction. For many centuries the family resided in Ireland, and in the time of James II. its representatives ruined themselves in his service and went with him into exile. Count de MacMahon, the Marshal's father, was an officer of high rank, a peer of France, a Grand Cross of the Order of St. Louis, and a personal friend of Charles X. He married a lady of the ducal house of Caraman, and by her had a family of seventeen children, of whom, Maurice, born in the Château of Sully, on the river Dore, near Autun, July 13, 1808, was the youngest but one. He was educated partly under his father's eye and partly at the little seminary of Autun. In consequence of the rapid progress he there made in his studies, he was sent in 1825 to the military school of St. Cyr, at Versailles. After two years of successful study he entered the army, and at once saw service in the campaign of conquest undertaken by the French in Algeria. He exhibited such talent and bravery that he speedily won renown. As a lieutenant he acquired fame and the Cross of the Legion of Honour by fighting the Kabyles along the slope of the Atlas. After the combat of the Col de Terchia, in which he was aide-de-camp to General Achard, he was entrusted with a dangerous and difficult mission to the officer in command, at Blidah. Finding on approaching the town that he was followed by groups of the enemy's horsemen on

e, as well as behind him, he only on, knowing that a deep ravine, called the ravine of Blidah, was in front of him. He drove his horse into the tremendous chasm, and the without hesitation, sprang into

The rider held his seat immovably, and escaped unhurt, but was obliged to abandon his charger, which he found fore-legs broken. The Arabs gazed at MacMahon's daring, and he reached Blidah in safety. Released from France from Algeria, he gained distinction under Achard in the expedition to Antwerp, in 1832. He was promoted to the rank of captain in 1833, and joined his African campaigns. He commanded wild cavalry charges against the plains infested with Bedouins, and was conspicuous for dash and courage. At the siege of Constantine in 1836, where he fought side by side with General de Nemours, and with the officer who afterwards became

Niel. From that time until 1855, he was almost constantly in the ranks, rising steadily in rank, making several trips to France. At forty-four he was promoted to a Division General who had twenty-six years of active service. He and his tribes of the desert knew him as "the Invulnerable," and feared him. MacMahon was nominated Major of Foot Chasseurs in 1840, Colonel of the Foreign Legion in 1842, Colonel of the 41st of the Line in 1844, General of Brigade in 1848, and General of Division in 1852.

In 1855, when General Canrobert left for the war in the Crimea, MacMahon was selected by the Emperor to take him in the command of a

When the chiefs of the armies resolved on assaulting the city of Malakoff, on September 8, he was in the most perilous position in the final attack on the Malakoff. Amid perils of the deadliest he held to his post, and the blow struck by him hastened the fall of Sebastopol, but it may be said that he did not on any occasion use the expression with which he was subsequently credited, "J'y reste." On his return honours were showered upon him, including that of Senator, conferred in 1856, but he longed for a more active life. Refusing the highest command in France, he was at his own solicitation sent back to Algeria, where he once more attacked the Arabs, severely defeating them. Years later, after his return to France, he cast his vote in the Senate for the unconstitutional law for

general safety, which was brought forward at the instigation of Napoleon III., after the abortive attempt at his assassination by Orsini.

In the Italian campaign of 1859 MacMahon greatly distinguished himself. At the battle of Magenta his conduct was particularly bold and sagacious, for although he had received no orders to do so, he pressed forward, and arrived in time to secure the victory for the French—a piece of service which gained him the highest rank in the French army. The battle was fought on June 4. The French and Sardinian allies numbered 55,000 men, and they defeated 75,000 Austrians, the latter losing 10,000, besides 7,000 prisoners, and the allies only 4,000. The Marshal's baton and the title of Duc de Magenta fell to MacMahon for his share in this decisive engagement. And at the coronation of William III. of Prussia in November 1861, at the head of a brilliant embassy, he represented France.

MacMahon was nominated Governor-General of Algeria by decree September 1, 1864, with the object of founding an Arab kingdom under military rule. By this act Napoleon desired, it was said, to relegate one who might prove a somewhat formidable rival into comparative obscurity. The Marshal's action in this new sphere formed the least successful episode in his public career. He was hampered by the Emperor's orders; and complaints of the misery of the province were so numerous that twice in the course of 1870 he sent in his resignation to his Imperial master. The Governor-General managed to institute some important reforms in the colonies, but the Emperor's scheme as a whole was a complete failure. The French and other European colonists became so dissatisfied that a large number of them left for Brazil, while thousands of the natives perished from hunger. A great outcry was raised in France against the Marshal, whose policy was also severely censured by Mgr. de Lavignerie, Bishop of Algiers. But it was the Emperor who was chiefly to blame for this miserable fiasco. At length the accession to power of the ill-fated Ollivier Cabinet was the pretext chosen for abandoning the idea, and Marshal MacMahon was relieved of his Governor-Generalship.

In 1870, on the declaration of war between France and Prussia, Marshal MacMahon was appointed to the command of the First Army Corps. His mission was the defence of Alsace.



Although the declaration of war was made only on July 15, by the 30th of the same month the Germans had three armies in the field, numbering no fewer than 518,800 men, with 7,584 guns. The French, on the contrary, had with difficulty collected 270,000 men with 925 guns by the beginning of August, and the army was deficient in transport and equipment. The Emperor assumed the chief command, and had 128,000 men between Metz and the frontier at Saarbrück. After three days' fighting, in the course of which General Douay's troops were defeated by the third German Army Corps, the French fell back and united at Woerth. MacMahon was in chief command, having under him some 50,000 men in all, and he occupied a strong defensive position on the slopes of the Vosges. The Marshal fought courageously against tremendous odds (the Germans having about 120,000 men), and he braved death in the most reckless manner, wringing testimonials of admiration from his enemies. But the display was powerless against the well-laid plans and superior force of the Germans. He was compelled to fall back upon Nancy, leaving in the enemy's hands 4,000 prisoners, 36 cannon, and two standards. On the 7th he retired to Saverne, and from thence he proceeded to Toul, which he reached on the 13th, Rheims, which he entered on the 21st, and Reims, where he arrived on the 22nd.

MacMahon's retreat was so ably conducted, however, that the Emperor confided to him the supreme command of the new levies which he was mustering at Châlons. The Gardes Mobiles were called out, and these, with the remains of MacMahon's army, formed a body of 120,000 men, with 324 guns; but the troops were much disorganised, and almost entirely without discipline. The Marshal was ordered to effect a junction with Bazaine's forces at Metz. To perform this MacMahon began a northerly march on August 21, without intelligence reaching the Germans, part of whose second army was again in motion towards Paris. On the 25th the Germans learned, as it was alleged, through a telegram in a foreign newspaper, of MacMahon's movements, and they at once changed the direction of their march so as to intercept him. MacMahon had collected his dispirited troops round Sedan, but only to find that the enemy had surrounded him, and by vigorous forward movements had captured the bridges over the

Meuse and the commanding position round the town. The fierce and decisive battle of Sedan commenced early on September 1, by the attack on Bazeilles. This village was captured by the Bavarians and recaptured by the French and ultimately burned. At noon MacMahon had been seriously wounded in the thigh, and resigned his command to General Wimpffen, as the next senior officer, so that the Marshal was not responsible for the events and disasters which followed. General Wimpffen found further resistance hopeless. Nearly 500 guns were playing on the French, who were crowded between Sedan or under its walls, and at 4 p.m. the white flag was hoisted on the citadel. Next day the Emperor, Napoleon, who was with the army, surrendered with 83,000 men, and General Wimpffen signed the capitulation. MacMahon, who was a prisoner with the rest of the army, was authorised by the King of Prussia to reside at Pourre-au-Bois, a village on the frontier of Belgium, as soon as his wound was sufficiently healed, he voluntarily shared the captivity of his comrades in German custody at Wiesbaden until the declaration of peace.

Returning to Paris on March 18, 1871, the Marshal was nominated M. Thiers Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Versailles, and he forthwith set to work to suppress the Commune, an insurrection which had broken out in Paris. He successfully conducted the siege of Paris, thus, to a certain extent wiping out the memory of Sedan. He ably assisted the President in the organisation of the army. On September 28 he issued a proclamation announcing the deliverance of Paris, and the annihilation of the insurrection and its supporters. With 60,000 men, after a furious seven-days' fight inside the walls of Paris, he had succeeded in overthrowing the Commune. In December 1871 the Marshal was requested by the Parisian Press to become a candidate to represent Paris in the National Assembly; he refused to accept the nomination and objected to have anything to do with politics.

When M. Thiers resigned the presidency of the Republic, May 24, 1873, Marshal MacMahon was elected to the vacant office by the Assembly. Of 392 members who voted, 390 supported the Marshal. While MacMahon himself was unwilling to accept the office, and was no doubt sincere in his re-

that his ambitious wife was ed that he should receive the ial office. She had put his out, chiefly through the *Figaro*, champion of order, so that the monarchical majority of the s had made up its mind that s was too honest to be a use-aw, the way was paved to w him and elect MacMahon. rshal, after considerable per-accepted the headship of the e, and his consent was carried the Assembly couched in a ouch was a model of manly orwardness and modesty. He entrusted the formation of a tive Administration to the Broglie, Minister for Foreign and Vice-President of the but he took an early oppor-showing his determination to he sovereignty of the National

f. al Changarnier presented to mbly, on November 5, 1873, ition to the effect that Mac- power be confirmed for a f ten years, and that a com- of thirty be appointed to p a form of constitutional is proposition was presented resident by a committee headed omte de Rémusat. The Mar-shal pressed himself fully willing passage of constitutional laws company any prolongation of powers, and on November 17, addressed to the Assembly a in which he declared in favour nfirmation of his powers for ears and a determination to his influence in the mainten-Conservative principles. After ened discussion the Septennate pted on the night of November vote of 378 against 310. The *coup d'état* in favour of Henry hus left unexecuted, the Mar-ing decided to abide by "ex-titutions."

the close of the year (Dec. 10), rt-martial of general officers d to investigate the serious against Marshal Bazaine des judgment through the mouth resident, the Duc d'Aumale. charge of political bad faith t returned no direct verdict; he issue whether the Marshal e all that was required by duty our, he was, by a unanimous and guilty. The court con- the prisoner to degradation death, but at the same time ended him to mercy. Two days

afterwards President MacMahon com-muted the punishment of death to confinement for twenty years in a fortress, and remitted the ceremony which, according to law, accompanies the sentence of degradation. He was, however, deprived of all his dignities, dismissed from the army, and sent to undergo his sentence at the Ile Ste. Marguerite, a small island just off Cannes, on the Mediterranean coast, whence he escaped before the end of the year.

Marshal MacMahon's life, while President of the Republic, was of the simplest possible character. When at Versailles he lived in the modest Prefecture which had been occupied by King William during his sojourn in front of Paris. In Paris the Marshal-President occupied the Palace of the Elysée, where numerous brilliant *fêtes* and receptions were given each season. Madame MacMahon and her children were seen much in public, and the Duchess was a leader in all works of charity and benevolence. The Marshal was not so bigoted against the German Imperial family as many of his countrymen, and it may be mentioned as an interesting circumstance that in 1873, when the Empress Frederick (then the Crown Princess of Germany) visited Paris incognito as Countess von Lingen, the Marshal-President himself took her to Versailles and Saint Cloud, and showed her over the ruins of the palace at the latter place.

Although Marshal MacMahon won the affection of the peasant population in his journey through the provinces after the declaration of the Septennate, his policy soon alienated the Republicans of the great cities, and his government became very unpopular owing to its severe repression of Republican ideas. In the National Assembly matters remained in suspense between thorough acceptance of the Republic until 1875, when, by the accession of some Orleanists to the Moderate Republican Parliamentary Party, it became possible to pass constitutional laws for the Republic. But in 1877 the constitutional crisis became once more acute. On May 16 Marshal MacMahon addressed to M. Jules Simon, the President of the Council—a statesman of moderate views—a letter reproaching him with incapacity. This compelled M. Jules Simon to resign, and a new Ministry was formed, under the Duc de Broglie. The Chamber of Deputies was immediately prorogued, and the Senate, by a small majority, resolved to exercise the power con-



ferred by the Constitution, by concurring with the President of the Republic in a dissolution. Accordingly, the Marshal dissolved the Chamber of Deputies by a decree dated June 25, 1877. The Marshal was confident of the result of an appeal to the country; but he was grievously mistaken, as M. Gambetta prophesied he would be; nor did his electoral campaign improve matters. After a stormy period, during which the Government mercilessly applied great pressure upon the constituencies, the elections for the new Chamber were held throughout France on October 14, resulting in the return of 335 Republicans and 198 Anti-Republicans. The latter were classed as eighty-nine Bonapartists, forty-one Legitimists, thirty-eight Orleanists, and thirty MacMahonists.

The Marshal-President endeavoured to ignore the significance of the elections, and in his desperation at first appointed an extra Parliamentary Cabinet under General Rochefort. But the Republican majority refused to vote the supplies, and after a brief interval of hesitation, the President came to the conclusion that M. Gambetta's famous alternative—*se soumettre ou se démettre*—must be acted upon. He consequently yielded to the Republican majority, and a new Ministry was formed under the presidency of M. Dufaure. This was on December 14, 1877, so that after seven months of great public uneasiness, the prolonged political crisis was brought peacefully to a close. The Senatorial elections at the beginning of 1879 gave the Republican Party an effective working majority in the Upper Chamber. M. Dufaure's Cabinet was at once pressed to remove the most conspicuous Anti-Republicans among the generals and officials. Marshal MacMahon refused to sanction the law brought in for this object, but perceiving that resistance was useless, he resigned the presidency on January 30, 1879, and was succeeded by M. Grévy.

In personal appearance Marshal MacMahon was a handsome and striking man, and his long, temperate, and active life, left but few traces of fatigue or old age upon his features. He was of medium height, of regular and somewhat austere habits, and of irreproachable elegance in his manners. Against his private life there was never a breath of calumny, and he was universally respected by his countrymen. He was a superb horseman, an enthusiastic sportsman, and was passionately devoted to the army

and to all developments of the military administration. He seldom appeared in uniform, however, and the only mark of distinction he wore was the red ribbon. His most marked characteristics were a love of order and a fondness for study. As a soldier and a soldier he was distinguished for the most scrupulous honour. Frenchmen of all parties were proud of his brilliant services and his approachable character.

**Charles François Gounod.**—Charles François Gounod, born on June 18, 1818, in Paris, almost without shadow of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, was the son of a painter rather a restorer of pictures; his father being a successful teacher of pianoforte, and from an early age showed an instinct for music. He received a good classical education at the Collège St. Louis, and in 1836 entered the Conservatoire, where he studied under Halévy, Lesueur, and Paër. In the year after his entrance he came off second best in the competition for the "Grand Prix de Rome," and two years afterwards won the coveted distinction with his opera "Fernand." To a mind constituted as Gounod's was, with his strong religious and artistic instincts, the years' stay at the Villa Medici was the greatest possible advantage, and was in after life one of the warm defenders of a system which enforced term of residence upon those who claimed its greatest distinction. He was two greater masters than himself, Mendelssohn and Berlioz, Gounod appreciated the music of the Italian school, and his first attempts at composition show that he studied it to some purpose. A mass in three parts, with orchestral accompaniment, was performed at San Luigi, Franceschi, on May 1, 1841, and was his first complete work of importance. For the next nine years Gounod lived in Vienna; as in Vienna he had learnt what Palestrina had so in Austria and Germany the greatness of Bach was revealed to him. "Requiem" performed in the Church of St. Charles, in Vienna, on All Saints Day, 1842, had the honour of being highly praised by Mendelssohn. Some of this work were considered worth being incorporated into "Mors et Vita" and one passage into "Faust."

On his return to Paris he became organist to the chapel of the Mission Étrangères, and about the same time went through a course of theol-

apparently with the intention of giving up the priesthood. The strong religious mysticism which he received at this time remained with him through life, and was to be seen in all his more serious works. His first public success was made in 1851, by the performance of four Masses from a mass in G major, at a concert in St. Martin's Hall, on January 1, 1851. This concert provoked a discussion in Paris, that the composer found the public uninterested in him when the time for the production of his first opera, "Sapho" (1851); in April of the same year Mme. Viardot, who had been anxious of obtaining a hearing for him in London, creating the principal part in his opera. In the following year he married one of the daughters of Hermann, the professor of the Conservatoire; he was appointed conductor of the Orchestral Society, a post which he held for eight years, and contributed Masses and incidental music to Ponchielli's "Ulysse." His connection with the choral society resulted in the production of various works, such as Masses and masses, for male voices. At this time he wrote two symphonies, E-flat and D respectively, the first at the Philharmonic in 1866, and the second, under the composer's direction, in 1871. His second grand opera, "Le Roi de Sicile" (1854), founded on Lewis's "Monk," was even less successful than the first.

His first grand opera, "Le Roi de Sicile," was turned to a failure. At the Théâtre Lyrique he produced "Le Médecin malgré lui" (1858) and the immortal "Faust."

The latter was not accepted at first, and its success was only gained, where it at once became a success, was ushered in by a manœuvre of unexampled audacity. The success of "Faust" was immediately followed by the production at the same theatre of "Philémon et Baucis." Originally written for the theatre at Baden, it was expanded into three acts, and ultimately was reduced to two acts, and in this shape it gained great success in Paris and London. "La Reine de Saba" (1862) was a failure at the Grand Opéra;

"Mireille," produced at the Grand Opéra in 1864, was another success in smaller forms of opera; "La Reine de Saba," written for the Baden theatre, was less favourably received, but "Roméo et Juliette" (Lyrique), an unequivocal success was again

achieved. The incidental music to Legouvé's "Les Deux Reines de France" (1872) and to Barbier's "Jeanne d'Arc" (1873) closed what may be called the composer's first dramatic period.

On the death of Clapisson in 1866 Gounod was elected a member of the Institut, and during the Franco-German war he came to London, where for some four years he was a prominent figure in the musical world. A cantata or "lamentation," called "Gallia," was sung at the Albert Hall, on May 1, 1871, and the composer appeared at the Philharmonic and Crystal Palace Concerts, as well as at certain undertakings of his own and Mrs. Weldon's. The lovely "sérénade" set to words taken from Victor Hugo's "Marie Tudor," the cycle called "Blondina," "Le Vallon," "Nazareth," "There is a green hill far away," and perhaps the finest of all his songs, a setting of Tennyson's "Ring out, wild bells," represent different periods of his work, but all are characteristic of the various sides of his power, and were nearly all brought out during his stay in England. His relations with Mrs. Weldon led to a lawsuit which was won by that successful lady litigant, and in 1875 he returned to Paris and at once brought out "Cinq Mars," at the Opéra Comique (1877), a work which suffered from too hasty production; this was followed in 1878 by "Polyeucte" (Grand Opéra), one of his finest compositions, although the libretto was of too serious a kind to please the Paris public. The failure of "Le Tribut de Zamora," his last grand opera (1882), almost coincided with the brilliant success of his oratorio, "The Redemption," written for the Birmingham Festival of that year, and conducted by the composer in person, not without protest on the part of his opponent in the English law courts. Its popularity was checked by the unrelieved monotony of its successor "Mors et Vita," given at the Birmingham Festival in 1885. In Paris neither work found wide acceptance, nor did the long-talked-of mass of "Joan of Arc," performed with much pomp at Rheims in July 1887, obtain much more than a *succès d'estime*. Gounod, besides operas, composed four Masses Solennelles, settings of the Te Deum, &c., and several short orchestral pieces of which the "Funeral March of a Marionette" was the most popular. Latterly he had lived in great seclusion, occupied wholly when able to work with the composition of religious music, and he died October 18, at St.



Cloud, near Paris, in a sort of religious retreat.

**Dhuleep Singh.**—Dhuleep Singh, the son granted in his old age and when on the eve of death to the great Runjeet Singh, was born in 1838. Runjeet Singh died in the following year, and Dhuleep succeeded after an interregnum of four years, during which the nominal authority was exercised by several of his relatives, amidst many intrigues and crimes, with his mother as regent. Notwithstanding the doubts raised as to Dhuleep Singh's parentage, Runjeet Singh and then the British Government recognised him as legitimate. From 1839 to 1845 there was peace between the English and the Sikhs, but an expedition into Afghanistan had produced a feeling that our military strength was not as great as it had been thought, and in 1845 the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej and invaded our territory. A desperate but short campaign ensued. Four battles were fought in less than a month, and the Sikhs were defeated in each of them. Terms were imposed on the defeated at Lahore, the capital of the Punjab. By these Dhuleep Singh was left in possession of his province, and we accepted a considerable share in governing it in his name; but the arrangement was not one that could permanently endure. The queen-mother hated the English, and her elevation of Mulraj, her favourite, to the chief seat in the Council of Regency was the precursor of serious trouble. The storm broke in 1848-9, and the struggle began with the treacherous murder of two English officers at Multan. Although the Sikh army fought with its accustomed bravery, especially at the doubtful battle of Chillianwallah, it was finally overthrown at Gujerat, and in March 1849 the Punjab was finally annexed to British territory. This act entailed the deposition of Dhuleep Singh. A pension of about 40,000*l.* a year was assigned the Maharajah and his dependants. Of his own free will he came to reside in England and adopted the Christian religion. After he came of age, certain sums of money were advanced for the purchase of an estate, and he expended still larger sums in converting Elvedon-hall into one of the best sporting demesnes in the country. The battues he gave there for some years became famous, and were honoured with the presence of royalty. But the expenditure entailed by this mode of living carried its

penalty, and was the direct cause of his constant demands upon the India Office, which at last culminated in an open rupture. In 1864 the Maharajah married a young Christian lady whose face had attracted his notice when he was distributing prizes at a school in Alexandria.

In 1882 Dhuleep Singh's relations with the Indian Government reached a climax. He wrote two letters to the *Times* on his grievances, and in 1885 he presented a formal demand for the settlement of all his claims, basing them on the alleged possession of private estates in the Punjab and on the Koh-i-noor and the great salt mines of Pind Dadan Khan, in the Punjab, being his personal property. On the rejection of this demand he left England and took passage for India, having previously drawn up a proclamation to his Sikh compatriots. After some consideration, the Viceroy decided that it would not be advisable to allow him to appear in India, and on his arrival at Aden an officer met him with the information that he must not proceed to Bombay. For some weeks he remained as a guest at the Residency in the hope that the Viceregal orders would be withdrawn or modified, and during this time he requested that some of his relations might be allowed to come to him from the Punjab to take part in the ceremony of his abjuring Christianity and re-embracing the Sikh faith. Notwithstanding his avowedly seditious designs, his request was granted, and the religious ceremony took place in the Residency. The Resident strongly urged him to leave Aden, as his health was suffering from the climate, but it was not till his life was in danger from the extreme heat that he could be induced to depart. He then returned to Europe. He stayed some time in Russia, where he had great hopes of being taken up by a Government which had patronised the exiled Ameer of Afghanistan, and he wrote several fiery letters denouncing the perfidy of England. Some of these were circulated in the Punjab, where they excited little or no attention. When he found that Russia was not likely to prove a generous paymaster, he retired to Paris, where he lived in retirement on his pension from the Indian Government, which he had for some time refused to accept, and died at a comparatively early age at the Hôtel de la Trémouille in Paris which he had fitted up in a luxurious fashion. The last thing the world heard of him was

he had, on the death of the  
ancee, taken unto himself an  
h wife.

**John Abbott, K.C.M.G.** — John  
Caldwell Abbott was born in  
e in 1821. He was the eldest  
Rev. Joseph Abbott, first An-  
incumbent of Argenteuil, and  
ed an excellent education, chiefly  
e University of McGill College,  
eal. He was called to the bar  
age of 26 and entered immedi-  
upon the legal career by which  
d be most permanently remem-  
and in 1849 married Mary,  
ter of Very Rev. J. Bethune,  
of Montreal. He acted as Soli-  
citor-General in the Macdonald-Sicotte  
ment before confederation, but  
eld office for one year, from May  
o May 1863. He rather shunned  
ought public life, and did some  
s best and most valued work  
nection with the regulation and  
pment of the Canadian banking  
ommercial system. He was the  
of the Insolvent Act of 1864,  
as for several years chairman of  
ommittee of the House of Com-  
on banking and commerce. His  
as a legal authority was also  
ated with higher questions of  
tutional law. He held the posi-  
Dean of the Faculty of Law at  
d university for ten years, and  
the Letellier incident of 1879  
an issue which was at the time  
ed as of first importance in de-  
ing the limits of Federal and  
cial authority in the Dominion.  
bbott was chosen by Sir John  
onald's Government to accom-  
Sir Hector Langevin to England  
representative of Federal rights.  
ew taken by Sir John Macdonald  
hat which was adopted by the  
Government, and Lord Lorne,  
was then Governor-General of  
a, acted on the advice of the  
al Cabinet to remove the Lieu-  
Governor of Quebec. Mr.  
s in this controversy, which es-  
ed the supremacy of the Federal

Government, threw all his energy and  
learning into the Federal scale.

On the formation of the Canadian  
Pacific Railway Mr. Abbott was offered  
the position of standing counsel for  
the railway, a post which he held until  
the completion of the great enterprise  
in 1887, and in which he rendered  
important service. With one interval  
of six years' retirement, he sat con-  
tinuously in the Dominion House of  
Commons since confederation. He  
rendered valuable aid to the Con-  
servative Government in many  
capacities. His ability and judgment  
were held in high esteem by moderate  
men of all parties, and in 1887 Sir  
John Macdonald pressed him to enter  
the Cabinet without portfolio. He  
became a member of the Senate and  
took the position of spokesman for the  
Government in that assembly. It was  
at about the same time that his reputa-  
tion for legal and commercial know-  
ledge caused him to be for two  
successive years chosen almost by  
acclamation Mayor of Montreal. At  
the general elections of 1891, Mr. Abbott  
was active on the Conservative side,  
and within a very few months of the  
triumph of his party Sir John Mac-  
donald's death called him to the  
position of Prime Minister of the  
Dominion, which he took in June of  
1891. The Premiership was first  
offered to Sir John Thompson, who  
did not at that time see his way to  
accept it, and Mr. Abbott was then  
called upon by his colleagues. The  
honour done to him was in no sense  
of his seeking. He took office at a  
moment of great difficulty and fulfilled  
the obligations of his position with the  
sober judgment, the good sense and  
moderation, which his former career  
had given reason to expect; but his  
health suffered severely from the strain,  
and he resigned the position in  
December 1892, and his constitution  
never apparently recovered from the tax  
put upon it. He died at Montreal on  
October 30, having been made a Privy  
Councillor in 1887, and K.C.M.G. just  
a year before his death.

the 1st, at Edgbaston, aged 67, **Rev. Henry William Crosskey, LL.D.** Born  
ves; educated for the Unitarian Ministry, and was appointed, 1848, to the  
ate Chapel, Derby, where he took an active interest in the Public Schools  
ation, promoted by Mr. Cobden and others; transferred to Glasgow, 1852,  
he remained until 1869, when he accepted the pastorate of the New Meet-  
Birmingham. He was a prominent member of the Education League, and  
uently became a member of the Birmingham School Board. On the 1st,  
John's Wood, aged 54, **David Belasco**, professionally known as David James,  
edian, who, as a child, acted at the Princess' Theatre under Mr. Charles  
management. He afterwards joined the Strand Company, 1863-8, in Miss  
orough's Burlesque Company. His great success was at the Vaudeville



Theatre, where he played the part of Perkyn Middlewick in Byron's "Our Boys" for 1,200 nights, and Mr. Jenkins in "Two Roses," Goldfinch in the "Road to Ruin," and in other characters he showed great powers as a humorist. On the 2nd, at Fitzroy Square, London, aged 83, **Dame Elizabeth Eastlake, Elizabeth Rigby**, daughter of a physician at Norwich. Published, 1844, "Letters from the Shores of the Baltic," "Ledian Tales," 1846. She also translated Keyser's "Handbook of Painting"; was the author of the "Life of John Gibson, R.A.," and completed Mr. Jameson's unfinished "History of Our Lord." She was a frequent contributor to the *Quarterly Review* and other periodicals. Married, 1849, Sir Charles Eastlake, P.R.A., Keeper of the National Gallery. On the 2nd, at Harwich, aged 61, **Sir Stevenson Arthur Blackwood, K.C.B.**, Secretary of the General Post Office, eldest son of Arthur Johnstone Blackwood. Appointed Clerk in the Treasury, 1852; sent out as Commissariat Officer to the Crimea, 1854-5; appointed Financial Secretary to the Post Office, 1874, and Principal Secretary, 1886. He was the author of many religious works of the Evangelical school, and was active in many religious and philanthropic movements. Married, 1858, Harriet Sydney, daughter of Conway R. Dobbs, of Castle Dobbs, co. Antrim, and widow of sixth Duke of Manchester. On the 4th, at Fallowfield, Manchester, aged 61, **Mrs. Alexander Ireland**, author of the "Life of Jane Welsh Carlyle" and other works, Annie Elizabeth Nicholson, daughter of Dr. John Nicholson, of Fell Side, Penrith, a distinguished Hebrew and Oriental Scholar. Married, 1865, Mr. Alexander Ireland, of Manchester. On the 5th, at Dublin, aged 81, **Rev. Robert Perceval Graves, LL.D.**, Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal and Vice-Warden of the Alexandra College. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., Classical Gold Medalist, '832; Curate of Windermere, 1835-53; author of "Recollections of Wordsworth," "Life of Wm. Rowan Hamilton," and other works. On the 6th, at Tunbridge Wells, aged 54, **Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph William Fitzgerald**. Joined the 3rd Dragoon Guards, 1857; served subsequently in the Essex Regiment; Secretary of Royal Hibernian Military School, 1881, and Commandant of Duke of York's School, Chelsea, 1887. On the 7th, at Thurso, Caithness-shire, aged 68, **Major-General Thomas Alexander Murray**, youngest son of James Wolfe Murray, of Cringletie, Peeblesshire (Lord Cringletie). Entered Royal Engineers, 1843; Departmental Director of Works, 1867-72. On the 9th, at Paris, aged 94, **Charles Frédéric Cuvier**, a nephew of the naturalist. Chief of the Protestant Department of the Ministry of Worship, 1830-47; Deputy-Governor of the Bank of France, 1852-70. On the 9th, at Maxpoffle, Roxburghshire, aged 66, **Sir John Boyd**, only son of John Boyd, of Maxpoffle. Treasurer of Edinburgh City, 1882-8; Lord Provost, 1888-91, when he refused to preside on the occasion of granting the freedom of the city to Mr. C. S. Parnell, M.P. Married, 1853, Isabella, daughter of John Lawson, of Cairnmuir, N.B. On the 12th, at Scone Palace, N.B., aged 58, **Viscount Stormont, William David Murray**, only son of the Earl of Mansfield. Appointed Lieutenant in Grenadier Guards and served in the Crimea Campaign, and after his retirement devoted himself much to county business, becoming successively Vice-Lieutenant, Commissioner of Supply, and Convener of Perthshire. Married, 1857, Emily Louisa, daughter of Sir John Athole Bannatyne Macgregor of Macgregor. On the 12th, at Berlin, aged 76, **General von Kameke**. Entered the Prussian Engineers, 1834; Captain in the General Staff, 1850; commanded 11th Infantry Regiment, 1861; Chief of the Staff 8th Army Corps, 1863, and of 2nd Army Corps, 1865, distinguishing himself much in the campaign against Austria. In the Franco-German War he commanded 14th Division of Infantry; took part in the battles of Spichern and Gravelotte. After the fall of Metz he was named Chief of the Corps of Engineers investing Paris, and was subsequently commandant of that portion of the capital held by the Germans; succeeded Marshal von Roon as Minister of War, 1874-83. On the 16th, at Fulham, S.W., aged 61, **Charles Bell Birch, A.R.A.**, son of Jonathan Birch. Born at Brixton; educated at the Somerset House School of Design, 1843-5; Berlin Royal Academy, 1845-50; entered the studio of J. H. Foley, R.A., and for ten years was his principal assistant. A sculptor of considerable power, and most successful in his portrait-statues; elected A.R.A., 1860. He was also a draughtsman on wood, and executed a set of designs for the Art Union of London in illustration of Lord Byron's "Lara." On the 17th, at Beaumont College, Old Windsor, aged 74, **Rev. John Henry Wynne, S.J.**, third son of Charles Wynne-Finch, of Voelac, Denbighshire. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and afterwards Fellow of All Souls; joined the Church of Rome and entered the Society of Jesus. The Pope conferred on him the title of a Doctor of Divinity. On the 17th, at Fulbourn Manor, Cambridge, aged 69, **Charles Watson Townley, M.A.**, Lord-Lieutenant of Cam-



bridgeshire, eldest son of Richard Greaves Townley, M.P. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1847; elected Alderman of the Cambridge County Council, 1886. Married, 1851, Georgiana, daughter of Max. D. D. Dalison, of Hampton, Kent. On the 17th, at Torquay, aged 82, **William Francis Splatt**, first Mayor of Torquay, son of John Francis Splatt, of Chudleigh, Devon. Was a merchant at Melbourne, and member of the Legislative Council for Victoria, 1856-9. Married, 1840, Elizabeth Satterley, daughter of Joseph Pynsent, of North Bovey, Devon. On the 18th, at Bexley, Kent, aged 67, **Lieutenant-General John Neptune Sargent, C.B.** Entered 95th Foot (Derbyshire Regiment), 1844; served through the Crimean Campaign; was wounded at the Alma, but as Captain took part in the battle of Inkermann; served in the China War, 1860, and again, 1882-5; appointed Colonel, Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, 1891. Married, 1863, Alice Mary, daughter of Thomas Treadwell, of Norwood. On the 19th, at Lichfield, aged 81, **Colonel Charles Joseph Hadfield**. Joined Royal Marines (L.I.), 1833; served with his brigade before Sebastopol and Krishna. On the 20th, at Scarborough, aged 64, **Hon. Francis Dudley Montagu-Stuart-Wortley**, heir presumptive to the earldom of Wharnccliffe, second son of John, second Baron Wharnccliffe. Called to the bar at the Inner Temple, 1854. Married, 1855, Maria Elizabeth, daughter of William Bennet Martin, of Wasborough Hall, Yorkshire; assumed, 1880, by royal licence, the additional name of Montagu. On the 21st, at Rome, aged 59, **Lord Vivian, G.C.M.G., C.B., Hussey Crespiigny Vivian**, third Baron Vivian, son of second baron. Educated at Eton; appointed, 1851, to a clerkship in the Foreign Office, where he rose in 1869 to be senior clerk, having been frequently engaged in diplomatic missions; Agent and Consul-General at Alexandria, 1873; Consul-General at Bucharest, 1874-5; in Egypt, 1876-7; Minister Resident at Berne, 1879-81; at Copenhagen, 1881-4, and Brussels, 1884-92, when, having in the meanwhile succeeded to his father's title, he was appointed Ambassador at Rome. Married, 1876, Louisa Alice, daughter of Robert George Duff, of Ryde, Isle of Wight. On the 22nd, at Wimbledon, aged 67, **Rev. John Morris, S.J.** Born in India; educated at Harrow, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he spent a few terms, and then joining the Church of Rome, continued his studies at the English College, Rome, of which he became Vice-Rector. On returning to England he was made Canon of Northampton, and Secretary to Cardinal Wiseman. On the death of the latter he joined the Society of Jesus, 1868-9; was well known among English antiquaries, and was the author of several works on the English Reformation, and of a life of St. Thomas à Becket. He was struck down by apoplexy whilst preaching, and died before he could be conveyed to the sacristy. On the 23rd, at Armagh, aged 85, the **Most Rev. Dr. Knox**, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland, Robert Bent Knox, second son of Venerable the Hon. Charles Knox, Archdeacon of Armagh. Educated at Trinity College, Dublin; B.A., 1829; was Chancellor of Ardfer, 1834-41; Prebendary of Limerick, 1841-9; Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, 1849-86, when he was elected Primate. Married, 1842, Catherine Delia, daughter of Thomas G., of Ballyseeda, co. Limerick. On the 23rd, at New York, aged 74, **Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., LL.D.** Born at Corie; educated at Stuttgart, Püdingen, Halle, and Berlin, where he was Lecturer, 1842-4, on Biblical Exegesis; Professor of Theology in the German Reformed Seminary, Mercenbourg, Pennsylvania, United States of America, 1845-63; Secretary of the New York Sabbath Committee, 1864-9, and Lecturer at Hartford, &c. He was an active promoter of the Evangelical Alliance, and a voluminous author of critical and controversial religious works. On the 25th, at Paris, aged 45, **Princess Marguerite d'Orleans**, daughter of the Duc de Nemours, and grand-daughter of Louis Philippe. Born in Paris. Married, 1872, at Chantilly, to Prince Ladislas Czartoryski, son of the Polish exile, Prince Adam Czartoryski. On the 25th, at Norwood, aged 66, **John Lyons M'Leod**. Entered the Royal Navy, 1841; served on the North American and West Indian Stations, 1841-4, when he volunteered for service on the West Coast of Africa, and for his brilliant service in taking the slaver *Venus* was promoted to be Lieutenant, 1845; appointed Consul at Mozambique, 1856-8, and at Lukoja (Niger River), 1866-9; was the author of several books of travel. On the 27th, at Chester, aged 63, **Alfred Rimmer**. Studied as an architect; went to Canada in 1858, and became Danish Consul at Montreal; returned to England, 1870, and collaborated first with Dean Howson on "Chester as it Was," "The River Dee," &c., and alone wrote several books of rambles and antiquarian research, and was an artist of taste and skill. On the 27th, at Capel Manor, Kent, aged 76, **John Francis Austen**, eldest son of Rev. John Austen, Rector of Chavening.



Educated at Christ College, Oxford. Married, first, 1855, Charlotte, daughter of William Tucker, and, second, 1868, Georgiana Frederica, daughter of C. Pearce. On the 30th, at Paris, aged 84, **Karl Bodmer**. Born at Zurich; studied at Paris where he attached himself to the Barbizon School, and was the friend and associate of Troyon, Rousseau, &c. On the 30th, at London, aged 62, **Leonard Benter Seeley**, eldest son of R. B. Seeley, a well-known publisher. Educated privately and at Trinity College, Cambridge; fifth Wrangler and First Class Classics, 1852; Fellow of Trinity, 1855; called to the bar same year; was the author of "Fanny Baring and Her Time," "Horace Walpole and His World," and several other careful studies of eighteenth century life. On the 30th, at St. Mary's Isle, Kirkcudbright, aged 84, **Hon. Charles Hope**, son of fourth Earl of Hopetoun. Educated at Edinburgh University; called to the Scottish bar, 1831; sat as a Conservative for Linlithgowshire, 1838-45; Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man, 1845-60. Married, 1841, Lady Isabella Helen Douglas, daughter and ultimate heiress of fifth Earl of Selkirk.

## NOVEMBER.

### Sir Andrew Clark, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.

—Sir Andrew Clark was descended from a family of farmers who came originally from the Border, and settled at Ednie, near Aberdeenshire, where his father practised as a doctor; but his son was born in Aberdeen, on October 28, 1826. He lost his father when about seven years old, and was brought up under the care of his uncles, being educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and at Edinburgh, where he was highly distinguished as a medical student, and carried off prizes in many subjects. He also gained by examination one of the best bursaries in the University of Aberdeen. After obtaining a qualification he assisted Dr. Hughes Bennett as a pathologist, and also Dr. Robert Knox, under whom he acted for some time as demonstrator of anatomy; and he then entered the medical department of the Royal Navy. After a short period of service afloat, his special knowledge of diseased structure led to his appointment as a pathologist to the Royal Naval Hospital, at Haslar, where he taught the use of the microscope in the investigation of disease. About 1853 he competed successfully for the then newly constituted office of curator to the museum of the London Hospital, with the intention, as it was understood, of confining himself to the study and teaching of pathology. But a vacancy soon occurred among the assistant physicians, and Mr. Clark, yielding to the urgent advice of Mr. Curling, then senior surgeon to the hospital, applied for and obtained the post. After this he took (1854) his doctor's degree at Aberdeen, and settled in London as a practising physician. He was admitted a member of the London College of Physicians in the same or in the following year, and was

elected a Fellow of the college so early as in 1858. In the subsequent thirty-five years he held in succession every office in the college; for, after having been Croonian and Lumsian Lecturer, Councillor, Examiner in Medicine, and Censor, he was elected President in 1888, and was annually re-elected. Among other professional distinctions he had been Lettsomian Lecturer to, and President of, the Medical Society of London, and President of the Clinical and of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Societies. He passed through the usual routine of office at the London Hospital, and, even after he had accepted the retirement of a position on the "consulting" staff, he continued to lecture on clinical medicine. He had to wait for some years before his merits were fully recognised, but he ultimately stepped, almost suddenly, into a leading position in consulting practice. His name was probably brought into public notice by the fact that he was known to be the trusted medical adviser of Mr. Gladstone, and the careful custodian of his health. Universities and scientific bodies were not slow to recognise his claims to distinction. He was made an LL.D. of Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an Honorary Fellow of the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland. In 1883 he was created a baronet. He married first, 1851, Selon Mary Percy, daughter of Capt. Forster, R.N., and second, 1862, Helene Annette, daughter of Alphonse Doxat of Leytonstone. He had been in fair health up to within a short time before his death, and had postponed his usual autumn holiday without apparent strain, but he was suddenly struck down by paralysis whilst engaged in work, and never

rallied, but died on November 6, at his house in Cavendish Square.

**Sir Robert Morier, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.**—Robert Burnett David Morier, the son of Dr. Robert D. Morier, the author of "Hadji Baba," and other novels, was born in 1826, and went up in 1846 to Balliol College, Oxford, where he laid the foundations of a life-long friendship with the late Professor Jowett. And in 1849 he graduated with a second class in classics. In 1857 he was appointed clerk in the Educational Department of the Privy Council, where he remained until October 1852, but in September 1853 he was nominated unpaid attaché at Vienna, whence he was transferred in 1858, as paid attaché, to Berlin.

In the course of his early diplomatic career he resided at Vienna, Berlin, Frankfort, Darmstadt, Stuttgart, and Munich. As a member of special missions he went with Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Elliot to Naples in June 1859, and, as private secretary, with Lord John Russell to Coburg in 1860, when his lordship was in attendance on the Queen. In the following year he married Alice, daughter of Lieutenant-General Rt. Hon. Jonathan Peel. In 1865 he was a member of the mixed commission in Vienna to inquire into the Austrian tariff, as also of the commission subsequently appointed to carry out the provisions of the treaty of commerce with Austria. In complicated questions of German politics, even when they did not properly belong to the post which he held for the moment, he was often consulted privately by the Foreign Office authorities, and he was justly regarded as one of the first authorities on the Schleswig-Holstein question, though the advice which he gave to her Majesty's Government on that subject was not always followed. He himself believed that he was the only Englishman who had ever mastered the labyrinthine complications of that most intricate problem, and that if the advice which he gave privately to the Government had been adopted and acted upon the Danish war of 1864, which had such momentous consequences for Europe, might have been avoided.

At last, in 1876, he was removed from Germany and German politics by being appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the King of Portugal, and in 1881 he was transferred to Madrid. In both of these posts he had important diplo-

matic business to transact, and in both capitals amusing stories are still told of the strong language and strong means of pressure which he adopted when the Portuguese and Spanish Ministers had recourse to the Fabian tactics.

Towards the end of 1884 Sir Robert was promoted to the important post of Ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg, and found there, perhaps for the first time in his career, a field worthy of his great abilities. At that time our relations with Russia were far from being cordial, and the Afghan frontier negotiations, with the unfortunate incident of Penjdeh, brought us within a measurable distance of war. Sir Robert succeeded in inspiring both the Czar and M. de Giers with a belief in his loyalty and his sincere goodwill towards Russia, and at the same time he displayed in the defence of the interests of his own country a vigour and dexterity which commanded respect and admiration. To him was due in no inconsiderable degree the merit of having found a peaceable solution of the difficult and delicate problem. As a recognition of his services he was made a G.C.M.G., in 1886, and a G.C.B., in the following year. He had created for himself a most satisfactory and agreeable position in the official and diplomatic society of St. Petersburg, and his popularity was suddenly increased by an unexpected, and at first very disagreeable incident. For reasons which were never authoritatively explained a virulent attack was made on him in the German press, on the ground that he had, during the Franco-German war, transmitted to the French some important military information of a secret character. The attack proceeded evidently from Prince Bismarck, and naturally produced much astonishment in official circles. Fortunately for the accused, he had at his disposal the means of completely refuting the scandalous accusation. He came out of the discussion triumphantly, and, as Prince Bismarck was at that moment extremely unpopular in Russia, Sir Robert Morier became in St. Petersburg the popular hero of the hour, and received congratulations from distinguished quarters as publicly as was possible consistent with official etiquette.

For some time the state of his health caused serious anxiety to his numerous friends, for he suffered from frequent severe attacks of gout, and his strength was seriously impaired by



a recent attack of influenza, but it was hoped that rest and a change of climate might effectually come to the aid of a naturally robust constitution. Unfortunately the change of climate came too late. In 1891, when the Embassy in Rome became vacant by the appointment of Lord Dufferin to Paris, he requested to be transferred to the vacant post, and the Foreign Office granted his request, but at that moment some difficult diplomatic questions had to be dealt with in St. Petersburg, and the Emperor of Russia, who had a high and sympathetic appreciation of Sir Robert's abilities and character, expressed a hope that he would not abandon a post in which he had powerfully contributed to the maintenance of friendly relations between the two countries. With considerable reluctance, and with full consciousness that he was risking his life in the fulfilment of what he considered a patriotic duty, he consented to remain in St. Petersburg. In the spring of the present year he went to the Crimea to enjoy a milder climate, and afterwards tried Reichenhall, in Bavaria, but his condition gradually became worse, and in accordance with the advice of his medical advisers he removed to Montreux, on the lake of Geneva, with the intention of spending the winter somewhere in the Riviera. His malady assumed however a more aggravated form, and he succumbed at Montreux, on October 16, where he was buried. At the funeral ceremony, celebrated at St. Petersburg in his memory, the Emperor of Russia and the diplomatic body were specially represented.

**Prince Alexander of Bulgaria.**—Prince Alexander Joseph of Battenberg was the second son of Prince Alexander of Hesse, brother of the late Empress of Russia, and of Countess Hauke, the daughter of a Polish General of artillery, who was, previous to her morganatic marriage with Prince Alexander of Hesse, a lady in waiting at the Russian Court. Prince Alexander was born at Verona on April 5, 1857, was educated in Germany, for some time at Getha, and afterwards at the military school at Dresden, and became an officer of dragoons in his native country. During the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-8, he was first inscribed in a Russian lancer regiment, and was afterwards attached to the headquarters of Prince Charles of Roumania; and at the end of the campaign, when a portion of Bulgaria was made into a vassal principality,

according to the Treaty of Berlin, he was recommended by the Russian Government to the Bulgarians as their prince. At that time a recommendation from the Czar Liberator was regarded by the Bulgarians as an order which could not be disobeyed or evaded, and the young prince had many personal qualities to recommend him for the post. At a meeting of the assembly of notables held at Tirnovo on April 29, 1879, he was elected by acclamation, and on July 6 of the same year he made his entry into Sofia, which was to be the capital of his principality, but which was at that time little more than a big Turkish village, abandoned by most of the Mussulman inhabitants.

No sooner had he taken possession of his post than he began to perceive that the vast majority of his subjects were inert, giving no symptom of political consciousness or activity except at the bidding and under the guidance of the wire-pullers. Most of these had been small traders, or schoolmasters, or Turkish officials, or doctors, or lawyers, or students fresh from Robert College, but they were determined to get as much political power as possible into their own hands, and they were greatly assisted in this design by an extremely democratic written constitution which left to the prince very little freedom of action. At once the political parties, calling themselves Conservatives and Liberals, were formed, and the prince found that good administration was regarded as secondary to party interests. He naturally fretted under this régime, and at the end of two years he suspended the constitution, and obtained from a packed National Assembly, specially convened for the purpose, autocratic powers for a term of years. The experiment was unpopular and the new arrangements did not work well; nor were the difficulties by any means lessened by the appointment of the Russian General Scobelev as Minister of the Interior, the War portfolio being held by another Russian, Baron Kaulbars. Though the Russian Government was probably desirous of maintaining the *status quo* in Bulgaria, its local representatives acted so injudiciously that they brought about a crisis, and they so irritated the prince that he determined to get rid of their interference by coming to terms with the native politicians. A reconciliation was easily effected on the basis of the re-establishment of the constitution, and the two Russian generals

had attempted to carry things a high hand had to leave the imperiality.

During the next two years—from summer 1883 to September 1885—the breach rapidly widened. Russia created Bulgaria for the purpose of giving a firm footing in the Balkan peninsula, and it was expected that prince and people of Bulgaria, enjoying a large measure of autonomy in domestic affairs, would consent to take their orders from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. By a mismanagement an anti-Russian movement was produced among a section of Bulgarian officers, and this movement was undoubtedly fostered by Alexander, who was smarting under what he considered unmerited slights and humiliations; and his attitude towards those aimed at creating a big Bulgaria, his approval of the Philippopolis revolution in September 1885, were indices of his hostility to Russian intentions. Without consulting the Russian Government, he accepted the union of Eastern Roumelia with the principality, and prepared to do the *fait accompli* by force of arms against all comers. The Czar, to mark displeasure, at once recalled all the Russian officers in the Bulgarian army, Alexander, nothing daunted, determined to fight, if necessary, without assistance.

The first chief danger seemed to come from the eastern frontier, where Russian troops were being collected for the evident intention of invading the province. The intended invasion was postponed by the diplomatic action of the Powers in Constantinople; while the bulk of the Bulgarian forces were still collected near the eastern frontier, the principality was only attacked on the west by the Serbians, who maintained that, by the union of Eastern Roumelia with the principality, the balance of power in the Balkan Peninsula was disturbed to their detriment. The position was critical, for the Serbian army was advancing rapidly on Sofia, whilst Bulgarian forces were at the other end of the country; but the prince and his officers showed themselves equal to the occasion. Pushing forward rapidly by forced marches they defeated the Serbians at *Bitol*, and they would in all probability have occupied Belgrade if a victorious march had not been checked by an ultimatum from Austria. In this brief campaign Alexander estab-

lished for himself a considerable military reputation.

The blow aimed by Serbia was thus successfully parried, and soon afterwards, thanks chiefly to the diplomatic ability and pertinacity of the British Ambassador, Sir William White, the danger from the side of Turkey was also removed; but Prince Alexander had so completely compromised himself in the eyes of Russia that she could no longer tolerate his presence on the throne of Bulgaria. The insubordinate vassal who had shown himself ready even to form an offensive and defensive alliance with the Sultan, if the independence of Bulgaria could be thereby defended against Russia, must be removed. A plot was hatched in the Russian Consulate at Sofia, and on the night of August 21, 1886, the prince was arrested in his palace by a band of his own officers, hurried off in a carriage to the Danube, put on board a steamer, and landed at Reni in Russian territory. The conspirators expected that the Czar would arrest him, but they were disappointed, and a still greater disappointment awaited them. No sooner had the news of the kidnapping reached Tirnovo, where M. Stamboloff, then President of the Chamber, was residing, than he put himself at the head of a counter movement and brought back the prince in triumph. His Highness, however, had been so unnerved by the kidnapping incident, and so disgusted at finding that many of the officers whom he had trusted implicitly had taken part in the conspiracy, that he was no longer anxious to remain on the throne, and in a moment of weakness, without consulting M. Stamboloff, he telegraphed to the Czar, placing the matter in his hands. At the same time he received, it is said, a hint from Berlin that he must expect no support from that quarter. He then conceived the idea of retiring for a time without abdicating, but to this M. Stamboloff objected, insisting that he must either remain or give up all rights to the throne. In view of the imminent danger of a Russian occupation, he chose the latter course, and left for ever his adopted country, fulfilling the sinister prediction of Prince Bismarck at the time of his nomination that his occupying the throne of Bulgaria would be, for him at least, an interesting *souvenir de jeunesse*.

From the moment of his abdication his attitude towards Bulgaria was always most loyal and correct, and the Bulgarians showed their appreciation



of this conduct and of the services previously rendered by voting him an annuity and by many unofficial marks of affection and respect. He married a young actress of considerable merit, Mlle. Loisinger, and settled down quietly as Count Hartenau in Austria, having received a command in the Austrian army. He resided chiefly at Gratz, and it was here just as he was starting for a shooting expedition in Hungary that he was suddenly taken ill and died in four and twenty hours, on November 17, without having rallied from the first attack.

**Lord Ebury.**—Robert Grosvenor, third son of the first Marquess of Westminster, was born on April 24, 1801, and was the oldest member of the House of Lords. He was also far the oldest Privy Councillor, having been a member of that body some years when the Queen came to the throne. Educated at Westminster and at Christ Church, he entered the House of Commons as Whig member for Shaftesbury in 1822, a seat which he held for four years. From 1826 to 1847 he represented the city of Chester, and from 1847 to 1857 the county of Middlesex. On Lord Grey becoming Prime Minister in the autumn of 1830, Lord Ebury, then Lord Robert Grosvenor, became Comptroller of the Household, and in Lord John Russell's Ministry of 1864 he resumed office as Treasurer of the Household and Groom of the Stole to the Prince Consort. Eleven years later he received, on the recommendation of Lord Palmerston, the honour of a peerage, taking his seat in the Upper House as Lord Ebury. As a politician Lord Ebury filled no considerable space in the events of recent years, though he never disguised his hostility to Mr. Gladstone's recent Irish policy and voted against the Home Rule Bill. He was much more concerned with matters of philanthropic and religious interest, in which he was frequently associated with the late Lord Shaftesbury, and was zealous for the principles of the old Evangelical party in the Church of England. He held firmly by the opinion that the existing law was inadequate for the suppression of ritualistic practices, and his efforts were directed to obtaining a revision of the Book of Common Prayer. He took a leading part in 1853 to procure by statute a stricter observance of Sunday liquor traffic, but the bill produced one of the earliest demonstrations in Hyde Park, which at that time was much frequented by

drivers in carriages and fashionable crowds. The bill was dropped and the Park became forsaken by its previous frequenters. Lord Ebury, who lived for the most part during his later years at Moor Park near Watford, died in London on November 18, after a very short illness. He married in 1831 the Hon. Charlotte Wellesley, sister of the first Earl Cowley, who predeceased him by two years.

**Sir Alexander Cunningham.**—General Sir Alexander Cunningham, K.C.I.E., son of Allan Cunningham the Scottish poet, one of the most distinguished archaeologists, died on November 23, at his house in South Kensington, in his eightieth year. Born in 1814, he entered Addiscombe in 1829 and left it in 1831, as second lieutenant of the Bengal engineers. On his arrival in India he served in various executive posts. After acting for some time as aide-de-camp to Lord Auckland he married, in 1840, Alice, daughter of Marten Whish, and for the next twenty years held responsible positions as a constructor of public works and in various campaigns. At the battle of Panniar, in 1843, he had the pleasure of turning the Maratha guns against their owners. In 1846, during the Sikh campaign, he won distinction as a field engineer, and his rapid bridging of the Beas by boats formed one of the brilliant feats of the war. For the next two years he was employed on difficult boundary demarcations with Chinese Tibet, and on the breaking out of the second Sikh war he was appointed field engineer with the army of the Punjab. Engaged both at Chilliawalla and at Gujarat, honourably mentioned in despatches, and doing excellent work in charge of the pontoon train, he emerged a brevet-major at the age of thirty-five from the hard-fought series of actions which gave us the dominions of the Sikhs. Cunningham's active soldiering now gave place to important administrative work. As chief engineer in Burma, he earned the thanks of the Government of India, and was chosen in 1858 for the then extremely difficult position of chief engineer of the North-western Provinces, just emerging from the administrative confusion left behind by the mutiny. After thirty years' service, he resigned the chief engineership of the North-western Provinces with a view to retiring into private life. Meanwhile, however, Cunningham had become famous in quite another line from that of his official duties. His

observations and inquiries as Boundary Commissioner (1846-47) on the Tibetan frontier had been embodied in two monographs: "The Temples of Kashmir" and "Ladakh, Physical, Statistical and Historical." In December 1861, the Viceroy entrusted him with an archaeological survey of India. His unpublished accumulations now enabled him to issue four volumes of archaeological reports. From that time, with a short interruption, until his final retirement in 1885, almost every year produced results and discoveries of capital importance to the ancient history and geography of India. His explorations brought to light the buried framework of ancient Indian history. His identifications of early cities and sites would alone have entitled him to the gratitude of Oriental scholars throughout the world. It is

not too much to say that those identifications, although in some cases corrected or rendered doubtful by later research, are essential to any real knowledge of the India of the Brahmans, the Buddhists, and the Greeks. His "Ancient Geography of India" (1871) marshalled in a systematic plan the whole cycle of modern discovery bearing on the Buddhist and Greek periods. As lately as 1892 he published his magnificent work on Gaya. As a collector of Indian coins and antiquarian objects he stood first during a third of a century. In certain departments, as in the coins of the ancient Indian States, of the Indo-Sassanian dynasties, and of the White Huns, &c., experts pronounced his collection to be unequalled by any cabinet in the world, not excepting the British Museum itself.

On the 1st, at South Bersted, Sussex, aged 60, **Major-General Sir Christopher Teesdale, C.B., V.C.** Educated at Woolwich; served in the Royal Artillery, 1851-92; was Aide-de-Camp to Major-General Sir Fenwick Williams during the siege of Kars, 1854-5, when he greatly distinguished himself; Equerry to the Prince of Wales, 1858, to the Queen, 1877; Master of the Ceremonies, 1890. On the 1st, at Cracow, aged 55, **Johann Matejko**, an eminent Polish painter, chiefly of historical subjects. On the 2nd, at Woolbeding Park, Sussex, aged 72, **Lady Lanerton, Diana**, daughter of Hon. Geo. Ponsonby. Married, 1842, Hon. Edward G. G. Howard, fourth son of sixth Earl of Carlisle, created Lord Lanerton, 1874. On the 2nd, at Rome, aged 72, **Cardinal Carlo Laurenzi**, formerly Bishop of Amola. Created Cardinal *in pectus*, 1880; Cardinal Priest of the Sacred College, 1884. On the 2nd, at West Kensington, aged 90, **Rev. Robt. Redpath**, the oldest minister of the United Presbyterian Church. Born at Fairbridge, near Selkirk; educated at Glasgow and the University of Edinburgh, where he was Greek prizeman of his year; ordained, 1827; held a charge at Edenshead, Fife, 1827-30, when he came to London as minister of the Presbyterian Church, Wells Street, Oxford Street, 1830-71. On the 3rd, at Dartford, Kent, aged 75, **Hannah Palmer**, eldest daughter of John Linnell, the painter. Married, 1843, Samuel Palmer, whom she aided much in his work as an artist. On the 4th, at Paris, aged 65, **General Prince Paul de Beaufremont**, et du Saint Empire. A French cavalry officer who distinguished himself in Mexico and in the Franco-Prussian War at Sedan. Married, 1861, Valentine de Riquet, Comtesse de Caraman Chimay, from whom he was divorced. On the 4th, at Paris, aged 66, **Jacques Tirard**. Born at Geneva, of French parents; educated as an engineer; came to Paris, 1851, and shortly afterwards started in business as a wholesale engineer; during the siege he was elected mayor of one of the districts; elected to the National Assembly, 1871, where he voted with the Left, having meanwhile refused to sit on the Commune; Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, 1879-82, and of Finance, 1882-3, in several successive Cabinets; Premier, 1887; Mayor in 1889-90, and Minister of France, 1892. He was a staunch Free-Trader. On the 4th, at Ashley Place, aged 75, **Charles Mathew Clode, C.B.**, son of George J. Clode of London. Admitted Solicitor, 1839; called to the bar at the Inner Temple, 1862; Solicitor to the War Office, 1858-76, and Legal Secretary, 1876-80; author of the "Military Forces of the Crown." On the 4th, at St. Petersburg, aged 53, **Peter Ilitsch Tchaikowsky**, a distinguished musician and composer, son of an engineer in the Imperial Mines. Born at Wotkinsk; educated at the School of Jurisprudence at St. Petersburg; appointed to a post in the Ministry of Justice, 1859; entered the Conservatoire of Music, 1862-5; studied under Zarembo and Rubinstein; Professor of Harmony, &c., at Moscow, 1866-78, when he devoted himself wholly to composition. On the 8th, at London, aged 63, **Colonel John Henry Randall, C.B.**, third son of Venerable Archdeacon Randall. Educated at Winchester; entered Commissaire Department, 1853; served in Crimean Campaign, 1855-6, and Egyptian Campaign, 1882. Married, 1860, Alice, daughter of A. R. Morgan. On the 8th, at Rome, aged 50, **Signor Genala**,



Minister of Public Works; was as a soldier, 1859-71, engaged in all the wars for Italian Unity, when he turned to professional and political life, and represented Crenona from 1882; was Professor of International Law and Minister of Public Works under Signor Depretis, 1890-1. On the 9th, at Atwell Park, Blaydon-on-Tyne, aged 69, **Sir Henry Augustus Clavering**, tenth bart. Served in the Royal Navy. Married, 1853, Christina, daughter of Prof. Alexander of St. Andrews. On the 10th, at Teddington, aged 69, **Lieutenant General George Courtney Vials, C.B.**, youngest son of Rev. Thomas Vials, of Twickenham. Entered the army, 1843; served with 95th Regiment in the Crimea, 1854, severely wounded, and the Indian Mutiny with great distinction, 1857-8. Married, 1850, Sophie Louisa, youngest daughter of Sir Henry T. Oakes, third baronet. On the 10th, at Harvard, Massachusetts, United States of America, aged 76, **Dr. Herman August Hagen**, an eminent entomologist. Born at Königsberg, Prussia, where he was educated, and graduated in 1840, and subsequently practised medicine there, 1843-63, side by side with his scientific studies; appointed Assistant in Entomology at Museum, and in 1870 Professor of Entomology in Harvard University. On the 11th, at Boston, Massachusetts, United States of America, aged 70, **Francis Parkman**. Born at Boston; graduated at Harvard, 1844, and for two years studied law, when he set out to explore the Rocky Mountains, making friends with the Dakota and other Indians. On his return he wrote an account of his adventures, and attained high position as a writer; frequently visited Europe to prosecute his historical researches; was Professor of Horticulture at the Agricultural School at Harvard, 1871-2. His historical works cover nearly the whole of the eighteenth century. On the 12th, at Munich, aged 80, the **Baroness Tantphæus**, authoress of "Initials," "Quits," &c., Jemima, elder daughter of James Montgomery, of Sea View, co. Donegal. Married, 1838, Cajetan, Baron Tantphæus, of Schloss, Margardstein, Chamberlain to King of Bavaria. On the 13th, at Glasgow, aged 84, **Rev. Principal James Morison, D.D.**, the founder of the Evangelical Union Church of Scotland on his expulsion for Arminian doctrines from the United Presbyterian Church in 1843. At Tenakill, Queen's County, aged 70, **Richard Lalor**, son of Patrick Lalor, M.P. Educated privately as civil engineer and tenant farmer; sat as a Nationalist member for Queen's County, 1880-92. Married, 1852, Margaret, daughter of Michael Dunne, of Mountrath. On the 16th, at Aixbrouck, near Bruges, Belgium, aged 70, **Sir John Louis**, third baronet of Chelston, Devon, eldest son of Thomas Louis. Entered the Bombay army, 1854; retired as Lieutenant-Colonel, 1873. Married, first, 1854, Fanny Anne, daughter of J. Bland, of Balmah Hall, Norfolk, and, second, 1873, Charlotte Minnie, daughter of Major William Anderson, 2nd West India Regiment; succeeded his grandfather, 1863. On the 16th, at Perth, Western Australia, aged 64, **Right Rev. Henry Hutton Parry, D.D.**, Bishop of Perth, son of Dr. Parry, Bishop of Barbadoes. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1831; returned at once to the West Indies, and was Curate at Trinidad, 1851-5; Tutor of Codrington College, Barbadoes, 1855-60; Archdeacon of Barbadoes, 1860-8; Bishop Coadjutor of Barbadoes, 1860-76, when he was translated to Perth, Western Australia. On the 17th, at Richmond, Surrey, aged 74, **Colonel Alfred Henry Pascoe**. Entered the Royal Marines, 1854, and served in the Baltic, 1854-6, and through the China War, 1856-8, and saw much service on board H.M.S. *Amethyst*, and afterwards on the coast of Chili and Mexico. On the 18th, at Papplewick Hall, Notts, aged 71, **Henry Fraser Walter**, second son of John Walter, of Bearwood, and chief proprietor of the *Times* newspaper. Educated at Eton and Exeter College, Oxford; B.A., 1843; was manager from 1846 of the Faversham paper mills, and a colliery proprietor. Married, 1846, Isabella Catherine, daughter of John Dawson, shipowner, of London. On the 19th, at Stevenage, aged 78, **John Bailey Denton**, a distinguished agricultural engineer, son of Samuel Denton, of Gray's Inn. In early life he had been associated with Mr. Brassey and Mr. Lock in the construction of the Great Northern, and the London and South-western, Midland and other railways, and was the surveyor in connection with the enclosure of Rockingham Forest and other spaces in the Midlands. Married, 1842, Martha, daughter of John Lee. On the 20th, at Ulster Terrace, Regent's Park, N.W., aged 87, **George Alexander Osborne**. Born at Limerick; lived in Paris, 1826-43, and was one of the most accomplished pianists of his time. He subsequently devoted himself to composition, "La Pluie de Perles" being one of his most popular works. He was the intimate friend of Chopin and Berlioz. On the 22nd, at Viroqua, Wisconsin, U.S.A., aged 63, **Jeremiah M'Lain Rusk**. First Secretary of Agriculture of the United States; began life as a stage driver at the age of twelve; with his savings started in 1853 as a farmer in Wisconsin; served through the Civil War as Major of 25th Wisconsin Infantry;

Bank Comptroller of the State, 1866-70, and served two terms as member of Congress. In 1881 he was appointed Minister to Uruguay but declined the appointment, and was elected Governor of Wisconsin on two occasions, and when the Bureau of Agriculture was raised to a Cabinet post, Governor Rusk was appointed by President Harrison in response to a general demand. On the 23rd, in Western Australia, aged 67, **Sir Edward Poore**, third baronet. Lieutenant, Scots Fusilier Guards, 1844-7. Married, 1851, Frances Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. H. R. Moody, Rector of Chartham. On the 24th, at Stafford House, St. James', aged 41, **Earl of Cromartie, Francis Mackenzie**, second son of third Duke of Sutherland. Succeeded his mother as second earl by special remainder. Married, 1876, Hon. Lillian Janet, daughter of fourth Baron Macdonald. On the 24th, at London, aged 83, **William Courtney**, eldest son of Rev. Septimus Courtney, of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Vicar of St. Charles the Martyr, Plymouth. Educated at Haileybury; entered the Bombay Civil Service as a Writer, 1829, and subsequently became Resident at Guzerat and Baroda, 1837-45; Postmaster-General of Bombay, 1845-50; Collector at Pronat, 1850-5, when he retired as Chief Secretary to the Political Department. On the 24th, at Bournemouth, aged 38, **Frederick le Poer Trench**. Called to the bar, 1868; Crown Solicitor for Galway, 1873-8; member of the Commission appointed to inquire into the Belfast riots. Married, 1878, Sarah, eldest daughter of Venerable Archdeacon Crampton, of Aughtim, King's Co. On the 25th, at Cadogan Place, S.W., aged 70, **Henry Wyndham West, Q.C.**, son of Martin John West, Recorder of Lynn. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., 1844; called to the bar at the Inner Temple, 1848; Recorder of Scarborough, 1858-65, when he was made Recorder of Manchester; Attorney-General of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1861; sat as a Liberal for Ipswich, 1868-74, and again from 1883-6. Married, 1870, Violet Kathrine Hamilton, daughter of Walter Fred. Campbell, of Islay, N.B. On the 25th, at Oxford, aged 64, **Kenelm Thomas Digby**, only surviving son of Kenelm Henry Digby, author of the "Broadstone of Honour," &c. Educated at Stonyhurst; represented Queen's Co. as a Liberal, 1868-74, and as a Home Ruler, 1874-80. Married, 1870, daughter of Hon. Wm. Groesteck, of Cincinnati, U.S.A. On the 25th, at Ostend, aged 67, **Sir Henry Wrixon-Becher**, second baronet of Castle Hyde, Creagh, co. Cork. Educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford; entered the Rifle Brigade. Married, 1878, Florence Elizabeth Hannah, daughter of Frederick John Walker, of Bathwick Priory. On the 27th, at Ballikinrain, N.B., aged 75, **Sir Archibald Orr Ewing**, first baronet, eldest son of Wm. Ewing, of Glasgow. Educated at Edinburgh University; was the largest turkey-red dyer and printer in the United Kingdom; Ensign in Royal Scottish Archers; sat as a Conservative for Dumbar-tonshire, 1868-92. Married, 1847, Elizabeth Lindsay, daughter of James Reid, of Caldercruix, Lanark. On the 27th, at Chelsea, aged 64, **Captain the Hon. Henry Weyland Chetwynd, R.N.**, third son of sixth Viscount Chetwynd. Entered the navy, 1843; served during the Russian War in the Baltic and the Crimea as Lieutenant of H.M.S. *Sphinx*; Inspecting Officer of Coast Guard, 1862-9; Captain, H.M.S. *Winchester*, naval reserve drill ship, 1869-73; Inspector of life-boats, 1883. Married, 1858, Julia Bosville, daughter of Duncan Davidson, of Tulloch, N.B. On the 27th, at Wedderburn Castle, Duns, N.B., aged 77, **Right Hon. Sir John Hay Drummond Hay, G.C.M.G., K.C.B.**, son of Captain Edward Drummond Hay. Educated at Charterhouse, and entered the diplomatic service; was paid attaché at Constantinople, 1840-4; was sent to Morocco as Agent and Consul-General, 1845, and during forty years was the adviser not only of the British but of the Morocco Government in their relation with European countries, raising the post he held to that of a Minister Plenipotentiary. Married, 1845, Annette, daughter of M. Cazytensen, of Copenhagen, Privy Councillor to the King of Denmark. On the 28th, at Highgate, aged 41, **Talbot Baines Reed**, a popular writer for boys, and son of Sir Charles Reed. Educated at the City of London School, and for some time managed his father's business of a type-founder. Married, 1889, Marian, daughter of S. M. Greer, M.P. for Londonderry. On the 29th, at Stapleton Rectory, Shrewsbury, aged 59, **Rev. the Hon. Charles William Alexander Feilding**, third son of seventh Earl of Denbigh. Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1856; Rector of Stapleton, 1863. Married, first, 1866, Lucy, fourth daughter of John Grant, of Kilgraston, Perthshire, and, second, 1882, Emily Margaret, daughter of Edward C. Egerton, M.P.



## DECEMBER.

**Professor Tyndall.**—John Tyndall, born in 1820 at the village of Leighton-  
 Bridge, near Carlisle, although the son  
 of a poor tradesman, disinherited on  
 account of his opinions, claimed descent  
 from William Tyndall, the first trans-  
 lator of the Bible into English. Poor  
 as his father was, he kept his son at  
 school until his nineteenth year, when  
 he left with a sufficient knowledge of  
 mathematics to qualify for the post of  
 Civil Assistant on the Ordnance Survey  
 of Ireland. He remained in this em-  
 ployment for five years, in order to  
 complete his education as a civil en-  
 gineer. In 1844, as he was on the  
 point of emigrating to America, he  
 obtained employment with a Man-  
 chester firm on certain railway works.  
 He had, however, already taken up  
 the study of natural science, and was  
 so drawn away by it from his original  
 pursuits that in 1847 he accepted a  
 post at Queenswood College, Hants,  
 where Dr. Frankland was chemist.  
 In 1848 they went together to the  
 University of Marburg, in Hesse-Cassel,  
 to work under Bunsen, to whom Tyndall  
 said he owed obligations never to  
 be forgotten. Here also he studied  
 mathematics and attended lectures,  
 and carried on researches in physics  
 under Gerling and Knoblauch, and  
 ultimately took his degree of doctor.  
 Tyndall subsequently worked in the  
 laboratory of Magnus, of Berlin, and  
 there he became the friend of some  
 of the greatest scientific men of the  
 day. In 1850 he first made Faraday's  
 acquaintance by calling upon the great  
 master at the Royal Institution with  
 one of his papers. In 1851 he accom-  
 panied Professor Huxley to the meeting  
 of the British Association at Ipswich,  
 and thus commenced a close friend-  
 ship which lasted to the end. Dr.  
 Bence Jones heard of Tyndall in Berlin,  
 and, always alert in the promotion of  
 science, and in aiding those who pur-  
 sued it, had him invited, in 1853, to  
 give a Friday evening lecture at the  
 Royal Institution. Soon afterwards,  
 on the proposal of Faraday, Tyndall  
 was appointed Professor of Physics in  
 the institution, with which he remained  
 connected in this capacity, and subse-  
 quently, on the death of Faraday, as  
 Resident Director, until his retirement  
 in 1887.

Tyndall's name will for long be as-  
 sociated with the Swiss Alps. He was  
 one of the earliest mountaineers whose

exploits subsequently made those moun-  
 tains the playground of Europe. His  
 first visit was in 1849, and his second  
 in 1856, in company with Professor  
 Huxley, and from that time onwards  
 he regularly returned to Switzerland,  
 ultimately building himself a chalet  
 on the Bel Alp overlooking the Aletsch  
 Glacier. Between 1856 and 1862 he  
 ascended Mont Blanc three times; in  
 1858 he ascended Monte Rosa alone,  
 and made several fruitless attempts to  
 scale the Matterhorn. He was in-  
 tensely interested in the various prob-  
 lems connected with ice; so much so  
 that he visited Chamounix at Christ-  
 mas, 1859, and, amid circumstances of  
 the most trying kind, succeeded in  
 taking a series of measurements of the  
 rate of motion of the Mer de Glace.  
 As will be seen in his "Forms of  
 Water," his researches on ice, both in  
 the Alps and in his laboratory in Albe-  
 marle Street, were long continued and  
 of the most varied character, pregnant  
 with important results to science. In  
 connection with Tyndall's researches  
 on glaciers an unhappy controversy  
 arose with Principal Forbes, who was  
 also early attracted to Switzerland,  
 and the divergence of the two trav-  
 ellers' theories was so great as to  
 produce a rift in their friendly rela-  
 tions.

In earlier years, at Marburg with  
 Dr. Knoblauch, and afterwards, he de-  
 voted much time to researches on  
 magnetism, in which also he achieved  
 results of permanent value. He, like  
 other scientific men of the time, was  
 fired by Faraday's wonderful experi-  
 ments. But, indeed, as the pages of  
 the *Philosophical Transactions* and of  
 his own numerous works show, Tyndall's  
 researches embraced a wide circle  
 of subjects in physics—light, heat,  
 sound, electricity. Early in his career  
 at the Royal Institution he undertook  
 a series of researches on the cleavage  
 of slate rocks, which led him to im-  
 portant conclusions. In all that he  
 undertook he was able to do good work  
 for science and for the service of  
 humanity. A long series of researches,  
 for example, on the atmosphere as a  
 vehicle for sound were undertaken  
 with a view to the establishment of  
 fog signals on our coasts. For some  
 years, indeed, he was scientific adviser  
 to the Board of Trade and the Light-  
 house Authorities; but that position  
 he resigned in 1883, mainly because he

declared that the important work in connection with lighthouses was not being carried out in honest compliance with the discoveries of science. Quite equal in importance to his work in this direction and to his researches in electricity were his long series of investigations on heat, which he carried out in the Royal Institution. On this subject he published several memoirs, and embodied many of the results in his work on "Heat as a Mode of Motion." These researches branched out ultimately into a variety of directions, among others into an examination of the nature of the dust particles that fill the atmosphere, some of the conclusions being embodied in his famous Royal Institution lecture, in January 1870, on "Dust and Disease."

Among other public appointments held by Tyndall early in his career was that of Examiner under the Council for Military Education, to which he was appointed in 1855. He conceived, most probably with justice, that the particular department of which he had charge did not receive fair play at the hands of the council, and expressed his views openly in a letter to the *Times*. This step naturally drew down an official reprimand, but justice and good sense were so obviously on Tyndall's side, that the council were afraid to follow up by dismissal his refusal to apologise. His independence and carelessness of mere worldly gain was further shown in his presentation of 13,000 dols., the net proceeds of a lecturing tour in the United States, to three American Universities for the purpose of scientific research.

Prof. Tyndall was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1853, and subsequently honours of various kinds were showered upon him by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh; at the last place he received the degree of LL.D. on the same occasion that Carlyle delivered his rectorial address. In 1876 Tyndall married Louisa, eldest daughter of Lord Claude Hamilton. His death, which happened under very distressing circumstances at his house in Hind Head, near Haslemere, occurred on December 4. It was the result of the inadvertent administration of an overdose of chloral, of which he had been prescribed the use for insomnia and rheumatism, the former ailment having been of long standing.

**Right Hon. Edward Stanhope.**—Edward Stanhope, second son of the fifth

Earl Stanhope, the historian, was born on September 24, 1840, and after having passed through Harrow School, entered at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated in 1862, having obtained a first-class in mathematics at moderations, and an honorary fourth-class in the final classical school. He was elected a Fellow of All Souls', 1862, and in 1865 was called to the bar at the Inner Temple, and commenced practice at the Parliamentary bar with every prospect of making a large income. In 1874, however, he renounced his professional life, and entered Parliament as Conservative member for Mid-Lincolnshire. In November 1875 he was appointed by Mr. Disraeli Secretary to the Board of Trade, which post he held until 1878, when he was transferred as Under Secretary to the India Office, and remained there until the fall of the Conservative Cabinet in 1880. He remained with his party in Opposition until 1885, when for about three months he held the post of Vice-President of Council, but in August of that year he was advanced to be President of the Board of Trade and a seat in the Cabinet. On the formation of Lord Salisbury's second Administration in July 1886, Mr. Stanhope was first appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, but in January 1887 he was transferred to the War Office. In the former department he took an active part in the formation of the Imperial Federation League, and at the latter his name will be prominently associated with the improvement of the conditions under which private soldiers performed their home service—rations were improved, barracks rebuilt, and their insanitary scandals swept away. He was a fluent speaker, and a courteous opponent and an untiring worker with many of the habits of a permanent official. He married, 1870, Lucy Constance, daughter of Rev. Thomas Egerton, and died on December 22 at Chevening, Sevenoaks, the ancestral home of the family, from an attack of gout, which suddenly and without warning affected the heart.

**Dean Merivale.**—Charles Merivale was a son of Mr. J. H. Merivale, of Barton Place, Devon, the author of the famous reports of Lord Eldon's time, and who afterwards became a commissioner of bankrupts. Born in 1808, Charles Merivale went to Harrow and subsequently to Haileybury, whence he proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge. At the university



he was known not only as a good scholar, but as a good oarsman, and rowed in the first boat race in 1829 against Oxford. He was fourth classic in 1830—the senior being Christopher Wordsworth, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln—and a senior optime in the Mathematical Tripos. He was elected to a fellowship at St. John's, of which he afterwards became tutor; and in 1836-7 was one of the examiners for the Classical Tripos. Mr. Merivale was ordained deacon in 1833, and priest in 1834, by the then Bishop of Ely, and, after a long residence in the university, was in 1848 presented by his college to the living of Lawford in Essex, where he remained for more than twenty years.

The fruits of his leisure in the retirement of a country parish soon appeared in the form of a "History of the Romans under the Empire," the first volume of which appeared in 1850 and which occupied him until 1862. Within a few years of its completion the history was translated both into Italian and into German. He was Boyle Lecturer in 1864 and 1865, and the subjects of the two series were the "Conversion of the Roman Empire" and the "Conversion of the Northern Nations." He also wrote a short history of the "Fall of the Roman Republic," published in 1853; a "General History of Rome" from the foundation of the city to the fall of Augustulus, A.D. 476; a shorter school history, which is an abridgment of the general history, published in 1879, and also a little volume in the series of Epochs of Ancient History, on the Roman Triumvirates, published in 1876. In 1879 he delivered four lectures in Ely Cathedral on "Some Epochs of Early Church History." He also edited with notes the "Jugurtha" and "Catiline" of Sallust. Merivale was more of a student and scholar than of a Churchman, and few of his sermons are published. He was not eloquent, and had no taste for controversy, and exclusive of the Boyle lectures and the Hulsean lectures delivered at Cambridge in 1861, few of his sermons were printed.

He was a master of Latin, an excellent classical scholar of the old school, and his Latin composition, especially in verse, was vigorous and idiomatic; indeed, his devotion to Latin was almost exclusive. It was not merely that the bent of his mind was mainly historical, and that his efforts were, necessarily in so wide a field, concentrated for the most part on a particular period, but that his

lighter efforts also were exclusively in Latin. In addition to the Latin verse prizes which he won at Cambridge, he contributed many graceful specimens in a great variety of metres to the "Arundines Cami."

Dr. Merivale was Chaplain to the Speaker of the House of Commons from 1863 to 1869. In the latter year, on the appointment of Dr. Harvey Goodwin to the Bishopric of Carlisle, the Deanery of Ely, which had been declined by Canon Dale, of St. Paul's, afterwards Dean of Rochester, was conferred upon Merivale. The work of restoration of the cathedral had been brought into a forward state by Dean Peacock and practically completed by Dean Goodwin, and little scope was left for Merivale in that direction. He found, however, other spheres of usefulness and took a lively interest in the Grammar School, for which new buildings were erected by the Chapter, and which was largely developed in numbers and efficiency. A theological college was also established in the city in the late Dean's time. The most noteworthy event, however, of the twenty-four years of Merivale's occupation of the deanery was the celebration in October 1873, with considerable pomp and splendour and lavish hospitality on the part of clergy and laity alike, of the 1,200th anniversary of the foundation of the cathedral, or rather the Monastery of Ely, by St. Etheldreda. The Dean published an interesting little volume concerning the proceedings on that occasion. In 1866 an honorary D.C.L. was conferred upon him by the University of Oxford, among his associates in that distinction being Sir Joseph Hooker and Lord Kelvin.

Dr. Merivale married, in 1847, Miss Judith Frere, a cousin of the late Sir Bartle Frere; he died at Ely, December 26, after a long illness, aged eighty-five years.

**Sir Samuel White Baker, K.B., M.A., F.R.S.**—Sir Samuel White Baker, the eldest son of Samuel Baker of Lypiatt Park, Gloucestershire, was born in London, June 8, 1821. He was educated in a somewhat desultory way at a private school and in Germany, taking up the profession of engineer. In 1843 he was married to Henrietta, daughter of the Rev. Charles Martin. From the first he was a keen sportsman, and in 1845 he went to Ceylon, partly for the purpose of elephant hunting. But even then he was much more than a sportsman, and had the

geographer's interest in country people, as may be seen in his interesting work, "The Rifle and the Rifle in Ceylon" (1854), a new edition of which was published in 1874, and also "Eight Years' Wanderings in Ceylon" (1855). In 1847 he established an agricultural settlement and sanatorium on the plateau of Novera Elia, 10,000 ft. above sea-level. With great cost to himself, he, in conjunction with his wife, brought emigrants from England and the best breeds of cattle and sheep to found a mountain colony which was a favourite mountain resort and with hotels and villas. In 1854 he finally retired from his Ceylon enterprise, and in 1855 he lost his wife. In the same year he proceeded to the Crimea, and afterwards superintended the construction of the railway connecting the Danube across the Dobrudja to the Black Sea. In 1860 he married again, his second wife being a Hungarian lady, Florence, a daughter of Finnian von Sass, who was afterwards the sharer in all her husband's adventures and dangerous enterprises.

In 1861 Baker first went to Egypt with the deliberate intention of doing what he could at his own expense to solve the mystery of the Nile. He arrived in Cairo accompanied by his wife early in 1861, and on April 15 went up the Nile on his quest, part of his object being to join Speke and Grant, who had left for the bar the year before with the same object in view as Baker. Before proceeding to his main task he made a journey into Abyssinia partly for the purpose of sport, but mainly with the object of supplementing the work of Speke and Grant by completing what may be considered the eastern hydrography of the Nile. To this work he devoted a whole year during which he examined every tributary river that is tributary to the Nile from Abyssinia, including the Atbara, the Settit, the Royan, Salaam, Sobat, Rahad, Dinder, and the Blue Nile.

At the same time he perfected himself in Arabic and studied the character of the people, both necessary elements which he believed led to his ultimate success in reaching the Albert Nyanza. This important undertaking, of which he was able to ascertain the nature of these Abyssinian tributaries to the economy of the Nile, would have entitled Baker to a high rank among the scientific explorers of the Nile.

In June 1862 Baker was at Khartoum, where the White and the Blue Nile meet. Here he fitted out three

vessels, and, with an escort of ninety persons and twenty-nine camels, horses, and asses, he proceeded southwards to Gondokoro, where, in the middle of February 1863, he met with Speke and Grant, who fired him with the narrative of their discovery of the source of the Nile. At the same time they told him of rumours of the existence of another lake, to the west of Victoria Nyanza, into which the Nile was reported to flow. Baker decided to seek for this other Nile lake. The slave traders did their utmost to wreck the expedition, which they looked upon as the forerunner of the extinction of their nefarious traffic. This compelled Baker to make a detour to the last through the negro kingdoms of Ellyria, Latuka, Obbo, and the Madi country, into Unyoro, the tyrannical chief of which caused him a great deal of trouble. At last, however, on March 14, 1864, Baker and his wife reached the lofty shores of the Mwuta Nzige at Vacovia, a considerable distance down the east side of the lake. To this lake he gave the name of Albert Nyanza. He navigated its waters for ten days northwards to Magungo, where the Somerset Nile, which leaves the Victoria Nyanza, enters the smaller lake. Baker was unable actually to verify the exit of the White Nile from the newly-discovered lake, but of this there could be no doubt, as on his return journey he struck the river again at Apuddo, about sixty miles to the north of the lake. Thus, amid many hardships, and at frequent risk of death at the hands of Arab slavers and hostile chiefs, Baker and his wife forged one of the most important links in the course of one of the world's most famous rivers. The trials which Lady Baker had to undergo in forcing her way into a region absolutely unknown and bristling with dangers of every kind were unprecedented. Even on the return journey, owing to illness and the disturbed condition of the country, it took the expedition nearly a year to reach Gondokoro, and it was not until 1866 that the Bakers returned to England. Their fame had preceded them, and in 1865 the Royal Geographical Society awarded Baker one of its gold medals "for his relief of Captains Speke and Grant, and his endeavour to complete the discovery of those travellers." In 1866 he was created M.A. of Cambridge University, and received the honour of knighthood: he was also decorated by the Khedive of Egypt, and was awarded a great gold medal by the Paris Geographical



Society. He told the story of his work in two publications, "The Albert Nyanza Great Basin of the Nile" (1866) and "The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia" (1867).

In the hope and belief of being able to do something towards the extinction of the African slave trade, Sir Samuel and Lady Baker returned to Egypt in 1867, and towards the close of 1868 joined the suite of the Prince and Princess of Wales, who were then making a tour in Egypt. In the early part of the following year Sir Samuel Baker was taken into council by the Khedive as to the best means of annihilating the slave trade and extending the blessings of agriculture and legitimate commerce. It was agreed on all hands that the attempt should be made, and that an expedition should be conducted into the interior without delay under Sir Samuel Baker as its head. A formal firman was delivered to Baker by the Khedive, who, we are bound to believe, was for the moment perfectly sincere in his intentions. It was stated in this document that the object of the enterprise was "to suppress the slave trade, to introduce a system of regular commerce, to open to navigation the great lakes of the Equator, and to establish a chain of military stations and commercial depôts distant at intervals of three days' march throughout Central Africa, accepting Gondokoro as the basis of operations." Baker was given the rank of Pasha, and was entrusted with "the most absolute and supreme power, even that of death, and supreme authority over all those countries belonging to the Nile basin south of Gondokoro." For the purposes of the expedition Baker had three steamers built and two steel boats, besides a variety of other appliances, to enable him to accomplish the objects of his mission, which was to last for four years from April 1, 1869. He had with him a number of European officers and men with a force of 1,645 troops, including a corps of 200 irregular cavalry and two batteries of artillery. After many difficulties and delays, the expedition got under way at the end of 1869, and reached Khartoum in June 1870. Here the Governor and all his underlings placed every obstacle in the way of progress, and Baker had many gross abuses to expose in the administration of the Egyptian Soudan. He succeeded in the end in making a start with thirty-three vessels of various kinds, but nature as well as natives seemed to conspire against

success. Baker found the White Nile choked for many miles with the dense vegetation known as "sudd." Through this a channel had to be cloven to enable the expedition to make way, and in the process the people of the expedition died by the score from hardship and malaria. It was only in April 1871 that the weakened expedition reached Gondokoro. Here Baker proceeded at once to raise a new town, to which he gave the name of Ismailia. The Bari negroes around Gondokoro waged war against the expedition, but in the end were subdued. Baker's own troops manifested an inclination to mutiny, but his energy and determination brought them under complete control. With a greatly weakened force in the end of 1871 Baker marched southwards, and at Fatiko on the Nile (3 deg. N. lat.) he established a fortified camp, from which he waged war against the slave hunters who were devastating the land. He pushed southwards as far as Masindi, in Unyoro, almost constantly fighting, either with the slavers or with the natives, chief among whom were Kabba Rega, the tyrannical ruler of Unyoro. So terrible, indeed, was the struggle that in 1871 rumours of the massacre of the whole expedition by treachery reached England. In April 1873 Baker returned to Gondokoro, having, for a time at least, checked the slave trade; but only for a time, for as soon as he left the country it became as flourishing as ever, and it can hardly be said that this formidable expedition had much immediate practical result; Sir Samuel and Lady Baker returned to England, the story of the expedition being told in his work "Ismailia" (1874); and the crusade against slavery was continued by others, chief of whom was General Gordon.

Sir Samuel and Lady Baker settled down at Sandford Orleigh at Newton Abbot, Devonshire, but the wandering and sporting instinct was as strong as ever, and seldom a year passed that the two did not take flight to some distant part of the globe. In 1879, shortly after the British occupation of Cyprus, they visited every portion of the island, travelling in a caravan, the results being published in a volume entitled "Cyprus as I saw it in 1879." In subsequent years lengthened visits were made to Syria, India, Japan, and America. In 1883 Baker published "True Tales for my Grandsons," and in 1890 "Wild Beasts and their Ways," reminiscences of sport and observation in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

In 1869 he published a story of adventure under the title of "Cast up by the Sea."

Contrary to his usual habit he had decided to spend the winter in England and enjoyed his usual health up to the middle of November—when a chill,

caught at shooting, obliged him to take to his bed. He gradually got worse; and a chest affection, which ultimately developed into angina pectoris, attacked him. He died on December 30, at Sandford Orleigh, his residence in South Devon.

On the 1st, at Charter House, Maynooth, aged 42, the **Duke of Leinster, Gerald Fitzgerald**, fifth Duke of Leinster, premier duke, marquess and earl in Ireland; was, 1874-5, Captain in the Kildare Militia, but devoted himself almost exclusively to local affairs, and to the management of his estates. Married, 1884, Lady Hermione Wilhelmina Duncombe, daughter of first Earl of Feversham. On the 1st, at St. Katharine's Dock House, London, aged 67, **Rev. Edward Henry Bradley, D.D.**, only son of Edward Taylor Bradley, of Calcutta. Educated at Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1848; first-class Classics, Fellow and Tutor of Durham University, and Principal of Hatfield Hall, 1850-3; Assistant Master at Harrow, 1853-68, and Head Master of Haileybury, 1868-83. On his retirement he devoted himself to work in the East End of London, and was associated with Toynbee Hall. On the 2nd, at St. Leonards-on-Sea, aged 81, **Dowager Duchess of St. Alban's, Elizabeth Catharine**, daughter of General Joseph Gubbins, of Kilfoush, co. Limerick. Married, first, 1839, ninth Duke of St. Alban's, and, second, 1859, tenth Viscount Falkland. On the 2nd, at Warwick Castle, aged 75, **Earl of Warwick, George Grey**, fourth earl. Educated privately, also at St. John's College, Oxford; B.A., 1839; sat as a Conservative for South Warwickshire, 1845-53; opposed Sir Robert Peel's free-trade policy. Married, 1852, Anne, eldest daughter of eighth Earl of Wemyss and March. Latterly he took a great interest in agricultural matters. On the 2nd, at Petersfield, Hants, aged 84, **George Morley Dowdeswell, Q.C.** Called to the bar at the Inner Temple, 1834; Oxford Circuit Q.C., 1866; Official Referee, 1877-84; Recorder of Newark, 1854. Author of several legal works. On the 3rd, at Athaville, co. Mayo, aged 68, **Sir Robert Lynch-Blosse**, tenth baronet. Educated at Rugby. Married, 1853, Lady Harriet, fourth daughter of second Marquess of Sligo. On the 3rd, at Bradpole Vicarage, Dorset, aged 78, **Rev. Alexander Broadley**. Educated at Wadham College, Oxford; B.A., 1836; third-class Classics; appointed Vicar of Bradpole, 1843; Canon of Salisbury, 1862. On the 4th, at Clonbrock, co. Galway, aged 86, **Lord Clonbrock, Robert Dillon**, third baron. Educated at Eton and Christ College, Oxford; B.A., 1827; a constant resident on his property, and a popular landlord; Lord-Lieutenant, co. Galway. Married, 1830, Hon. Car. Spencer, eldest daughter of first Baron Churchill. On the 4th, at Great Malvern, aged 61, **Henry Napier Bruce Erskine, C.S.I.**, son of William Erskine, of Blackburn, Linlithgowshire. Educated at Haileybury: entered Bombay Civil Service, 1853; Commissioner of Northern Division, 1877-9; Commissioner in Scinde, 1879-87. On the 5th, at Machary House, Perthshire, aged 54, **Viscount Strathallan, James David Drummond**, eighth viscount and heir presumptive to the earldom of Perth. Educated at Eton; served in 6th Dragoon Guards. Married, first, 1868, Ellen, daughter of Cudbert B. Thornhill, C.I.E., and, second, 1875, Margaret, daughter of William B. Smythe, of Methven Castle, Perthshire. On the 5th, at Haines Hill, Taunton, aged 80, **Robert Arthur Kinglake**, Registrar of the Taunton Probate District, third son of William Kinglake, of Wilton House, Somerset, one of the originators of the Somerset Valhalla of Worthies established in the Shire Hall, Taunton, and the author of several literary works. Married, 1844, Harriet Salome, daughter of the Rev. A. Loftus Cliffe. On the 7th, at Guernsey, aged 73, **Captain Thomas Anthony Swinburne, R.N.**, of Pontop Hall, Durham, eldest son of Lieutenant-General Thomas Robert Swinburne. Entered the Royal Navy, 1834; served through the Syrian War, 1840; in the West Indies and the Crimea War, 1854-5; Inspecting Officer of Coast Forces at Greenock, 1864-76. Married, 1852, Maria Ann, daughter of Captain Fraser, of Gorthaleg. On the 8th, at Edinburgh, aged 42, **Hon. Robt. Preston Bruce**, second son of eighth Earl of Elgin. Born at Quebec; educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1874; second-class Classics; called to the bar, 1879; sat as a Liberal for Fifeshire, 1880-5, and for West Fifeshire, 1885-9, when he resigned on account of ill-health. On the 9th, at Windlesham, aged 77, **Sir George Elvey**, son of John Elvey, of Canterbury, where he was educated. Appointed, 1835, Organist of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and Organist to the King, 1836; B.M. Oxon., 1838, and Doctor of Music, 1841; retired in 1882.



Married, first, 1838, Harriette, daughter of Highmore Skeats, of Windsor; second, 1854, Isabella G., daughter of J. Bowyer Nicholls, F.S.A.; third, Eleonora Grace, daughter of Rich. Jarvis; fourth, 1882, Mary, daughter of Joseph Savory, of Buckhurst Park. On the 9th, at Wimpole Street, aged 53, **Arthur Wellesley Edis, M.D.** Educated at Huntingdon and Aldenham Grammar School, and afterwards at the Royal Agricultural College, Cirencester; studied medicine at Westminster Hospital; M.R.C.S., 1862; M.B. Lond., 1863, and eventually practised in London as a specialist in the diseases of women. Married, 1874, Mary, daughter of Andrew Murray, of Aberdeen. On the 9th, at Leasingham, aged 76, **Right Rev. Edward Trollope, D.D.**, Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, youngest son of Sir John Trollope, sixth baronet. Educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford; B.A., Rector of Leasingham, 1843; Prebendary of Lincoln, 1861; Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham, 1877; the author of numerous works on archaeology. Married, first, 1846, Grace, daughter of Sir J. H. Palmer, of Carlton Park, Northants, and second, 1892, Louisa, daughter of Rev. H. Harris, of Wentfield, Berks. On the 10th, at South Kensington, aged 71, **Admiral Sir John Corbett, K.C.B.**, fourth son of Uvedale Corbett-Windross, of Cotsbrooke, Salop. Entered Royal Navy, 1835; served through the operations on Coast of Syria, 1840; commanded rocket-boat at the taking of Lagos; served afterwards in North American and China Stations; Captain of the *Britannia*, 1867-70; Commander-in-Chief, East Indies, 1877-9; Admiral at the Nore, 1879-85. Married, 1864, Georgina Grace, daughter of G. J. Holmes, of Brook Hall, Norfolk. On the 10th, at Warwick Square, S.W., aged 82, **Edward Thornton, C.B.**, son of John Thornton, of Clapham. Entered Bengal Civil Service, 1829, and filled many important posts in that presidency. Married, 1840, Louisa Chicheliana, daughter of R. Chicheley Plowden; retired 1862. On the 10th, at Blunham House, Beds, aged 74, **Sir Salusbury Gillies Payne**, fifth baronet, son of Sir Charles Gillies Payne, fourth baronet. Educated at Rugby and Brasenose College, Oxford; B.A., 1852; called to the bar at the Middle Temple. Married, 1858, Catherine Anne, daughter of Robt. Chadwick, of High Bank, Manchester. The baronetcy is also claimed by the collateral branch. On the 11th, at Edinburgh, aged 78, **William Milligan, D.D.**, Principal Clerk of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Born at Elie, Fifeshire; educated at St. Andrews University, and Professor of Biblical Criticism, 1860-93, and was the author of several works. Married, 1850, May, daughter of Dr. D. M. Moir ("Delta"). On the 11th, at Cheshunt Park, aged 91, **Elizabeth Oliveria Russell Prescott**, eldest granddaughter of Oliver Cromwell, the last of the Protector's descendants to bear his name. She was a daughter and heiress of Artemidorus Cromwell Russell, of Cheshunt Park. On the 12th, at Edinburgh, aged 77, **Sir John Don-Wauchope**, eighth baronet, son of John Wauchope, of Edmonstone. Educated at Edinburgh Academy, and Trinity College, Cambridge; B.A., 1837; succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his kinsman, Sir William Henry Don, 1862; Chairman of the Board of Lunacy, Scotland, 1863, and of the Board of Education, 1872. Married, 1853, Bethia Hamilton, eldest daughter of Andrew Buchanan, of Drumpellier. On the 12th, at Bhurtpore, aged 41, the **Marajah of Bhurtpore C.S.I.**, a Ghat Prince, who had always shown great loyalty to the British rule. On the 12th, at West Kensington, aged 49, **Ada Swanborough**, a talented actress. First appeared at the Strand Theatre, 1861, where she continued to play for seventeen years. On the 13th, at Dummore, co. Waterford, aged 78, **Lord James Wanderford Butler**, third son of James, nineteenth Earl of Ormonde, in whose favour the marquessate was revived. Served with the 7th Foot, 1834-46; A.D.C. to Earl de Grey; Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 1852; State Steward to Duke of Abercorn, 1867-8; a leading member of the general synod of the Irish Church, from which, however, he withdrew on the non-acceptance of the changes in the liturgy proposed by him. Married, 1856, Lady Rachel Eveline Russell, daughter of sixth Duke of Bedford. On the 13th, at Brighton, aged 91, **Sir James Hay Langham**, eleventh baronet, eldest son of Sir James Langham, of Cottesbrooke, Northants. Born at Bedford Square, London; educated at Eton, and Christ College, Oxford. Married, 1828, Hon. Margaret Emma, daughter of second Lord Kenyon. On the 15th, at Christiania, aged 74, **Dr. Henrik Johannes Rink**. Educated at the University of Copenhagen; devoted himself to the study of geology and physical science; explored the Nicobar Islands, 1845-7; North Greenland, 1848-51; Governor of South Greenland, 1858-71, when he was made Director of the R. Greenland Board of Trade at Copenhagen. He was the author of many books on Greenland, and gave Dr. Nansen the first idea of his exploration. Married,

1853, **Signa Moller**, daughter of the Governor of Goothall, who also wrote on Arctic subjects. On the 15th, at Underley Hall, Westmoreland, aged 49, **Earl of Bective, Thomas Taylour**, eldest son of third Marquess of Headfort. Educated at Christ College, Oxford; sat as a Conservative for Westmoreland, 1871-85, and for the Kendal Division, 1889-92. Took a leading interest in agriculture. Married, 1867, Lady Alice Maria, only daughter of fourth Marquess of Devonshire. On the 15th, at St. John's, N.B., aged 65, **Hon. John Boyd**, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick. Born at Magherafelt, co. Derry; emigrated at an early age, and became partner in a firm of merchants; took an active part in educational and political affairs; elected Senator of the Dominion, 1879, and became Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick two months before his death. Married, 1852, Caroline, daughter of Ceren S. Jones, of Weymouth, N.S. On the 15th, at South Kensington, aged 74, **Lieutenant-General William Wilby, C.B.**, son of Lieutenant-Colonel William H. Wilby. Entered the Army, 1836; served with 4th Foot in the Crimean Campaign, 1854-5, and Indian Mutiny, 1857-8; Brigade-General, Abyssinian Campaign, 1867; in command of troops in Ceylon, 1879-82. Married, 1843, Harriet, daughter of Captain William Dowers, R.N. On the 16th, at Berlin, aged 92, **Professor Karl Ludwig Michelet**. Born at Berlin of a French family; educated at the French Gymnasium, and subsequently at the University of Berlin; Ph. Dr., 1824; Professor of Moral Philosophy, 1829; wrote numerous philosophical works, and edited those of Hegel. On the 16th, at Gipsy Hill, Norwood, aged 77, **General the Hon. Sir Henry Ramsay, C.B., K.C.S.I.**, son of Lieutenant-General Hon. John Ramsay, brother of twelfth Earl of Dalhousie. Entered Indian Army, 1834; served in the Punjab Campaign, 1848-9; British Commissioner at Kuman, 1857-92. Married, 1850, Laura, daughter of Henry Lushington, B.C.S. On the 16th, at Ennismore Gardens, S.W., aged 38, **Tom Cottingham Edwards-Moss**, younger son of Sir Thomas Edwards-Moss, first baronet. Educated at Eton, and Brasenose College, Oxford; B.A., 1878; President of O.U.B.C., and rowed in the University boats, 1875-8; Lieutenant, Lancashire Hussars Yeomanry, 1881-4; sat as a Conservative for Widnes Division of Lancashire, 1885-92. On the 17th, at Norwood, aged 89, **Sir Thomas Buchan-Hepburn**, third baronet, second son of second baronet of Smeaton Hepburn, N.B. Educated at Edinburgh and Cambridge Universities; admitted an Advocate at the Scottish bar, 1827; sat as a Conservative for Haddingtonshire, 1838-47. Married, 1835, Helen, daughter of Archibald Little, of Shabden Park, Surrey. On the 18th, at San Remo, **General von Kodolitsch**, a prominent sportsman and an officer of considerable capacity and experience; was Staff Officer to Count Mensdorff during the Italian War, 1860; accompanied Archduke Maximilian to Mexico, 1864-7; joined the English expedition to Abyssinia, 1867-8, and sent on a military mission to the United States, 1870, and on his return was attached to the French headquarters during the Franco-German War, 1870-1; commanded 6th Regiment of Hussars, 1876-81. Married Baroness Mathilde Heine, a niece of the poet. On the 18th, at London, aged 72, **Giovanni Guiseppe Fontana**, a successful sculptor. Born at Carrara; having won the gold medal and prix de Rome at the Academy of that city, went to Rome and studied under Finelli and Canova; expelled from Rome, 1848, on account of his political views; he came to England, and was naturalised in 1873, and became a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy and other galleries. On the 18th, at San Francisco, aged 69, **William Coleman**. Born in Kentucky; emigrated to California in 1849, where he established himself as a ship agent. During the gold fever, 1850-4, California passed under the control of a lawless mob, and Coleman at length began to establish his Vigilance Committees, by means of which order was promptly established and the law respected. In 1877 his activity was again required, when Dennis Kearney, the labour agitator, began a career of outrage and plunder, but in twenty-four hours Coleman armed 5,000 citizens, and after one struggle the streets were cleared. On the 20th, at Kensington, aged 72, **Sir George Berkeley, K.C.M.G.** A distinguished Civil Engineer who had rendered considerable services in developing the resources of Natal and other colonies. Married, 1846, Frances, daughter of Francis Garford. On the 20th, at New York, aged 94, **General William C. Young**. Born at Youngstown, Ohio; educated in New York State, and began life as an Engineer in 1816 by surveying the islands of Lake Ontario; studied at West Point Military Academy, 1818-22; served in the United States Artillery, 1822-6; became a Civil Engineer, having in 1817 taken part in the survey of the Erie Canal; was engaged from 1832-49 in building railways in New York State, of which the New York Central was the most important; constructed, 1850-5, the Panama Railway across the Isthmus, and was subsequently one of the managers of the New York Central



Railway until 1863, when he withdrew from public life. His grandfather and great-grandfather, both buried at Worcester, Mass., lived respectively 94 and 107 years. On the 21st, at Kensington, aged 69, **Right Rev. Walter Chambers, D.D.** Ordained, 1849, and Curate of Bentley, Derbyshire, 1849-50; became the first missionary to the Dyaks of Borneo in 1850-68; was appointed Bishop of Labuan and Sarawah, 1869-81. Married, 1857, Miss S. E. Wooley. On the 22nd, at South Kensington, **Henry Salusbury Milman, M.A., F.S.A.**, son of Lieutenant-General Francis Miles Milman. Educated at Merton College, Oxford; B.A., 1844; Second Class Classics; Fellow of All Souls', 1848-57; called to the bar at the Inner Temple, 1848; Assistant Enclosure Commissioner, 1877-82, when he was appointed Assistant Land Commissioner; Director of the Society of Antiquaries, 1880-92. Married, 1857, Matilda Jane, daughter of Edward Grove, of Shenstone Park, Staffordshire, and widow of Eliot-Warburton, traveller and author. On the 22nd, at South Kensington, aged 72, **Sir Robt. Palmer Harding**, son of Robt. Harding, and for many years head of that firm of accountants. Chief Official Receiver in Bankruptcy, 1884-90. Married, 1845, Marian, daughter of Joseph Ryle, H.E.I.C.S. On the 22nd, at Kensington, aged 80, **William Watkiss Lloyd**. Educated at Newcastle Grammar School; was in a house of business in the City of London, 1828-64, but never ceased study; published, 1845, an essay on the Lanthian Marbles, and in the same year edited, in conjunction with Mr. J. W. Singer, an annotated edition of Shakespeare; elected a member of the Dilettanti Society, 1854, and subsequently published several works on Greek Art, of which "The Age of Pericles" (1875) was the most important. Married Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Beale. On the 23rd, at Speen, Newbury, aged 76, **General Augustus Henry Ternan**, Indian Staff Corps; served in the Sutlej (1846) and Punjab (1849) Campaigns, and throughout the Indian Mutiny. On the 23rd, at Portland Place, aged 78, **Sir George Elliot**, first baronet. Born at Gateshead; began life "at the bottom of a coalpit"; became one of the wealthiest coalowners and manufacturers in the kingdom; sat as a Conservative for North Durham, 1868-74, and 1874-80, and South-east Durham, 1881-5, when he was defeated by Sir H. Havelock-Allan at the general election, but was returned for Monmouth district, 1886, and represented it until 1892. The great scheme of his busy and successful life was the amalgamation of all the coalfields of Great Britain under the management of a Trust, with a division of part of the profits among the miners. Married, 1836, Margaret, daughter of George Green, of Rainton, Houghton-le-Spring, Durham. On the 24th, at Kennington Park, Adelaide, South Australia, aged 86, **Hon. Boyle Travers Finniss**, eldest son of Captain John Finniss, Chief Police Magistrate of Mauritius. Educated at Sandhurst; passed out first, and joined 82nd Foot, 1825; sold out in 1835, and in 1836 went out to South Australia as Assistant Surveyor; rose into notice and esteem, and was successively Colonial Secretary, Treasurer and Prime Minister, 1845-55, and was first Premier of South Australia, 1856-7, as a Representative Colony. On the 24th, at Brixton, aged 87, **William Frederick Woodington, A.R.A.** (retired). Born at Sutton Coldfield; came to London 1815, and two years later was articled to Robert W. Sievier, an eminent engraver, who afterwards turned sculptor. After a long experience of neglect, Woodington's works were accepted at the Royal Academy, and he received orders from various quarters. "The Battle of the Nile" on the pedestal of the Nelson monument, the bas-reliefs in the chapel containing the Wellington monument in St. Paul's, and his statue for the New Exchange, Liverpool, are among his best known works. He exhibited also as a painter at the Royal Academy, 1853-4. On the 24th, at Earl's Court, S.W., aged 72, **Robert Bentley**. Educated at King's College; M.R.C.S. Eng., 1847; became lecturer on botany in the Medical School of the London Hospital, and after, Professor of Botany at King's College. He was the author of numerous works on that science, and joint-editor of the *British Pharmacopœia*, 1885. On the 25th, at Shanklin, Isle of Wight, aged 81, **Captain Anthony Glynn, R.N.**, youngest son of Admiral Henry R. Glynn. Entered Royal Navy, 1825; served on the West Coast of Africa; Inspecting Officer of Coastguard and Admiralty Agent. On the 26th, at Montreal, aged 68, **Hon. Rudolphe Laflamme, Q.C.** Called to the bar of Lower Canada, 1849; threw in his lot with the Ultra-Liberals; was joint-editor of *L'Avenir*, and one of the founders of *L'Institut Canadien*; Revenue Minister for the Dominion, 1876-7, and Minister of Justice, 1877-8. On the 26th, at Honilles, near Paris, aged 89, **Victor Schœlcher**, the "French Wilberforce." Of Alsatian origin. He was born in Paris, where his father kept a china-shop. On leaving college he adopted Republican ideas, and enhanced the course of negro emancipation. In 1829 visited Cuba, Mexico, and the United States; in 1840

the West Indies; Egypt in 1846, and Senegal in 1847; was made Under-Secretary for the Colonies and Marine in the Republican Government, and presided over a commission, which led to the abolition of slavery in the French Colonies, and flogging in the Navy; elected Deputy in the National Assembly for both Martinique and Guadeloupe, sitting for the latter; expelled by the *coup d'état*; settled in London, 1851-70, when he returned to Paris, and was elected for both Martinique and Cayenne as an extreme Radical, and a Life Senator, 1874, and was Chairman of the Committee on Compulsory Education. On the 26th, at Hyde Park Mansions, W., aged 56, **Major-General Arthur Hill**. Entered the army, 23rd Regiment, 1855-62; 94th Regiment, 1862-80; Lieutenant-Colonel, Border Regiment, 1881-7; served in the Indian Mutiny at the siege and defence of Lucknow. On the 27th, at Paris, aged 85, **Victor Considérant**. Born at Salins, Jura; educated as an engineer; resigned his post under Government, 1831, to propagate the ideas of Fourier, and attempted to establish a *Phalanstère* first at Condé sur Vègre, and afterwards in Texas; was elected to the National Assembly, 1848, but in 1851 was forced to take refuge in Belgium. He returned to Paris in 1869, and although in straitened circumstances refused the pension offered him by the Government in 1881. On the 28th, at Wellington, N.Z., aged 89, **Right Rev. Henry John Chitty Harper**, son of Tristram Harper, of Gosport. Educated at Hyde Abbey, Winchester, and Queen's College, Oxford; B.A., 1826; third-class Classics "conduct" at Eton, 1832-40; Vicar of Strathfield-Mortimer, 1842-56; Bishop of Christ Church, New Zealand, 1856, and Primate of New Zealand, 1869-89. Married, 1833, Emily, daughter of C. Woolridge. On the 29th, at Hurley Towers, Surrey, aged 88, the **Earl of Lovelace, William King-Noel**, seventh Baron King. Born in London; educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; succeeded to his father's barony, 1833, and created Earl of Lovelace, 1838. Married, first, 1835, Hon. Augusta Ada, only child of George Gordon, Lord Byron, the poet, and second, 1865, Jane Crawford, widow of Edward Jenkins, B.C.S. On the 29th, at Castle Howard, aged 66, **Richard Spruce, F.R.S.** A distinguished botanist who, in 1849, was sent by Sir Wm. Hooker to South America on behalf of the Kew Gardens. His exploration of the Amazon lasted for fifteen years, and he crossed the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, returning with a collection of upwards of 7,000 plants and trees. On the 30th, at Parsonstown, aged 54, **Colonel Robt. Henry Hackett**. Entered the army, 1856; served with 90th Foot in the South African War, 1878-9, and was shot through the head and lost both his eyes in the battle of Kambula. On the 31st, on Scafell, Cumberland, from a fall, aged 41, **Professor Arthur Milnes Marshall, F.R.S.**, second son of William P. Marshall, for many years Secretary of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers. Educated at University of London; B.A., 1870; and St. John's College, Cambridge; B.A., 1874; being Senior in the Natural Science Tripos; appointed to assist Professor Balfour in organising classes of Comparative Morphology; entered as Student in Medicine at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1877; and same year elected Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge; appointed Professor of Zoology, Queen's College, Manchester, 1879; the author of "The Frog" (1888) and other scientific works. On the 31st, at Gloucester Terrace, London, aged 69, **Lord Sandford, Francis Richard Sandford, P.C., K.C.B., LL.D.**, son of Sir Daniel Keyte Sandford, D.C.L., M.P., and Professor of Greek in Glasgow University. Educated at Glasgow and afterwards at Balliol College, Oxford; B.A., 1846; first-class classics; appointed an Examiner in the Education Office, 1848; Assistant Secretary, 1854-68; Secretary to Commissioners of the Exhibition, 1862; Assistant Under-Secretary to the Colonies, 1868-70; Secretary to the Education Office, 1870-85; Under-Secretary for Scotland, 1885-91, when he was created a peer, having in the course of his long and distinguished career as a civil servant by merit and capacity obtained in succession all the various honours conferred upon members of that body. He married, 1849, Margaret, daughter of Robert Finlay, of Easterhill, Dumbartonshire.





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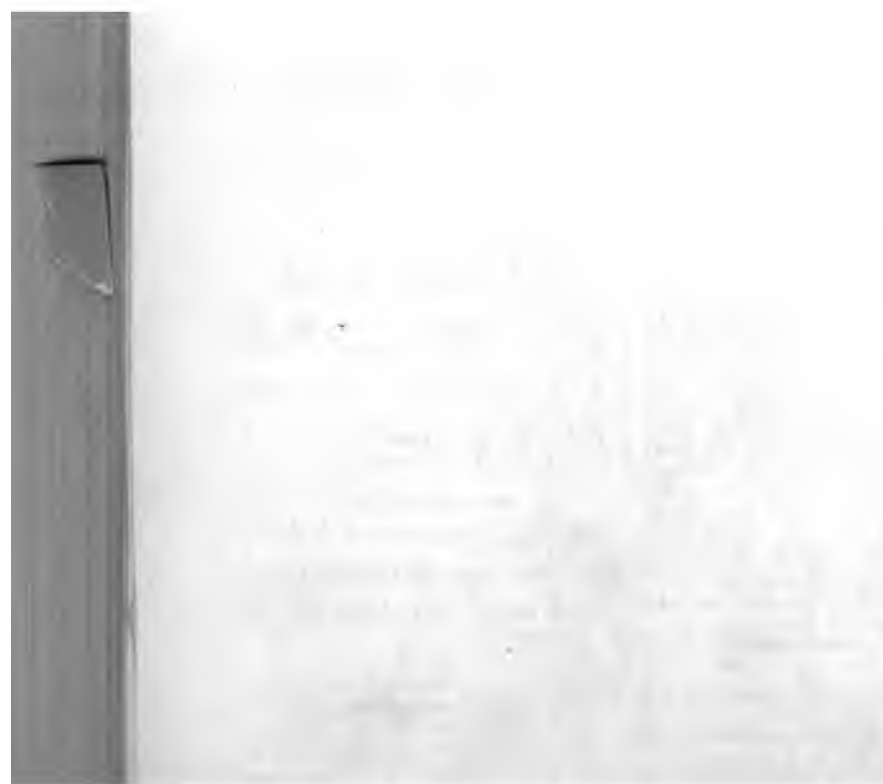
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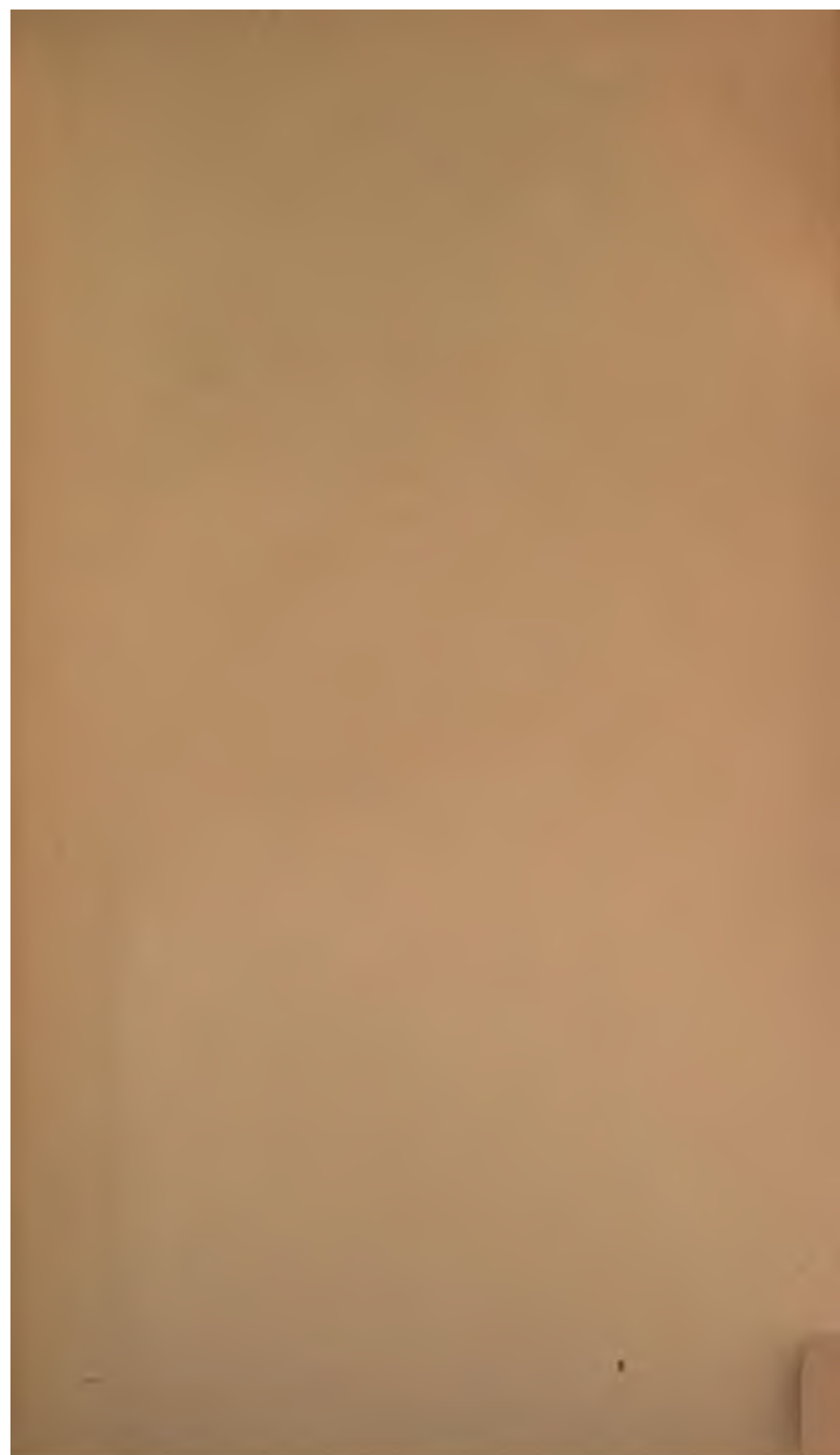
















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